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GENERAL HISTORY

OF THE

CHRISTIAN RELIGION AND CHURCH:

FROM THE GERMAN OF

DR. AUGUSTUS NEANDER.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FIRST, REVISED AND ALTERED THROUGHOUT ACCORDING TO THE SECOND EDITION.

BY JOSEPH TORREY,

PROFFESSOR OF MORAL AND INTELLECTUAL PHILOSOPHY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT.

"I am come to send fire on the earth."

WORDS OF OUR LORD.

"And the fire shall try every man's work of what sort it is." "But other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Christ Jesus."

ST. PAUL.

VOLUME THIRD:

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DEDICATION OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

TO MY HONORED FRIEND,
THE REVEREND JOSEPH BLANCO WHITE OF DUBLIN,

A PRESBYTER OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

I dedicate this volume, my dear sir, to you, in token of the fellowship of mind and heart existing between us — a fellowship springing out of our common consciousness of that evangelical truth which, fitted and designed to unite all men together in one community, begets friendship on both sides the ocean between those who, by the eye of the spirit, can recognize each other as kinsmen and brethren though they have never seen each other face to face. And as we are united by the consciousness of that truth which for eighteen centuries has been at work to found among all mankind a fellowship which will destroy all separating intervals of time and space, so are we more particularly bound together by our peculiar mode of apprehending that truth, resulting from the history of our lives, which differing as they do in other respects resemble each other in this, that they have run through the same opposite extremes, agitating the times in which we live; as well as by our common conviction of what it is which constitutes the essence of the gospel, and of its relation to the changing forms of human culture. Out of your struggle with superstition and infidelity, with dogmatism and skepticism, you have reached and found repose in the settled conviction that, as in your last work you finely express it, the essence of Christianity consists not so much in the revelation of a new speculative theory or system of morality, as in the bestowment of a new divine life fitted to penetrate, and refine from its inmost centre, man's entire nature with all its powers and capacities, and also to give a new direction to all human thought and action. This divine principle of life is one which ever retains the freshness and vigor of youth; while dogmatic systems dependent on the changing forms of culture among men become superannuated. Humanity as it advances in years, by this principle of the new life continually grows young again. From this divine life comes the consciousness which conquers doubt, which dissipates σκάνδαλα and προσκόμματα, which overcomes all difficulties; while human science ever continues to be a patch-work, as it cannot deny without contradicting itself. To exhibit the progressive evolution and purification of this divine life within the whole compass of humanity, on the sides of thought and of action, is precisely the task which the present work, feebly and imperfectly as it may be done, aims to accomplish; and because you perceived this to be its aim and tendency, you have expressed your agreement with it. May the Spirit of God ever keep us thus united, that so with the greater energy we may till the last breath of life bear witness of this divine life which Jesus of Nazareth, the Son of God, and Saviour of sinful mankind, has bestowed; that we may promote, cherish and refine it both in ourselves and in others; that we may contend with it and for it, against skepticism and dogmatism, against the pride and presumption of a false philosophy, and the arrogant idolatry of mere notions of the human understanding.

A. NEANDER.

BERLIN, OCT. 4TH, 1834.

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DEDICATION OF THE FOURTH VOLUME.

TO MY BELOVED FRIEND AND COLLEAGUE, DR. TWESTEN.

When I dedicated to you a volume of this work some years ago, my inward motive was the consciousness of our spiritual fellowship as Christians and theologians; while at the same time the outward occasion was presented in the pleasure I had of greeting you here again, and of being able to compare our views with regard to many points, on the spot where our ancient friendship first commenced. And then again, when one of my dearest wishes seemed likely, though by a painful occasion, to be fulfilled, and I was promising myself the satisfaction of being permitted to labor with you for the kingdom of God in a closer collegial union, I felt desirous of dedicating to you the third volume of my church history by way of saluting you as my colleague. I omitted to do so, because I was unwilling to anticipate a decision of which I had not as yet been certainly assured. Since then, you have followed the call of the Lord which invited you to join us; and since then, I have experienced and enjoyed, amid the jars and divisions of an all-separating, all-isolating period, the rich and manifold blessing of our collegial connection. First of all, then, I would thank God for this. I would thank Him, that he led you to us; for in such a time of the breaking up of old foundations, in such a period of ferment, we do indeed especially need theologians who can with calmness and composure, with firmness and freedom, pursue right onward through the oppositions which agitate the times, that true middle course, which is not to be found by falling in with every tendency of the good and the evil spirit of the age, but which the pure and simple truth of the gospel presents of itself, as the only way ultra quod citraque nequit consistere rectum; — men who seek after nothing but the simple truth, and who would let this have its sway; who have received from above that disposition which will not allow them to comply with the wishes of those for whom this simple truth is not good enough, nor to humor that sickly tendency of a false culture and excitement which can be satisfied only with the piquant and the striking. May God, therefore, who has bestowed this blessing on you, preserve your health and strength to work among us yet many years by your science and your life, in this spirit, for his kingdom; and may he give you to enjoy an ever increasing pleasure and delight in this work. May he bless also our union, and cause us to be a mutual help, as it becomes Christian friends to be, to each other, by strengthening each other's hands, encouraging each other's hearts and correcting each other's errors. May he enable us to labor together for one common end, even that — to use the language of the great Erasmus — ut Christus ille purus atque simplex inseratur mentibus hominum, an end to which science itself must also be subservient.

Yours, with my whole heart,

NEANDER.

Berlin, June 10th, 1836.

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PREFACE TO THE THIRD VOLUME.

In presenting to the public this third volume of my Church History, I beg leave to remark that it would have given me great pleasure if I had found it possible to conclude in this volume my account of the image-controversy; but in considering the immense mass of the materials, I have thought best to reserve the second part of this controversy for the next succeeding period, where it chronologically belongs. The thread of events which in this period served to prepare the way for the schism betwixt the Greek and the Latin church, I shall take up again in the genetic exposition of this controversy in the following period.

Through the obliging assistance of my friend Dr. Petermann, whose praiseworthy efforts have opened the way for establishing among us a chair of Armenian literature, I have been enabled here and there to avail myself of Armenian sources of information hitherto unexplored.

May the indefatigable labors of this estimable man, in a field which promises so rich a harvest, meet with the acknowledgment and the patronage they so eminently deserve.

A. N.

Berlin, Oct. 4th, 1834.

PREFACE TO THE FOURTH VOLUME.

God be thanked that he has enabled me to complete this new and important section of the present work, and to approach the flourishing period of the middle ages.

I cannot forbear expressing my hearty acknowledgments to Councillor Reuss of Göttingen, and to Mr. Kopitar, keeper of the Imperial library in Vienna for the kind assistance they have rendered me on several points of literary inquiry. Mr. Kopitar has shown the distinguished kindness of sending me from his private library the Greek work mentioned on the 314th page of this volume, with the request that after having made such use of it as I needed for myself, I should place it in the royal library of this city for the use of other inquirers.

I must also express my obligations to Dr. Petermann for the extracts with which he has furnished me from books published only in the Armenian language.

NEANDER.

Berlin, June 10th, 1836.

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FOURTH PERIOD OF THE HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

FROM THE DEATH OF CHARLEMAGNE TO POPE GREGORY THE SEVENTH, OR FROM A. D. 814 TO A. D. 1073.

SECTION FIRST.

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CHURCH HISTORY.

THIRD PERIOD OF THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH. FROM THE TIME OF GREGORY THE GREAT, BISHOP OF ROME, TO THE DEATH OF THE EMPEROR CHARLEMAGNE; OR FROM THE YEAR 590 TO THE YEAR 814.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

THIS period opens to us a new theatre for the exhibition of the power of the gospel to mould and transform the world; and we shall see it revealing itself in a new and peculiar way. For, in the earlier periods, we saw Christianity attaching itself to the culture of the ancient world, then existing under the forms of the Greek and Roman peculiarities of national character; and where the harmonious culture that could be derived from the elements of human nature left to itself had reached its highest point, and degenerating into false refinement wrought its own destruction, we saw Christianity introducing a new element of *divine* life, whereby the race, already sinking in spiritual death, was requickened and raised to a far higher point of spiritual development than had been reached before; a new creation springing forth out of the new spirit in the ancient form. But a race of people now appear, who are still in the rudeness of barbarism; and on these Christianity bestows, by imparting to them the seed of a divine life, the germ of all human culture;—not as an outward possession already complete and prepared for their acceptance, but as something which was to unfold itself with entire freshness and originality from within, through the inward impulse of a divine life, and in conformity with the individuality of character belonging to this particular race of men. It is the distinguishing characteristic of this new work of Christianity, that the new creation does not attach itself to any previously existing form of culture sprung from some entirely different root; but that everything here springs from the root, and grows out of the vital sap of Christianity itself. We come to the fountain-head, whence flowed the whole peculiar character of the middle ages and all modern civilization.

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It is true, the form in which these rude tribes first came to the knowledge of Christianity was not that of the pure gospel. It was the form of church tradition, handed down from the earlier centuries; in which, as we have seen in tracing the earlier course of development, the divine word had become mixed up with many foreign elements. But still, even through the wood, hay and stubble of mere human modes of apprehension, the one and only foundation, which ever stood firm, though concealed under the load of foreign additions — the foundation of faith in the redeeming love of God, revealed through, and in Christ, as the Redeemer of sinful man — was able to manifest its divine power to transform, to train, and to refine mankind; and with the implantation of this one principle in humanity was given also the element from which would proceed of its own accord, the reaction against these foreign admixtures. Such a reaction we may trace along through the whole development of the church tradition in the middle ages; and while on the one hand, those foreign elements were ever assuming a more substantial shape, so on the other, this reaction of the original Christian consciousness that strove to purge away every foreign element was continually gaining new strength, till it acquired power enough to introduce into the church a thorough process of purification. Nor should we fail to notice, that with this tradition there was handed down, in the sacred text itself, a source of divine knowledge not exposed, in like manner, to corruption, from which the church might learn how to distinguish primitive Christianity from all subsequent additions, and so carry forward the work of purifying the Christian consciousness to its entire completion.

The above mentioned intermixture of Christianity with foreign elements may be properly traced to such causes as the following: that the idea of the kingdom of God had been degraded from man's spirit and inward being, and made sensuous and outward; that in place of the progressive, inward, and spiritual union of the soul with the kingdom of God through faith, had been substituted a progressive, outward mediation with it by means of certain forms and ceremonies; and that in place of the universal, spiritual priesthood of Christians, had been substituted a special outward priesthood as the only medium of union betwixt man and God's kingdom; so that the idea of this kingdom was gradually reduced to the form of the Old Testament theocracy. The church of Christ having thus taken the shape of an outward, visible theocracy, it followed, as a general consequence, that in a multitude of ways, the different Jewish and Christian points of view were confounded together. But this Old Testament form, adopted by the church, proved to the rude tribes, who were not yet prepared to take the gospel into their life in its pure spirituality, an intermediate stage, for training them to the maturity of Christian manhood, which they were destined to attain as soon as they were ready for it, by means of that reaction, the elements of which already existed in the Christian consciousness.

The new creation of Christianity which we have now to contemplate, proceeded from those barbarous tribes, particularly of German

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origin, who planted themselves on the ruins of the Roman empire which they had destroyed, and formed in the West the new theatre of a historical development, which was to shape the destinies of the world. The way in which Christianity was first conveyed to them is a point deserving of special consideration in order to a right understanding of the whole of this new period of church history; and every thing relating to this subject, which in the order of time, would have belonged to the earlier centuries, but which we have thus far passed over as unconnected with the progress of Christianity in the old Grecian and Roman world, we shall here embrace together under one view.

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SECTION FIRST.

RELATION OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH TO THE WORLD; ITS EXTENSION AND LIMITATION.

I. In Europe.

Several tribes of German origin which, during the migration of nations in the fourth and fifth centuries, settled down in Gaul, were there gained over to Christianity, simply by coming in contact with the Christian inhabitants. Pious bishops and abbots, such, for instance, in the fifth and sixth centuries, as Avitus of Vienne, Faustus of Rhegii (Riez), Caesarius of Arles,[1] exemplified in these countries, by lives of unwearied, active, and self-denying love, the blessed influence of the Christian faith in the midst of havoc and desolation; and while by such lives, they inspired respect and confidence in the leaders of those barbarous hordes, as well as trust and love in the people themselves, they contributed in no small measure to introduce and extend the gospel among them. By marriage alliances, the seeds of Christianity were, in the next place, easily transplanted from one of these tribes to another. Thus the Burgundians,[2] near the beginning of the fifth cen-

[1] See Vol. II. p. 648. Caesarius was distinguished for his zeal in promoting both the spiritual and temporal welfare of the tribes among whom he lived; for his efforts to communicate religious instruction to the people in a manner suited to their wants by the public preaching of the gospel, and by private intercourse with them, and for his earnest endeavors to ameliorate their temporal condition and to redeem captives who had been reduced to slavery. He sold the vessels and other property of the church, even down to his own priestly robes, to furnish himself with means for bestowing charity. The presents which he received from princes, he immediately converted into money, that he might have wherewith to succor the needy. Amid the most difficult relations incident to the change of governments under the conquests of different tribes, Burgundians, East Goths, West Goths, Franks, and under the reigns of Arian monarchs, whose suspicions he would be likely to excite by the difference of his creed, he was enabled by a purity of life which commanded respect, by the wisdom with which he accommodated himself to men of different dispositions, and by a charity which was extended to all without distinction, to preserve his influence unimpaired. Though subjected to persecutions, on the ground of political suspicion, yet his innocence brought him out victorious over them all, which caused him to be regarded with still greater reverence than before. See the accounts of his life by his disciples in the Actis sanctorum mens. August. I. VI. His scattered sermons (a complete critical edition of which still remains a desideratum) prove also the activity of his life.

[2] Orosius, in his History of the World (Hist. 8, 32), already speaks of them as Christians, and notices the change which Christianity had produced in the habits of the people. The account given of them by Socrates (7, 30) who was so far removed from the scene of events, though founded no doubt in some measure, on facts, is still too inaccurate to be relied on.

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tury, and soon after their settlement in Gaul, were, in some way which cannot now be exactly determined, converted to Christianity. If they did not, from the very first, receive their instruction in Christianity from Arian teachers,[1] yet by their intercourse with the Arian tribes settled in these districts, particularly the West Goths, they were led at some later period to embrace Arian doctrines;[2] and it was only in the reign of Gundobad, who stood in intimate and friendly relations with that zealous defender of the Catholic faith, Avitus, bishop of Vienne, who frequently consulted him on matters of religious doctrine, and in the year 499 brought about a conference between him and the Arian clergy,[3] that the way was opened for the Burgundian chiefs to embrace the Nicene doctrine; and his son Sigismond, who had been won over to it by Avitus during the life-time of his father, first declared decidedly in its favor when he ascended the throne in the year 517.[4]

[1] That they may have done so, is at least a very possible supposition. The truth is, we know little or nothing distinctly about the beginning of their conversion; but their later steadfastness in maintaining the Arian doctrines would admit in this way of being more easily explained.

[2] The Arians having been expelled from the Roman empire, were on this account the more zealous in propagating their doctrines among the tribes who had not as yet embraced Christianity, or who were not firmly established in the Christian faith. We have seen already (Vol. II. p. 424) why it was, that the Anti-Nicene doctrine proved particularly acceptable to the untutored nations. It would certainly be wrong to pronounce an indiscriminate sentence of condemnation on all these Arian missionaries and ecclesiastics. Judging from what may be known of them, from the life and writings of Fulgentius, bishop of Ruspe, and from the history of the persecution among the Vandals, we must conceive of them as being in part rude zealots, who thought more of spreading Arianism than the gospel; and Maximus, bishop of Turin, warns the people against certain vagabond, probably Arian, priests, who made it an easy matter to become a Christian, and of whom he says, that they led away the people by fallacibus blandimentis, that taking advantage of the custom which prevailed among the German tribes of paying compensation money (Geldbussen compositiones) for all crimes, they had their prices for the absolution of sins, ut si quis laicorum fassus fuerit crimen admissum, non dicat ille: age poenitentiam, sed dicat: pro hoc crimine da tantum mihi et indulgetur tibi. Hom. 10. in Mabillon Museum Italicum T. I. P. II. page 28. But there is nothing to warrant the opinion that such was the character of the Arian clergy generally. The condition of the Burgundian people speaks rather in their favor than against them. In a religious conference between the two parties held in the time of king Gundobad, A. D. 499, when Avitus, bishop of Vienne finally declared that God would give his own testimony in favor of the Catholic faith at the tomb of St. Justus, and proposed a trial of this sort to the king, the Arians, on the contrary, declared, se pro fide sua manifestenda facere nolle, ut fecerat Saul et ideo maledictus fuerat, aut recurrere ad incantationes et illicita; sufficere sibi, se habere scripturam, quae sit fortior omnibus praestigiis, Vid. Sirmond. opera. T. II. p. 226.

[3] One of the great ministers of state endeavored, not without reason, to suppress this conference, for said he, tales rixae exasperabant animos multitudinis, et non poterat aliquid boni ex iis provenire.

[4] The question now arose whether those churches in which the Arians had worshipped, should, after being newly consecrated be used for the Catholic worship; according to the hitherto prevailing custom with regard to the temples of the pagans and heretics, and according to the rule prescribed a few years before in France, by the council of Orleans (Aurelianense) A. D. 511, in reference to the churches that had been previously used by the Arian Visi-Goths, c. 10. Avitus was opposed to the proposition; partly on the fanatical ground that a place once desecrated by the worship of heretics could not be consecrated again to holy uses; but partly also for reasons which showed evidence of Christian wisdom. Occasion would be given to the heretics should they be deprived of their churches, for raising the cry of persecution cum catholicam mansuetudinem calumnis haereticorum atque gentilium plus deceat sustinere quam facere. Quid enim

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Through this people, the first seeds of Christianity found their way to another tribe, which, in these and the next succeeding times, played the most important part in the history of the West. We mean the Franks. Clotilda, the daughter of the Burgundian king Gundobad, married Clovis, king of the Salian Franks; and this rough warrior, who probably looked upon religion as a matter of quite inferior importance, and, pagan as he was, thought one mode of worship as good as another, left her in the free exercise of her own rites, to which she was devotedly attached. She labored to convince her lord that his idols were nothing, and to win him over to the Christian faith, by setting forth to him the almighty power of the one and only true God whom the Christians worshipped. But the pagan Clovis[1] had no other standard by which to measure the power of the gods, than the military success of the nations that worshipped them; and the downfall of the Roman empire, whence the worship of the Christian's God had been derived, was convincing proof to him, of the weakness or nothingness of that being. At the same time, he made no opposition to her proposal, that their first-born son should be dedicated to her God, and allowed him to be baptized.[2] The child, however, soon afterwards died; upon which Clovis declared that this event confirmed his opinion of the God of the Christians. But Clotilda still possessed sufficient influence over her husband, to obtain his consent to the baptism of their second child. It so happened that this child also fell sick, and Clovis already predicted its death; but the pious Clotilda, whose faith remained unshaken under every event, prayed God that its life might be spared for the promotion of his glory among the heathen; and its recovery, which speedily followed, she announced to her husband as bestowed in answer to her prayers.[3] The persuasion and the example of a wife, so devoted to her faith, and so zealous for its spread, would, without doubt, gradually produce on her husband's mind, though he

tam durum quam si illi, qui aperta perversitate pereunt, de confessione sibi aut martyrio blandiantur? Nor was it, indeed, a thing impossible, that the present orthodox monarch might be succeeded by another inclined to Arianism; and in this case, the latter might think he had good cause for commencing a persecution of the orthodox, as a just retribution for the wrongs, suffered by the other party: — non sectae suae studio; sed ex vicissitudinis retributione fecisse dicetur et nobis etiam post mortem gravandis ad peccatum reputabitur, quicquid fuerit perpessa posteritas. Or perhaps some neighboring Arian prince might think himself called upon to inflict a retaliatory punishment on his own Catholic subjects. The council held this year at Epaona, after the conversion of Siegismond had been publicly declared, decided in its 33d Canon conformably to the opinion of Avitus.

[1] Avitus states, in his letter to this king (ep. 41), that when pagan monarchs were exhorted to cnange their religion, they said they could not forsake the religion handed down to them from their ancestors (consuetudinem generis et ritum paternae observationis).

[2] Gregory of Tours (Hist. II. 27) mentions an incident in the life of Clovis which happened in 486, while he was still a pagan. A beautiful vase taken by his soldiers from one of the churches was reclaimed by the bishop (probably Remigius of Rheims). Clovis promised at once to restore it, as soon as he should be able to dispose of it as his portion of the booty. This accords with what Avitus writes in his letter to the king, concerning the respect he showed to the bishops while he was still a pagan: Humilitas quam jamdudum nobis devotione impenditis, qui nunc primum professione (after his baptism which had just taken place) debetis.

[3] Similar incidents are constantly recurring in the history of missions. Compare with this, for example, the account given in the Journal of the German missionaries in India of June, 1832; — in the Missionary Register for the year 1833, p. 190.

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might be unconscious of it, a deep and permanent impression, which was only strengthened by certain remarkable incidents suited to work on the feelings and temper of the untutored Frank.

Martin, the former bishop of Tours, was at that time, the object of universal veneration in France. In all circumstances of distress, bodily or spiritual, men were accustomed to seek relief from God through his intercession. His tomb, over which a hurch had been erected, was repaired to for relief, by sick persons of every description; and not a year passed in which many instances were not recorded of perjured men, here constrained to confess the truth, or else punished by some signal judgment — of the insane, the nervous, the epileptic, the deaf and dumb, the blind, here restored to soundness and health.[1] The very dust from St. Martin's tomb, fragments of the wax tapers that burned before his shrine, or of the curtains that veiled it, and everything which was thought to be consecrated by having once been in contact with it, were prized as miraculous remedies or powerful amulets to remove or avert every species of evil. This veneration of St. Martin extended even to Italy and to Spain. As to the reported facts, if we leave out of the question those cases in which there may have been some cöoperation of intentional fraud, we shall find many of them to differ in no respect from the facts related among believing Christians of all times, respecting answers to prayer; though added to this, in the present case, was a reliance on *human* mediation, quite foreign from the spirit of pure Christianity. But many of these facts also may be explained from the influence of a strong faith, of devotional feelings, of an excited imagination; — from the natural working of both mental and physical powers; whilst the rigid abstemiousness, necessary to be observed by the patients, contributed to promote their cure;[2] and the ignorant who, without further inquiry, surrendered themselves to the impression of the moment, easily traced a causal connection in an accidental coincidence; and as none were inclined to investigate the immediate natural causes of the visible facts, while an exaggerating fancy added something more to them, so the most wonderful stories were told of the extraordinary works performed by St. Martin. And if much that seemed too incredible sometimes provoked the understanding to doubt, such doubts were scouted as suggestions of the devil.

These extraordinary things which happened at St. Martin's tomb, Clotilda often related to her husband as proofs of the almighty power of the God worshipped by the Christians. Clovis, however, still pro-

[1] Bishop Gregory of Tours, who flourished at the close of the sixth century, collected together all these legends in his four books de miraculis S. Martini — a work which, notwithstanding the many fabulous stories it records, contains a great deal of instructive matter relating to the life and manners of those times, as well as interesting facts in a psychological point of view.

[2] Gregory of Tours remarks, concerning the cures performed on those supposed to be possessed of devils, and on those sick with fevers, that they could only expect relief si vere fuerint parcitas et fides conjunctae.—De miraculis Martini, l. I. c. 8, — and that one individual who relapsed into his former dissipated life was attacked again. I. c. 8.

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fessed to be incredulous; he would believe these facts when he saw them with his own eyes.[1]

Thus by a concurrence of impressions of various kinds, the mind of Clovis was prepared for a religious change, when by a remarkable event, which would have been attended with the same effect under no other circumstances, this change was accomplished. At the battle of Zülpich (Tolbiacum), fought between him and the Alemanni in the year 496, he found himself and his army placed in a situation of extreme peril. He invoked his gods for deliverance in vain; when calling to mind all the accounts he had heard respecting the almighty power of the Christian's God, he addressed his supplications to Him, vowing, that if by his assistance the victory should be gained, he would devote himself wholly to His service. The enemy was conquered, and Clovis ascribed his success to the powerful arm of the Christian's God. Rejoicing over the change thus produced in her husband's mind, Clotilda sent for Remigius, the venerable bishop of Rheims, who found on his arrival the ear of the king already open for his message. When the bishop spoke of the crucifixion, the Frankish warrior indignantly exclaimed: "Had I only been there with my Franks, I would have taught those Jews a better lesson." The festival of Easter was chosen as the day for his baptism,[2] which was performed with great solemnity. It produced a wide sensation and was elaborately described[3] in the pompous rhetorico-poetical language of the times.[4] The example of the king was followed by many others, and it is reported that more than three thousand of his army received baptism at one time.[5]

Important, however, as was the conversion of Clovis, considered in reference to the effect which it had, by reason of his continually extending power, in enlarging the boundaries of the Christian church;

[1] Nicetius, bishop of Triers, writes to the Longobard queen Clodeswinde, Clotilda's aunt: Audisti ab avia tua Chrotilde, qualiter in Franciam venerit, quomodo dominum Chlodoveum ad legem catholicam adduxerit, et quum esset astutissimus noluit acquiescere, antequam vera agnosceret. Quum illa, quae supra dixi, probata cognovit, humilis ad Martini limina cecidit et baptizari se sine mora permisit. bibl. patr. Galland. T. XII.

[2] As we are informed in the letter of Avitus to the king, already cited, which was written shortly after his baptism: "Ut consequenter eo die ad salutem regenerari vos pateat, quo natum redemptioni suae coeli dominum mundus accepit."

[3] Thus Gregory of Tours: Totum templum baptisterii divino respergitur ab odore talemque ibi gratiam adstantibus Deus tribuit, ut aestimarent, se paradisi odoribus collocari.

[4] The wrong interpretation of such expressions and symbolical paintings gave origin to the well-known legend some centuries later, when it was desired to have the confirmation bestowed on Clovis with the chrism or royal unction, that an oil-vase was supernaturally provided — the so called ampulla Remensis.

[5] The important bearing which it was supposed the conversion of Clovis would have on the spread of Christianity among the races of German descent, appears from the abovementioned congratulatory letter of Avitus. He expected that the whole nation of the Franks would now embrace Christianity, and invites the king to lend his aid by means of embassies to promote the spread of the gospel: ut quia Deus gentem vestram per vos ex toto suam faciet, ulterioribus quoque gentibus, quas in naturali adhuc ignorantia constitutas nulla pravorum dogmatum germina corruperunt (among whom the Arian doctrines had as yet found no admission) de bono thesauro vestri cordis fidei semina porrigatis, nec pudeat pigeatque etiam directis in rem legationibus adstruere partes Dei, qui tantum vestras erexit.

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yet, as in the case of Constantine, his conversion was of such a nature as to lead him, in assuming the Christian profession, to clothe his former mode of thinking in a new garb, rather than to change it entirely to make room for a full and hearty admission of the gospel spirit. His worldly and political projects too much occupied his attention, or he was too busily engaged in war, to allow himself time for earnest reflection on the religion he professed, so as to understand and truly appropriate it. The God of the Christians first appeared to him as his protector in war; he would fain reckon on enjoying the assistance of the same powerful arm in the future, and he imagined that he should secure it by making rich donations to the church. He gladly seized every opportunity to throw a sacred coloring over his ambitious schemes, by pretending a zeal for the glory of God; as, in making war with the Visi-Goths who were Arians.[1]

In all cases where large tribes of men are said to have been converted through the influence of their chiefs, a great deal must of course be set down as merely of an outward character: hence, when Christianity had already assumed the form of a dominant religion among the Franks, it is not surprising that idolatry should still be found to have so many votaries, that king Childebert, in the year 554, was obliged to pass a law against those who would not allow idolatrous images to be removed from their estates. The Frankish nobles, also, from this time, were anxious to secure a good foundation for their piety by rich donations to churches and monasteries, which thus became exposed still more than ever to the pillaging disposition of others; while at the same time an incentive was offered to the intrusion of worldly-minded men into the sacred office. After this followed those numberless internal dissensions, wars and revolutions, within the Frankish empire, which encouraged barbarism and gave a check to the civilizing influences of Christianity and the church. Now, as all that can be done by any church, for the real dissemination of Christianity, depends on its own internal condition, so the truth was in the present case, that although the power of the Frankish empire opened the way for missions, and contributed much to facilitate and promote their progress, and although, in solitary instances, missions were actually sent forth by the Frankish church, yet the most important missionary efforts did not proceed from this quarter; but the dismembered church of the Franks itself needed regeneration, which was to be obtained only from some other source.

The first impulse towards this regeneration proceeded from the same countries which sent forth also the most important missions. Those islands at the West, which were so well adapted by their situation, to furnish quiet and secluded seats for seminaries of Christian instruction and culture, and to serve the great purpose of dispersing abroad spiritual blessings as well as other benefits to mankind — the islands of

[1] When the Burgundian king Gundobad was invited by Avitus bishop of Vienne and others, at the conference in 499, to abandon the Arian doctrines, and, like Clovis, profess the Catholic, he said in answer to this proposition: non est fides, ubi est appetentia alieni et sitis sanguinis populorum, ostendat fidem per opera sua. See D'Achery Spicilegia. T. III. ed. fol f. 305.

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Great Britain and Ireland were the spots, where in retired monasteries, those men obtained their training, who were destined to be teachers and educators of the rude nations. Let us, then, first cast a glance at the history of Christianity in the islands which had so important a share in the further extension of the Christian church.

As it regards Ireland, St. Patrick[1] had here left behind him a series of disciples, who continued to labor on in his own spirit. Ireland became the seat of famous monasteries, which acquired the name for this country of "Island of the Saints" (insula sanctorum). In these monasteries, the Scriptures were diligently read; ancient books eagerly collected and studied. They formed missionary schools; such for example, in the last half of the sixth century was the monastery of Bangor, founded by the venerable abbot Comgal. After Christianity had been conveyed at a much earlier period, by Ninyas, a British bishop, to the Southern provinces of the Picts in Scotland, the abbot Columba, of Ireland, transplanted it, about the year 565, among the northern Picts, a people separated from those of the South by lofty mountains covered with ice and snow. The Picts whom he converted gave him the Island of Hy, north-west of Scotland, afterwards reckoned as one of the Hebrides. Here he founded a monastery, which under his management during thirty years, attained the highest reputation, — a distant and secluded seat for the pursuit of biblical studies and other sciences according to the standard of those early times. The memory of Columba made this monastery so venerated, that its abbots had the control and guidance of the bordering tribes and churches; and even bishops acknowledged their authority, though they were but simple priests. This island was named after himself, St. Iona (the names Columba and Iona being probably, one the Latin, the other the Hebrid translation of an originally Irish word), St. Columba, and the Island of Columcelli, Colum Kill.[2]

While in this way, Christianity was planted among the Scots and Picts, even to the extreme north of these islands, the Christian church had been forced out of its original seat, in ancient Britain, England proper. The Britons — among whom Christianity had already found entrance, having probably been brought to them directly or indirectly from the East[3] as early as the latter part of the second century — were from very remote times, a Christian nation; though great corruptions had sprung up and become spread among all ranks of the people.[4] Finding themselves unable to resist the destructive inroads of their ancient foes, the Picts and Scots, or to obtain any assistance from the feeble Roman empire, the Britons had betaken themselves, about the middle of the fifth century, to the warlike German tribe of the Anglo-Saxons. The latter, however, made themselves mas-

[1] See Vol. II. p. 122.

[2] Columba was named as founder of several monasteries. See the traditions respecting him collected in Usserii Britannicarum ecclesiarum antiquitates ed. II. p. 362 f.

[3] See Vol. I. p. 85.

[4] As the fact is described by the presbyter Gildas — a man sprung from the midst of this people — in a work in which he represents the capture and devastation of the country by the Anglo-Saxons, as a divine judgment, — his work De excidio Britanniae.

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ters of the country; leaving only the western portion to its old possessors, while they themselves founded the empire of the Anglo-Saxon Heptarchy. It was now, indeed, in the power of the Britons, to do much for the conversion of that Pagan tribe; but the existing national hate between the conquerors and the conquered[1] forbade it. It was not till a century and a half later, that the Roman bishop, Gregory the Great, a man ardently bent on promoting the kingdom of God and whose far reaching eye, in spite of difficulties which seemed ever springing up afresh, embraced among its objects the remote and the near, drew up a plan for founding the Christian church among the Anglo-Saxons. An impression he had received in his earlier years, before he became a bishop, and while abbot of a monastery in Rome, first set him upon this project. Strolling to the public mart, he stopped to observe the foreign traders there engaged in opening and exposing their merchandize for sale, when his attention was caught by certain boys, brought from afar, and distinguished for their noble air, who were waiting to be sold. He inquired after their country, and learned to his great grief that a people so distinguished by nature, were as yet wholly destitute of the higher gifts of grace. He at once resolved to go himself and convey to them these blessings, and he would have done so, had he not at the instigation of the Roman church been recalled by the then Roman bishop, when already several days on his journey.[2] But the plan itself he could never abandon; and he seems, when bishop of Rome, to have been devising, from the first, how he might best carry his purpose into effect. Thus, he directed the presbyter whom he had sent to take charge of the property belonging to the Roman church in France, to expend part of the money collected in Gaul in the purchase of such Anglo-Saxon youths, as might be exposed for sale, and to send them in company with an ecclesiastic, who could baptize them in case of mortal sickness, to Rome; in order that they might there be instructed and trained in the monasteries.[3] Perhaps it was his intention to employ them, after they had been perfectly disciplined in the monastic life, as missionaries among their countrymen. Meantime an event had occurred, peculiarly well suited to favor the projected mission. Ethelbert, king of Kent, then the mightiest among the small kingdoms of the Heptarchy, had married Bertha, a Frankish, Christian princess. She had connected with her household a certain bishop Liuthard, and was allowed freely to observe the rites of her religion. From her, therefore, the missionaries might expect to find, at once, a favorable reception and support. The vigilant Gregory whom nothing escaped which could be made serviceable in promoting his great work, may have been moved by this very circumstance to proceed to the execution of his plan. Accordingly, in the year 596, he sent Augustin, a Roman abbot, together with several associates,[4] among whom were Peter the monk, and the presbyter Lauren-

[1] Gildas calls the Anglo-Saxons nefandi nominis Saxoni, Deo hominibusque invisi.
[2] Beda hist. ang. II. I.
[3] Epp. 1. VI. ep. VII.
[4] He was abbot of the monastery which had been founded by Gregory himself when he retired from the world. Monasterii mei praepositus. I. IV. ep. 108.

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tius, to England. These persons while on their journey were frightened at the report of the difficulties and dangers which threatened them; and sent Augustin back to the Roman bishop, to obtain a release from their commission; whereupon, Gregory, in a friendly, but earnest appeal,[1] exhorted them to finish the good work commenced with God's help; since it were far better not to begin a good enterprise, than having begun it, to look back. They should remember, that great and painful labors would be followed by the reward of everlasting glory. On their journey through France, from which country they were to cross over to England, Gregory recommended them to the Frankish princes and nobles, whose connection with the Anglo-Saxon rulers might be made of service to them; and he also bade them take interpreters from the Frankish kingdom.

In 597, Augustin, with forty companions, landed on the isle of Thanet, eastward of Kent, and sent to inform the king of the purpose for which they were come. The king made his appearance on the next day, to confer with them on the subject. Fearful of magic, he did not venture his person under the same roof with them; but would only confer with them in the open air. But Augustin's words inspired him with confidence, and he declared that he now saw they had honest intentions, and that they had come from so great a distance to communicate to him that which they considered to be the greatest and best of blessings. Yet he could not so lightly and quickly abandon the religion of his nation and of his fathers. All he could do at present by way of acknowledging their good intentions, was this;—he would furnish them a dwelling and the means of support at his capital, Dorovern (Canterbury), and they might be allowed to convince such as they could of the truth of their religion, and afterwards to baptize them. Thus the missionaries commenced their labors on a small scale. They took no more than barely sufficed for their scanty diet. Their disinterested, severe mode of life gained for them esteem and confidence. An old, dilapidated church belonging to the Roman times, and consecrated to St. Martin, afforded them the first place for divine worship, where they baptized the new Christians, and held with them their religious meetings. It is certain, that the propagation of Christianity among this rude people was helped forward by a concurrence of circumstances, or facts, which appeared to the people as miracles, and were also regarded as such by Augustin. By impressions of this kind, effects great for the moment, though not of an enduring character, may have been produced; and the missionaries themselves may have suffered themselves to be deceived by the unexpected and surprising success of their labors. Even the king, who had been gradually prepared for it through the influence of his Christian wife, decided to embrace the gospel, and was baptized. Yet he declared, in publicly professing Christianity, that he would not make his own religious persuasion a law for his subjects; but in this would leave each one to his own free choice; since Augustin had taught him, that the Christian

[1] L. VI. ep. 51

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worship of God must proceed from conviction, and could not be extorted by outward force. It may be safely conjectured, that Augustin had been directed by the Roman bishop, to aim at extending the faith, by instruction and persuasion, by acts of love winning the heart, and not by forcible measures; for a correct insight into the nature of divine worship generally, and of Christianity in particular, as well as the spirit of charity by which he was animated had led bishop Gregory to adopt this as a principle, though he by no means always acted in conformity with it in practice.[1] Still, the king distinguished by peculiar marks of favor those who followed his own example in religion. The example and influence of the monarch, and the sensuous impressions produced by the miracles, which the people supposed they beheld, induced great numbers to receive baptism; with many of whom, however, as was shown by succeeding events, the faith had taken no deep root. On one Christmas festival, Augustin was enabled to baptize more than ten thousand pagans,[2] to which momentary, and apparently

[1] We may here compare together Gregory's different modes of procedure in these matters. When blind zeal, or selfish passions, making use of religion as a pretext, disturbed the Jews in the free exercise of their worship in the synagogues secured to them by the ancient laws, Gregory stood forth as their protector, and emphatically remonstrated against such conduct. To this course, he might be led, in these cases, simply by a regard for justice, and zeal for the preservation of order; as the Jews were threatened to be deprived, in an arbitrary manner, of the rights secured to them by law — a reason which he himself alleges against such proceedings; L. I. ep. 10. "Hebraeos gravari vel affligi contra ordinem rationis prohibemus; sed sicut Romanis vivere legibus permittuntur, annuente justitia actus suos, ut norunt, nullo impediente disponant," and L. VIII. ep. 25. "Judaei in his, quae iis concessa sunt, nullum debent praejudicium sustinere." But he also declared himself opposed to all attempts whatever to convert the Jews by forcible measures, — because the very opposite effect might be produced from what was intended. The only proper way of dealing with them, in his opinion, was by instructing and convincing them. L. IX. ep. 47, to the bishops of Arles and of Marseilles: "Dum enim quispiam ad baptismatis fontem non praedicationis suavitate, sed necessitate pervenerit, ad pristinam superstitionem remeans, inde deterius moritur, unde renatus esse videbatur. Fraternitas ergo vestra hujus modi homines frequenti praedicatione provocet, quatenus mutare veterem vitam magis de doctoris suavitate desiderent, adhibendus ergo est illis sermo, qui et errorum in ipsis spinas urere debeat et praedicando quod in his tenebrescit illuminet." And in a letter to the bishop of Naples L. XIII. ep. 12: "cur Judaeis, qualiter caerimonias suas colere debeant, regulas ponimus, si per hoc eos lucrari non possumus? agendum ergo est, ut ratione potius et mansuetudine provocati, sequi nos velint, non fugere, ut eis ex eorum codicibus ostendentes quae dicimus, ad sinum matris ecclesiae Deo possimus adjuvante convertere." And I. ep. 35. "eos, qui a religione Christiana discordant, mansuetudine, benignitate, admonendo, suadendo, ad unitatem fidei necesse est congregare, ne, quos dulcedo praedicationis et praeventus futuri judicis terror ad credendum invitare poterat, minis et terroribus repellantur." Still Gregory did not always act according to the principles here expressed. Thus, for example, he directed that the Jews, whose estates were held of property belonging to the Roman church in Sicily, should be exempted from a certain portion of the rents to be paid on them, if they consented to receive baptism. Now he must certainly have been aware, that conversions so brought about, could not be sincere; but he thought: "et si ipsi minus fideliter veniunt, hi tamen, qui de eis nati fuerint, jam fidelius baptizantur." L. V. ep. 7. And he directed that the peasantry still devoted to paganism in Sardinia, should be induced, by taxing them beyond their means of payment, to renounce their religion, ut ipsa reactionis suae poena compellantur ad rectitudinem festinare. l. IV. ep. 26. Those who still persisted in idolatry, should, if they belonged to the class of bondmen, be punished corporeally, and if to the freemen, with close imprisonment, ut qui salubria et a mortis periculo revocantia audire verba contemnunt, cruciatus saltem eos corporis ad desideratam mentis valeant reducere sanitatem. l. IX. ep. 85. l. VIII. ep. 18.

[2] Gregory says, in his letter to Eulogius bishop of Alexandria, l. VIII. ep. 30, touch-

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great success, Augustin attached too much importance. In obedience to the instructions of Gregory, he now crossed over to France, and received from Etherich, bishop of Arles the episcopal ordination, in order that he might perform in the new church the duties of a bishop. He next despatched to Rome his two associates, the presbyter Laurentius, and Peter the monk, in order to give pope Gregory, whom he had probably informed already in a general manner of the great success of his labors, a more detailed account of his proceedings; to receive instructions as to the course he ought to pursue, with regard to disputed points, in settling the order of the new church, so that a firm shaping might be given to it by papal authority; and also to demand of the pope new assistants for a work requiring so much labor. In the first letter or one of the first of Gregory to Augustin, he expressed his great joy at what had been done in England. He recognized in this, the hand of Him, who said, "My Father worketh hitherto, and I also work;" but at the same time, he warned the missionary in the language of true Christian wisdom. Augustin might well rejoice, he said, that by outward signs and wonders, the souls of the English had been drawn to inward grace; but in the consciousness of human weakness, he should ever be on the watch against pride. He reminded him of our Saviour's words to his disciples, when they returned from their first mission, and testified their joy, that the evil spirits were made subject to them in his name (Luke 10: 20.); how he turned their minds away from all selfish and temporal grounds of joy, to universal and enduring ones; for the disciples of truth should rejoice only in the good which is common to all, and in that which is the end of all joy. As a check to spiritual pride in its first beginnings, he advised him straitly to examine and prove himself, and to be ever mindful of the end for which this gift was bestowed on him; that he had only received it for the salvation of those among whom he labored. He held up to him as a warning the example of Moses, who, though the instrument, under God, of so many miracles, yet was not permitted himself to enter the promised land. He also reminded him, that miracles were no certain evidence of election; for our Lord had said, that many who appealed to the wonderful works, they had done, would not be received by him, Matth. 7: 22. One mark alone had our Lord given, in the possession of which his disciples might truly rejoice, and recognize in it the glory of election, — the mark of his discipleship, which is love, John 13: 53. This I write to thee — says Gregory — that I may exhort thee to humility; but to humility, thou must join a confident trust in God. "I who am a sinner — exclaims the pope — entertain the most confident assurance, that through the grace of our almighty Creator and Redeemer, thy sins are already forgiven thee, and

ing the conversion of the English people by means of Augustin: "quia tantis miraculis vel ipse vel hi, qui cum eo transmissi sunt, in gente eadem coruscant, ut apostolorum virtutes in signis quae exhibent, imitari videantur." He then cites the account of the baptism of this great multitude on the last Christmas festival. And p. 27 in c. 36. Job. c. 21. Omnipotens Dominus emicantibus praedicatorum miraculis ad fidem etiam terminos mundi perduxit. Lingua Britanniae, quae nil aliud noverat, quam barbarum frendere, jam dudum in Divinis laudibus Hebraeum coepit alleluja resonare.

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that thou art a chosen instrument to procure the forgiveness of their sins for others."[1]

Gregory sent him some new assistants; choosing, as a friend and favorer of the monastic life, none but monks for this purpose, over whom he placed, as superior, the abbot Mellitus. To the latter, he gave an exhortatory, pastoral letter, together with presents, for the king. By the same hand, he sent to Augustin the pall, which marked the dignity of an archbishop; copies of the sacred Scriptures, relics to be used in the consecration of the new churches, together with several ecclesiastical vessels, and a reply to the questions which had been proposed to him; questions which, it must be confessed, betrayed some narrowness of mind in the proposer. Augustin, in his journey through France, had been struck, among other things, by the difference between many of the church customs prevailing in Gaul and the Roman usages, and he asked the Roman bishop, why it was, that with but one faith, the church should so differ in its ritual. To this Gregory replied, that although he had been brought up in the Roman church, still he ought by no means, in settling the order of the new church, to follow exclusively the example of Rome; but should select the good from all quarters, where it was to be found, whether in the Gallic church or elsewhere; for the thing ought not to be loved on account of the place, but only the place on account of the thing,—a warning against the bigoted attachment to Roman forms, which deserves notice as coming from the mouth of a Roman bishop. At first, it was Gregory's intention, which he intimated, indeed, to king Ethelbert,[2] to have all the temples of idolatry destroyed. But on maturer reflection, he altered his mind, and despatched a letter after the abbot Mellitus,[3] in which he declared, that the idol temples, if well built, ought not to be destroyed, but sprinkled with holy water, and sanctified by holy relics, should be converted into temples of the living God; so that the people might be the more easily induced to assemble in their accustomed places.[4] Moreover, the festivals in honor of the idols, of which the rude people had been deprived, should be replaced by others, either on the anniversaries of the consecration of churches, or on days devoted to the memory of the saints, whose relics were deposited in them. On such days, the people should be taught to erect arbors around the churches, in which to celebrate their festive meals, and thus be holden to thank the giver of all good for these temporal gifts. Being thus allowed to indulge in some sensual enjoyments, they could be the more easily led to those which are inward and spiritual. It was impossible

[1] Lib. XI. ep. 28. The more Gregory was inclined to believe in miracles wrought in his own times, and to regard them as manifest tokens of divine interference to advance the weal of the church, the more remarkable it appears, that he still by no means over-rated the importance of miracles as a means of furthering the kingdom of God; and that he was ever decidedly opposed to that fleshly eagerness for miracles which mistakes the Christian conception of a miracle and the essence of the higher life. We shall unfold his remarkable ideas on this subject, when we come to speak of his character generally. See below.

[2] L. XI. ep. 66.

[3] L. XI. ep. 76.

[4] ad loca, quae consuerit, familiarius concurrat.

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—he said—for rude and untutored minds to receive all things at once.[1]

In appointing Augustin to be the first archbishop over the new church, it was Gregory's intention to make London the seat of this archbishopric, to which twelve bishoprics were to be subordinate. As soon as Christianity should be extended so far to the north, the second metropolis was to be established at Eboracum (York); and the two archbishoprics were, for all future time, to be independent of each other, equal in dignity, and subject only to the bishop of Rome.[2] That is, he marked out the church dioceses by the rank which the cities of England had acquired under the Roman dominion. From the history of those earlier times he had become well acquainted with the cities of *Londinum* and *Eboracum;* but not with Dorovern (Canterbury), which had first risen to notice as capital of one of the seven Anglo-Saxon kingdoms. But to make London, which belonged to another government, the seat of the first archbishopric, was, of course, beyond Augustin's power. He could only select, for this purpose, the chief city of the kingdom in which he had first planted the Christian church; and hence in this particular, it was necessary to deviate from the papal instruction. But of the negotiations which took place between Augustin and the Roman bishop on this subject, we know nothing. When, however, through the influence of king Ethelbert, whose neice had married Sabert, king of Essex, a door was opened for the introduction of Christianity into this province, Augustin established an archbishopric for this portion of the Heptarchy at London, and gave it over to Mellitus.

By the instructions of the Roman bishop, Augustin was to have supreme direction not only over the newly established Anglo-Saxon, but also over the ancient British church; for he went on the principle, that to him, as successor of St. Peter, belonged the spiritual power over the whole Western church. Augustin who, with all his pious zeal, seems not to have been wholly exempt from spiritual pride and ambition, was unwilling to yield a particle of his dignity, as primate over the entire English church, or to tolerate any spiritual authority in England independent of his own. He considered it, moreover, as highly important, when the laborers for the church which was to be built up among a pagan people were so few, to gain the active coöperation of the numerous clergy and monks of the British race. But as the Britons had not received their Christianity from Rome, but directly or indirectly from the East,[3] they had not been used to reverence the Roman church as their mother-church, nor to place themselves in any relation of dependence upon it. Their long separation from the rest of Western Christendom had naturally served to strengthen and confirm in them the spirit of ecclesiastical freedom. They had, moreover, from the most ancient times, given a different

[1] Gregory appeals here to the example of the divine method for educating mankind. He regards the Jewish sacrificial worship as a transfer of that which was practised in the worship of idols to the worship of the true God.

[2] See L. XI. ep. 65.

[3] See Vol. I. p. 85.

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form to many parts of the ritual, from that which prevailed in the Roman church; they differed, for example, in the time for observing Easter, in the form of tonsure among the clergy, and in the mode of baptism. Augustin's bigoted attachment to the forms of the Roman church, as well as his spiritual pride, did not qualify him to pass a charitable judgment on these diversities, or to seek the means of reconciling them. The abbot of the most distinguished British monastery, at Bangor, Deynoch by name, whose opinion in ecclesistical affairs had the most weight with his countrymen, when urged by Augustin to submit, in all things to the ordinances of the Roman church, gave him the following remarkable answer: "We are all ready to listen to the church of God, to the pope at Rome, and to every pious Christian, that so we may show to each, according to his station, perfect love, and uphold him by word and deed. We know not, that any other obedience can be required of us towards him whom you call the pope or the father of fathers. But *this* obedience we are prepared constantly to render to him and to every Christian."[1] At the suggestion of king Ethelbert, the bishops of the nearest British province were invited to hold a conference with Augustin about these matters; and a council for this purpose was held, according to the ancient German custom, near an oak.[2] It was quite characteristic of Augustin, that when he found the Britons were not disposed to yield, he proposed that a sick man should be brought before them, whom both the parties should try to restore by their prayers, and that the answer given should be considered as a decision of the question by the divine judgment. The Britons finally declared, that they could do nothing without the consent of a larger number of their party. But previous to the calling of a more numerous church assembly, they consulted the opinion of a pious hermit, who stood with them in the highest veneration. He told them, they might follow Augustin, if he was a man of God. When they inquired how they were to know whether he was a man of God, he replied, if he be meek and lowly of spirit, after the pattern of our Lord, it is to be expected that, as a disciple of Christ, he will bear himself the yoke of his Master, and will lay no heavier burden on others. But if he is of a violent, overbearing spirit, it is plain, that he is not born of God; and we should pay no regard to his words. When they inquired still further by what signs they might know whether he was a meek and humble man, he said they should allow him and his attendants to enter first into the place where they were to assemble; and if upon their entrance he arose to meet them, they should acknowledge him as a servant of Christ. But not so, if notwithstanding their great superiority to his own party in numbers, he still remained sitting. This proof of humility, Augustin failed to show; and the Britons refused to enter with him into any terms of agreement.

[1] See the Anglo-Saxon original of these words, with the Latin version in Wilkins' Collection of English councils, or in Bede's Hist. eccles. Angl. ed. Smith. f. 116.

[2] Which place was still called in the time of Bede, Augustin's oak. The synod at Wigorn, A. D. 601.

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"Well, then" — he is said to have indignantly exclaimed — "as you are unwilling to recognize the Anglo-Saxons as brethren, and to preach to them the word of life, you shall have them as foes, and experience their vengeance." The national hatred of the Anglo-Saxons towards the Britons, which by this church schism Augustin was the means of fomenting, would easily bring about the fulfilment of this threat.[1] But the relation of the Britons to the Anglo-Saxon, and to the Roman church, had an important influence on the history of the church in the West during the next succeeding centuries, for we afterwards find many traces of a reaction against the Roman hierarchy, proceeding from the spirit of ecclesiastical freedom among the Britons.

Upon the death of Augustin, in 605, he was succeeded, in accordance with his own wishes, by Laurentius. But the new church had by no means been established as yet on a firm basis, calculated to withstand every change of circumstances; for, as we have already remarked, the conversion of many to Christianity had been brought about by the example and the influence of their king, or by momentary impressions on the senses, rather than by any well-grounded conviction. Hence on the death of Ethelbert, in the year 616, a great change immediately ensued. His son Eadbald relapsed into the old idolatry, which imposed fewer restraints upon his licentious habits; and his example was followed by many. A like change took place also in Essex, where Christianity was still less firmly rooted. After the death of king Sabert, the three sons whom he left behind him, openly declared again in favor of paganism, which, indeed, they had never heartily renounced. They had never consented to receive baptism; but still they were unwilling to be excluded from participating of the beautiful white bread,[2] distributed by the bishop in celebrating the eucharist, — whether it was that they were attracted by the bread itself, or whether they attributed to it some magical charm, as they might easily be led to do by the customary language of those times, in describing the effects of the holy supper. As Mellitus, bishop of London, could not allow of this, he was banished, with all his clergy. He repaired to the bishop Laurentius in Kent, to consult with him, as to what was next to be done. It was already agreed, that where there was such obstinate resistance, the mission must be abandoned. And even Laurence was on the point of following the steps of his departed companions, the bishops Mellitus and Justus; but his conscience reproached him for being willing to abandon the post which God had entrusted to him. After fervent prayer,

[1] Though according to the common reading in Bede, from which, however, the old Anglo-Saxon translation varies, king Ethelbert's attack on the Britons, by which much blood was shed on both sides, took place after Augustin's death, and cannot be attributed to his immediate influence; still, considering his influence on the state of feeling of the Anglo-Saxon people towards the Britons, we cannot exempt him from the charge of having been at least indirectly concerned in this transaction.

[2] Panis nitidus, in the words of Bede. This might be understood as meaning, that even at this period it was customary to use a peculiar kind of bread, unleavened bread, in the celebration of the eucharist; but it may also be understood to mean, that it was customary to use white and fine bread prepared expressly for the occasion.

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and many tears, on the night before the day appointed for his departure, he threw himself down on some chaff in the church of St. Peter and St. Paul. As he fell asleep amidst painful thoughts of the future, St. Peter appeared to him in a dream, and severely upbraided him for not being afraid thus to forsake the hearth which had been committed to his charge.[1] We may suppose that the young king Eadbald had not been able wholly to suppress the lessons of Christianity received by him in childhood; but that these early impressions had only been obliterated for a season by the tide of sensual pleasures. And thus we may understand, how the terrifying description which Laurence drew of the vision he had seen, should so work upon his imagination, as to revive the impressions which still lay concealed in the secret chambers of his heart. Laurence would make the best of this opportunity to rekindle the spark of faith, still lingering, though smothered by sensuality, in the breast of the king. He submitted to baptism, wholly renounced idolatry, and moreover forsook the forbidden connections, which he had hitherto refused to give up.

For a longer time, paganism maintained its ground in the province of Essex. But from Kent Christianity was spread to another of the small kingdoms, which became a principal point for the wider diffusion of the gospel, — namely Northumberland. Edwin, the king of this province, had married Ethelberga, a sister of king Eadbald of Kent; but under the express stipulation, that she should be allowed to take her clergy with her, and practice without molestation the Christian worship of God. Paulinus was appointed to go with her as bishop, and Eboracum (York), the chief town of the province, became afterwards the seat of the new bishopric. Paulinus labored, with great zeal, to convert the prince and the people. He met with little success among the people, till he had succeeded in gaining over the former to the gospel. But king Edwin was not so easily brought to a decision in his religious convictions. He came to it only after serious examination. He had already been satisfied of the vanity of idols, and had ceased to worship them; but he did not, as yet, make profession of Christianity. He declared that he must, in the first place, make himself better acquainted with its doctrines, and more carefully consult about them, with the wisest of his nation; and he frequently occupied himself in silent religious meditations. Seizing a favorable moment, when the king was alone and buried in such meditations, Paulinus taking advantage of a vision which, as he had been

[1] It is possible, to be sure, that Laurence, going on the principle of the "pious fraud," ventured upon a fiction for the purpose of operating on the mind of the young king; yet the other view so naturally presents itself, that we find no good reason for recurring to this. If everything happened in the way Bede relates, and Laurence exhibited to the prince the marks left by the scourge, this indeed might lead to the hypothesis, that although Laurence really had a vision of this sort, yet he resorted to a trick, in order that his story might make a stronger impression on the king's mind. But at the same time, it is impossible to calculate by what circumstances it might happen that he himself was deceived; or it may be that the original facts were magnified into the miraculous by the transmission of the story. It is to be remarked, that many stories from the older times, respecting such miraculous visitations for the punishment of sin, were current in the church.

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accidentally informed, once appeared to the king when in a hazardous and eventful situation, prevailed upon him to convoke an assembly of his priests and nobles, which Paulinus also was to attend, for the purpose of deciding on the great question of religion. Many voices were here heard to speak for the first time against the old idolatry. To illustrate how important it must be for man to arrive at certainty in the things of religion, one of the chiefs used the following ingenious comparison: "As when in winter, the king and his nobles and servants have met at a feast, and are couched around the fire blazing in the centre of the hall, and feel nothing of the cold, and of the rough weather of the season, while the storm and the snow-blasts are raging without, and a little sparrow flies quickly through, entering in at one door and passing out at the other; — what the moment which the bird passes in the warm hall, without feeling anything of the rough weather, is to the whole long remainder of the time, which it has spent, and must again spend, amidst the storms, such is the present short moment of time which we know, compared to that which has gone before us, and to that which follows after us, of which we know nothing. With good reason then, may we feel ourselves bound to receive this new doctrine, if it reveals anything more certain on these matters." Then, after Paulinus had expounded the Christian doctrine, the chief priest himself was the first to propose the destruction of the ancient idols, and riding to the spot which formed the principal seat of the idol worship, set the example of destroying the old objects of veneration. But king Edwin, the most zealous laborer for the spread of Christianity, died in battle, in the year 633. After his death, the condition of his people changed for the worse under a hostile dominion, and paganism once more obtained the ascendancy; until Oswald, a man of the royal family, appeared as the liberator of his people, and the triumphant restorer of the Christian church among them. While living in banishment among the Scots in Ireland, he had been instructed in Christianity, and baptized, by pious monks; and through their influence he was filled with an ardent zeal for the Christian faith. Before proceeding to battle, he planted a cross in the ground, knelt before it in prayer, and besought the Almighty, that by his arm he would bestow the victory on the righteous cause.[1] Having, by the help of his God, conquered an enemy superior to him in numbers, it was his firm resolution to do his utmost to make the worship of this his God universal among his people. He applied to the Scottish church, from which he had received his own knowledge of Christianity, to send him a teacher for his people. Selection was made of one of those monks, distinguished for the austerity of their lives, of whom Ireland was at that time the nursing school. But this stern man could not bring himself to condescend to the rudeness, to the weaknesses, and wants of a people who were to be gradually formed by Christianity. The people were repelled by

[1] The place where this is said to have occurred, was pointed out for a long time afterwards, and the memory of it deemed sacred. It was visited, as well as the pretended relics of that wooden cross, for the cure of bodily maladies.

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his rigid manners. Despairing of being able to effect anything among them, — he returned back to his country; and in an assembly of his spiritual superiors he declared, that the people were too rude to receive any benefit from his labors. But among the persons assembled was Aidan, a monk from the island of Iona, whence came the austerest monks; and this person, severe to himself, was none the less full of love and gentleness to others.[1] To the missionary who complained of the people to whom he had been sent as a teacher, he said that his want of success was his own fault; that he had proceeded too roughly with his untutored hearers, that he had not, according to the precept of St. Paul, fed them at first with milk, until nourished by the word of God, they became capable of advancing to a higher stage of the Christian life. All were convinced, that the rude people needed for their teacher just such a man as he was himself. Aidan was consecrated a bishop, and sent to Northumberland. Until he had gained a competent knowledge of the English tongue, he preached only to the chief men and servants of the king, assembled at his court; and as the king during his exile had made himself acquainted with the Scottish language, the latter translated on the spot into the vernacular tongue, for the understanding of the hearers, the matter of these discourses. No sooner, however, had Aidan himself so far mastered the English language, as to be able to make himself understood in it, than unsparing of labor, and but seldom using a horse, he visited the city and the country around, and wheresoever he fell in with rich or poor, detained them, until he had found out whether they were still pagans or had already become believers, and had received baptism. In the first case, he began by preaching to them the gospel; in the second, he exhorted them with a few directions to prove their faith by their good works. He accomplished much, because his life was so consonant with his zealous preaching; because everything he did, testified to his disinterested love which was ready for any sacrifice. Whenever he received presents from the king or from the nobles, he distributed the whole among the poor, or expended it in redeeming captives; and to many of these he afterwards imparted spiritual instruction, till he had educated them for the office of priests. To the rich and powerful, be boldly spoke the truth; reprimanding whatever was bad without respect of persons. Ecclesiastics, monks and laity who fell into his company, he constantly kept employed in reading the Holy Scriptures. By this joint activity of the zealous king and such a man, a firm foundation was laid for the church in this district. It is true, that after a reign of eight years, Oswald met his death in battle with the pagan tribe of the Mercians, A. D. 642; but as by a life corresponding to the faith which he professed,

[1] In the Irish monasticism, however, was incorporated a principle, derived from a certain Gildas, and opposed to the spiritual pride of an extravagant asceticism: "Abstinentia corporalium ciborum absque caritate inutilis est; meliores sunt ergo, qui non magnopere jejunant nec supra modum a creatura Dei se abstinent cor intrinsecus nitidum coram Deo servantes, quam illi, qui carnem non edunt neque vehiculis equisque vehuntur et pro his quasi superiores caeteris se putantes, quibus mors intrat per fenestram elevationis." See Wilkins's Concil. Angl. t. I. f. 4.

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he had done much to recommend that faith to his people, so the manner in which he had sacrificed his life for the independence of his people served but to deepen and confirm this impression. His name was cherished in the affections and respect of his nation, and hence soon began to be honored as that of a saint. Miracles were said to be wrought at his tomb, and by his relics; and indeed the faith in them prevailed through the whole of these islands.

From this province, Christianity continued to spread, till the last half of the seventh century, to all the tribes of the Anglo-Saxon Heptarchy; and in part, native and Frankish ecclesiastics, acting in dependence on the Roman church, and partly, British and Scottish clergy, who were accustomed to act with more freedom, labored for the conversion and for the instruction of these tribes. Last of all, the inhabitants of the province of South Saxony (Sussex) were converted to Christianity. Their king, it is true, had been baptized before; but the people continued still to be devoted to their old idolatry; and a few Scottish monks, who had founded a monastery in the wilderness, and led an austere life, were unable by that means to gain the confidence of the rude people, or to find any opportunity of preaching to them the gospel. It so happened, that Wilfrid, archbishop of York, a descendant from an English family, was deposed from his office by occasion of a quarrel with his king; and he here sought for a field of labor. He better understood how to let himself down to the wants of the untutored multitude. On coming among them, he found them in circumstances of great distress; a drought occasioned by the want of rain having been followed by a severe famine. The neighboring lakes and rivers afforded, it is true, abundance of fish; but the rude people were still wholly ignorant of the mode of taking them, and only knew a way of fishing for eels. He caused, therefore, all the nets to be collected together, and his attendants caught three hundred fishes of different kinds. A third part of these he distributed among the poor; another third he gave to those who furnished the nets, and the remainder he reserved for his companions. Having thus, by such gifts and instruction in the art of fishing, relieved the temporal necessities of the people, he found them the more inclined to receive instruction from him in spiritual things. A favorable impression was made on the minds of the people by the circumstance that, on the day when he first baptized a large number of them, copious showers of rain, which had long been needed, fell from the skies.[1] Next, he

[1] But it is evident, that while such a coincidence of the introduction of Christianity or of baptism among a pagan race of men with fortunate events, might appear to them as a divine token in favor of the new religion, and contribute to render their minds more favorable to its reception, so the same prejudice by which men were led to consider what was connected in the sequence of time, as connected also in the sequence of cause and effect, might, in cases of unlooked for calamity, have an unfavorable influence on the state of feeling towards Christianity. Thus, in East Saxony, a desolating sickness, following directly after the introduction of Christianity, occasioned a momentary relapse of many into idolatry. Bede III. 30. Hence Gregory showed his wisdom, when he wrote to king Ethelbert of Kent, after his conversion, that he was not to expect from his embracing Christianity some golden period of earthly felicity; but should understand that in the last ages of the world many trials were to be looked for: "appropinquante mundi termino multa

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spared no pains in laying a deeper and firmer foundation for Christianity in the hearts and minds of the people, by providing means for the instruction of the youth, in the establishment of schools throughout the country.[1]

Since, however, as we have remarked, monks and ecclesiastics who were born, or who had received their education, in Scotland or Ireland, and Anglo-Saxon or Frankish bishops, who acted in the interest of the Roman church, came and labored together in England, the difference of ecclesiastical usages between the British-Scotch and the Roman church, could hardly fail to present an ever-fruitful subject of contention. Bede, the historian of the English church, though standing himself in this controversy on the opposite side, yet draws a most favorable picture of the pious, disinterested zeal manifested by the Scottish missionaries. The veneration, which they thus procured for themselves, gave still more weight to their influence in promoting Christianity, and nourishing the vigor of the Christian life. Hence, clergy and monks, wherever they appeared, were received with joy; a circle was soon formed around them to listen to the words of Christian edification; and they were even visited for this purpose by the laity, in their monasteries.[2] Although Augustin, the founder of the English church, had attached so much importance to this difference of rites, yet men afterwards learned to estimate it as a minor consideration compared with the salutary doctrines, for the spread and establishment of which, laborers of both parties zealously exerted themselves. Peculiarly striking was the difference in the time of observing Easter under the administration of the above-mentioned bishop Aidan; for it so happened, that the king and the queen, who had been instructed by different teachers, pursued opposite courses in this respect, and while the king celebrated his Easter, the queen was still holding her fasts. The universal respect, which bishop Aidan had acquired, caused this difference to be overlooked; for men could not deny it to their own minds, as Bede finely remarks, that although the bishop could not depart, in celebrating the Easter festival, from the usage of the church that had sent him; yet he took every pains to promote works of piety, faith and charity, after the customary manner of all holy men.[3] But in the times which immediately followed, it became necessary for men to decide between the Roman and the

imminent, quae antea non fuerunt, videlicet immutationes aëris, terroresque de coelo, et contra ordinem temporum tempestates, bella, fames, pestilentiae, terrae motus per loca. Vos itaque, si qua de his evenire in terra vestra cognoscitis, nullo modo vestrum animum perturbetis, quia idcirco haec signa de fine saeculi praemittuntur, ut de animabus nostris debeamus esse solliciti, de mortis hora suspecti et venturo judici in bonis actibus inveniamur esse praeparati." Gregor. l. XI. ep. 66.

[1] Bede III. 18.

[2] Etiam si in itinere pergens (Clericus aliquis aut monachus) inveniretur, adcurrebant et flexo cervice vel manu signari vel ore illius se benedici gaudebant, verbis quoque horum exhortatoriis diligenter auditum praebebant. Sed et diebus dominicis ad ecclesiam sive ad monasteria certatim non reficiendi corporis; sed audiendi sermonis Dei gratia confluebant, et si quis sacerdotum in vicum forte deveniret, mox congregati in unum vicani verbum vitae ab illo expetere curabant. Beda hist. angl. III. 26.

[3] Etsi pascha contra morem eorum, qui ipsum miserant, facere non potuit, opera tamen fidei, pictatis et dilectionis juxta morem omnibus sanctis diligenter exsequi curavit. l. III. c. 25.

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Scottish church influences; and the manner in which this decision was made, could not fail to be attended with the most important effects on the shaping of ecclesiastic relations over all England; for had the Scottish tendency prevailed, England would have obtained a more free church constitution, and a reaction against the Romish hierarchical system would have ever continued to go forth from this quarter. Yet in the mode in which Christianity had been first introduced into Kent, the victory was already prepared for the system of the Roman church; and to this was added the activity of the missionaries and clergy sent afterwards from Rome, or who came over from France. In proportion as, by their means, the authority of the Roman church gained the ascendancy, entire conformity with the Roman usages would become more universally prevalent. Under Colmann, who succeeded, next but one, the above mentioned bishop Aidan, and was also of Scottish descent, greater importance was attached to this controversy, and a conference, for the purpose of deciding the matter in dispute, was held in presence of king Oswin and of his successor Alfred, in the year 664.[1] Bishop Colmann, who defended the Scottish usage, appealed to the example of the venerated father Columba, and of his successors; among whom were men, whose holiness had been attested by the miracles they performed. To this, the presbyter Wilfred, who spoke in the name of the opposite party, replied, that miracles, by themselves considered, afforded no evidence of truth or holiness; for our Lord himself had said, that many, who had performed wonderful works in his name, would not be acknowledged by him as his. Yet it was far from his intention, he said, to apply this to their fathers; since it is more reasonable to think good than evil of those about whom we have no knowledge. He believed, therefore, that those servants of God loved Him with fervent piety; but that they had erred through an ignorant simplicity. "Nay — said he — even though *your* Columba, whom if he was a Christian, we will also call *ours*, were a saint, and performed miracles, — is he entitled therefore to be preferred to St. Peter, whom our Lord called the Rock, on whom He founded the church, and to whom he gave the keys of the kingdom of heaven?" — So mighty a power had the reverence for the church of Peter, the apostle to whose hands were committed the keys to the kingdom of heaven, already become, that this appeal settled the question; for the king was afraid lest if he resisted the authority of this apostle, he might one day find the gates of heaven shut against him.[2] Bishop Colmann, who by his fidelity in administering the pastoral office, had, like his predecessors, acquired universal respect, resigned his post; since he was unwilling to give up the usage of the Scottish church. Still more was done to introduce the dominion of the Roman church-customs into the entire English church, by the influence of the

[1] Known by the name of the synodus Pharensis, held at a spot not far distant from the city of York; afterwards called Whitby (white-bay) on the sea-coast.

[2] The king's language was: Et ego vobis dico, quia hic est ostiarius ille, cui ego contradicere nolo, sed in quantum novi vel valeo hujus cupio in omnibus obedire statutis, ne forte me adveniente ad foras regni coelorum, non sit, qui reserat, averso illo, qui claves tenere probatur.

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archbishop Theodore of Canterbury,[1] a man who eminently contributed to the culture of this people. A native of Tarsus in Cilicia, he was a monk well known for his extensive learning, and at the age of sixty-six was still living at Rome. He came to England in 669, as archbishop of Canterbury, having been consecrated to that office by pope Vitalian. But as the pope could not absolutely rely on a man educated in the oriental church as one who would hold fast to the usages and doctrines of the Roman church, he sent with him the Italian abbot Hadrian, in the capacity of an associate, and in a certain sense, overseer. With him, Theodore travelled through all England, and settled everything after the form and order of the Roman church. He was the first who was able to carry into effect the rights of primacy over the entire English church, bestowed by the popes on the archbishop of Canterbury; and in the course of his administration of twenty-one years, he succeeded in completely banishing the usages of the Scottish church from England. In accomplishing this, he was also assisted by an ecclesiastical assembly held by him at Hertford (Harford), not far from London, in the year 673.[2] The influence of the English church operated gradually also in this respect on Scotland and Ireland. But the Britons endeavored to hold fast their old ecclesiastical forms in connection with their national independence, which however, became every day contracted to a smaller compass.

As regards Germany, the seeds of Christianity had been planted at a very early period in the portions of this country which formerly belonged to the Roman empire. But when these districts were overrun by barbarous, pagan tribes, these seeds of Christianity were necessarily in part suppressed, and partly falsified and nearly obliterated by the intermixture of pagan elements. Afterwards, through the connection of these parts with the Frankish empire, and with other tribes of German descent, which had already embraced Christianity, new excitements were produced; but so long as all these efforts were of an isolated character, without being brought into closer connection, or united on fixed ecclesiastical foundations, such individual attempts could avail nothing in stemming the tide of barbarism and devastation.

Among the men who, by the influence of religion, diffused salvation and blessing amidst the devastations occasioned by the migration of nations, Severinus is particularly distinguished. Probably a native of the East,[3] he had, in striving after the perfection of the inward life,

[1] Bede treats of his life and works in the IV. and V. books of his history of the English church. These accounts are brought together in Mabillon acta sanctorum ordinis Benedicti Saec. II. f. 1031.

[2] See the acts of this synod in Bede IV. c. 5. and in Wilkins's Concilia magnae Britanniae I. f. 41.

[3] Respecting his native country nothing certain is known. He himself, in a joking or earnest manner, evaded the questions of those, who inquired of him about his origin and place of nativity. To an ecclesiastic, who once sought refuge with him, he replied to an inquiry of this sort, at first jokingly — Why, if you think I am a runaway, then have ready your ransom money, to pay for me in case they require me to be delivered up. Then he added in a more serious tone: "Yet know, that the God who called you to the priestly office, bade me to dwell among these men threatened with so many dangers (periclitantibus his hominibus interesse). By his language

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retired into one of the deserts of the East. But impelled by a divine call, often heard in his own breast, he forsook his solitude and repose, to hasten to the assistance of the much harassed nations of the West, now exposed to all manner of devastation; and oftentimes, when a longing for the silent life, consecrated to meditation, stirred once more within him, that voice, which bade him remain on the scene of desolation, sounded in his soul with a still clearer tone.[1] He appeared on the banks of the Danube, and settled down among the people of those districts, which now belong to Austria and Bavaria. He was residing in the neighborhood of Passau,[2] at a time when these districts in particular presented a wild scene of desolation, during the restless period which ensued on the death of Attila, in 453, when nation crowded upon nation, and one place after another was given up to the devastations of fire and sword, and the people, after having been stripped of all their possessions, were dragged off as slaves. By a severely abstemious life, in which he voluntarily subjected himself to deprivations of all sorts, and cheerfully submitted to every inconvenience, he set before the effeminate and enfeebled people among whom he dwelt, an example how to bear willingly the evils which *necessity* laid upon them. Though accustomed to a more southern climate, he went about among the people barefoot, in the midst of an inclement winter, when the Danube was frozen over, to collect provisions and clothing for those, who were exposed to hunger and nakedness by the devastations of war; to procure, either by contributions of ransom-money, or by the powerful influence of his intercession, freedom for the troops of captives who were on the point of being carried into slavery; to warn the nations of the troubles which hung over them, and to exhort them to timely repentance; to encourage them to put their trust in God; to administer, by his earnest and faithful prayers, comfort and relief to the suffering, whether from spiritual or bodily distress; and to persuade the leaders and generals of the barbarous tribes, who respected his words as a voice from a higher world, to spare the conquered. Hardened as he had rendered himself against every outward impression, easy as he found it to endure every bodily hardship, subduing outward impressions by the force of mind, he was none the less tender in his sympathies for the distresses of others.[3] By the force of his example, of his exhortations and rebukes, many

he was judged to be a Latin, or according to another reading, a North-African. He himself sometimes hinted, as if speaking of another person, that by peculiar leadings of the divine providence he had been conducted from a distant country of the East, after escaping many dangers, to this spot. See the letter of Eugippius to the deacon Paschasius, prefixed to the account of his life.

[1] Quanto solitudinem incolere cupiebat, tanto crebrius revelationibus monebatur, ne praesentiam suam populis denegaret afflictis. Eugippii vita. c. 4.

[2] Other towns mentioned as his place of residence are *Faviana*, a city which some of the older writers held to be Vienna, though this is disputed by others; *Astura; Lauriacum*, perhaps the Austrian town called *Lorch*.

[3] His disciple Eugippius says in regard to this: Quum ipse hebdomadarum continuatis jejuniis minime frangeretur, tamen esurie miserorum se credebat afflictum. Frigus quoque vir Dei tantum in nuditate pauperum sentiebat, si quidem specialiter a Deo perceperat, ut in frigidissima regione mirabili abstinentia castigatus, fortis et alacer permaneret.

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hearts were softened, so that from various quarters, provisions and clothing were sent to him for distribution among the poor. On such occasions, he collected together the oftentimes numerous body of the needy and distressed into a church, and himself divided out to each person his share, according to the estimate he had made of their respective wants. Having first offered a prayer, he began the work of distribution with the words, "Praised be the name of the Lord," adding a few words of Christian exhortation.[1] Various examples evidence the power which the godlike within him exercised over the minds of men. On one occasion, a horde of barbarians had stripped the whole country about the city where he was lodged, carrying away men and cattle; and in this, as in every distress, the unfortunate sufferers went complaining and weeping to Severinus. He asked the Roman commander, if he had not an armed force at hand, to put in pursuit of the robbers, and wrest from them their plunder. The commander replied, that he did not consider his little band strong enough to cope with the greater numbers of the enemy; still, if Severinus required it, he would sally forth, relying, not on the force of arms, but on the help of his prayers. Severinus bade him go quickly and boldly, in the name of God; for where the Lord mercifully went before, the weak would prove himself to be the strongest; the Lord would fight for them. Only he bound him to promise, that all the barbarians taken captive should be conducted to him unharmed. His words were fulfilled; he caused the fetters to be immediately knocked off from the captives brought into his presence, and having refreshed them with food and drink, sent them away to their robber-companions, bidding them say to the latter, that they must not suffer themselves for the future to be tempted by thirst of pillage to come into this territory, for assuredly they would not escape the divine judgment, since as they saw, God fights for his servants. His appearance and his words operated with such force on the mind of a leader of the Alemanni, that he was seized in his presence with a violent trembling.[2] When all the fortresses in Bavaria, on the banks of the Danube,[3] were threatened by attacks of the barbarians, the inhabitants requested Severinus to reside among them by turn, since they considered his presence to be their best protection.[4] The remarkable success which seemed to be given in answer to his faithful prayers, the effect of that impression of the godlike which many experienced in his presence, procured for him the fame of a worker of miracles. He himself knew how to appreciate such occurrences at their just value in relation to the progress of the kingdom of God, at that juncture, among the severely tried and untutored nations. "Such things now happen — said he — in many places and among many tribes, in order that it may be seen, that there is one God who

[1] Eugippius (c. 28) speaks of an example where Severinus succeeded in obtaining through some merchants a supply of oil, a means of sustenance which had become extremely scarce in these districts, and risen to a price which placed it beyond the reach of the poor.

[2] L. c. c. 19. ut tremere coram eo vehementius coeperit, sed et postea suis exercitibus indicavit, nunquam se nec re bellica nec aliqua formidine tanto tremore fuisse concussum.

[3] In the Noricum Ripense.

[4] L. c. c. 11

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does wonderful works in heaven and on earth;" and when men were seeking for great results from the efficacy of his prayers, he was wont to say: "Why require great things from small? I know myself to be a man altogether unworthy. It is enough for me if I can but obtain the forgiveness of my own sins!"[1] Sometimes when requested to use his intercessions for temporal favors, he directed the petitioners to look rather at their spiritual needs. Thus, to a monk from one of the rude tribes, who requested him to pray that he might be relieved of a weakness in the eyes, he said: Pray rather, that the eye within thee may be purged. When invited to undertake the charge of a bishopric, he declined it saying, it was enough for him that he had renounced his beloved solitude, and visited these countries in obedience to a divine call, to share in the troubles of the afflicted nations.[2]

After such a hero of faith had thus labored, from twenty to thirty years, in the midst of these tribes, many a trace of the impression which he had produced among them would doubtless be left behind him; and in fact, even on those populations whose residence in these districts was but transient, an impression was made by him which they never lost.[3] Many devout men, who in the sixth and seventh centuries retreated from the wild scenes of confusion in the Frankish empire, to live as hermits in the countries on the Rhine, acquired the respect of the tribes which had settled down there, by their pious lives, or by outward proof of having obtained the mastery over their sensual nature. Or travelling about, they gained the confidence of the people by kindly actions, and hospitably sharing with them the harvested fruits of their labors. The impression produced by their devout lives and their intellectual superiority over the untaught people, gained for them the reputation of possessing miraculous powers, and they might take advantage of this personal respect and love, to pave the way for the entrance of Christianity into their minds. To this number belongs *Goar*, near the close of the sixth century, who fixed his position on the spot where afterwards the city which goes by his name transmitted his memory to future times; and *Wulflach* or *Wulf* an ecclesiastic of Longobardian origin, who in the last half of the sixth century established himself as a stylite in the district of Triers, drew the admiration of the people for whose conversion he prayed, preached to the multitudes that thronged around him, and succeeded in persuading them to destroy their idols.[4]

[1] L. c. c. 14.

[2] L. c. c. 9. The life of Severinus by his disciple Eugippius, abbot of a monastery in the Neapolitan territory, in the Actis sanctorum of the Bollandists. Mens. Januar. T. I. f. 483.

[3] Among those who felt the influence of Severinus was Odoacer, sprung from the race of the Rugians, afterwards, as chieftain of the Herulians, founder of an empire in Italy. While a young man, and holding as yet no important rank among the barbarians, he is said to have fallen in company with Severinus, when the latter foretold to him his future greatness. When possessed of his later power he still held a word from Severinus in the highest respect. In Italy Odoacer met with another man who amid the horrible disorders of those times labored with self-denying, ardent love for the good of mankind. This was Epiphanius bishop of Ticinum (Pavia). His intercessions acquired for him great influence with this prince. See his life by Ennodius in Sirmond. opp. T. I.

[4] See Gregor. Tur. Hist. Franc. l. VIII. c. 15.

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The useful labors of these Frankish hermits were far outdone, however, by the activity of the missionaries from Ireland, who exerted themselves in reclaiming and tilling the soil, founding monasteries from which proceeded the conversion and culture of the people, and providing for the education of the youth. For the establishment of the earliest missions among the nations of Germany, the monks that went out from England, and first of all from Ireland, are entitled to the chief merit. The monasteries of Ireland were full to overflowing. Pious monks felt themselves called to more active labors in the service of religion, for which they found no sufficient field in their own country; while at the same time, the native love of foreign travel, peculiar to the Irish people,[1] would serve as a means of conveying Christianity and civilization to the distant nations. It was natural, that the attention of those who by the love of adventure, by the spirit of enterprise or the ardor of Christian zeal, had been induced to leave their native country, would be directed to the vast uncultivated regions, now occupied by numerous barbarian tribes, who were as yet wholly ignorant of Christianity, or among whom the first elements which had once been communicated, had become wholly lost by the prevalence of barbarism. Thus, whole colonies of monks, under the guidance of solid, judicious men as their abbots, emigrated into these parts.[2]

Columban, near the end of the sixth century, set the first example of this kind, which stimulated numbers, in the seventh, to follow his steps. Born in the Irish province of Leinster (a terra Lagenorum), he had, from early youth, been educated in the famous monastery of Bangor, founded and governed by the abbot Comgall. At the age of thirty, he felt himself impelled to engage in an independent and more extensive field of activity, to preach the gospel to the pagan nations of whom some knowledge had been obtained through the medium of France. He felt within him, as the author of his biography expresses it, that fire which our Saviour says he came to kindle on the earth.[3] His abbot gave him twelve young men as his companions, who were to assist him in his labors, and to be trained under his spiritual guidance. About the year 590, he crossed over with these to the Frankish kingdom; probably with the intention of preaching the gospel to the tribes dwelling on the borders of that empire.[4] But having been entreated to take up his residence within the Frankish empire itself, and finding that so much still remained to be done in that region for the Christian culture of the vast masses of untaught barbarians, he complied with this invitation. He purposely sought after a spot on which to establish himself in the savage wilderness, which must first be reclaimed

[1] Natio Scotorum, quibus consuetudo peregrinandi jam paene in naturam conversa est. Vita S. Galli I. II. § 47. Pertz monumenta hist. germ. T. II. f. 30.

[2] Alcuin says (ep.221), "Antiquo tempore doctissimi solebant magistri de Hibernia Britanniam, Galliam, Italiam venire et multos per ecclesias Christi fecisse profectus."

[3] The words of the monk Jonas of the monastery of Bobbio near Pavia in Mabillon Acta S. O. B. Saec. II. p. 9. are ignitum igne Domini desiderium, de quo igne Dominus loquitur: ignem veni mittere in terram.

[4] He says himself in his fourth letter to his students and monks, § 4. Galland. bibl. patr. T. XII: "mei voti fuit, gentes visitare et evangelium iis a nobis praedicari"

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and rendered cultivable by the severe labors of his monks, in order that, by the difficulties they must overcome, the monks might gain a greater power of self-denial and control over their sensuous nature, and that an example which would excite imitation might be given to the untutored people, of tilling the soil, the condition of all social improvement. The needful care to supply themselves with the means of living, compelled them to extraordinary exertions, in order to render the soil fruitful, from the products of which, as well as from fishing, they were to derive their sustenance; and without the invincible faith of the man who directed the whole, and whom all implicitly obeyed, they would inevitably have sunk under the difficulties they encountered. When Columban first settled down with his associates in a forest of the Vosges, upon the ruins of an ancient castle, called Anagrates (Anegrey), they were so destitute of the means of living, as to be obliged to sustain themselves for several days on herbs and the bark of trees. But while he kept his monks steadily employed in the most active labors, he relied, where human means failed, on the providence of God, to whom he prayed in an unwavering confidence of being heard; and the way in which he was delivered from the most extreme distress by an unforseen concurrence of circumstances, strengthened the confidence of his companions, and caused him to be regarded by the people as a man extraordinarily favored of God. Once he was visited by a neighboring priest, and with him went to take a look of the store of grain laid up for the use of the monastery. The visitor expressed his surprise that so small a store should suffice for the wants of so many; whereupon Columban replied: "Let men but rightly serve their Creator, and they are already exempted from the danger of starvation, as it is written in the thirty-seventh Psalm: I have never seen the righteous forsaken, nor his seed begging bread. It is easy for that God to replenish the barrel with meal, who with five loaves of bread satisfied the five thousand." In proportion as severity of discipline, and the sense for spiritual things had abated among the monks and clergy of the Gallic church; particularly in proportion as the old form of monastic life, which corresponded to the rule of Benedict, had gone into oblivion, in the same proportion the new mode of life exhibited by Columban excited attention and interest, and a new enthusiasm for monasticism was spread through all France. Families of every rank committed their sons to him for education; and he was obliged to distribute his numerous monks in three several monasteries, Anegrey already mentioned, Luxeuil (Luxuvium) in Franche comté, and Fontenay (Fontanae).

Columban's rule was altogether adapted to keep the monks at severe labor, and to inure them to the hardness and self-mastery requisite in order to hold out in this contest with a savage nature, and to overcome so great difficulties. He required of every monk "that he should retire to his couch weary, that he should be able to take sleep while travelling, and that he should be forced to awake before his sleep was quite over." Though he prescribed for his monks a rigidly abstemious life, yet he forbade an excessive severity tending to waste

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the body, and to unfit them for the duties to which they were called.[1] In this, too, we recognize the spirit of the asceticism peculiar to the Irish monks. By implicit, servile obedience, all self-will was to be mortified; and the severest discipline, extending to every motion of the body and tone of the voice, was to be maintained by bodily punishments which followed closely on each transgression. Yet Columban did not govern by outward force alone. How much, even without this, a single word from one, so honored, and by the better portion, sincerely beloved as well as feared, could avail, is proved by the following example. He was once summoned from the solitude to which he had retired, by the sad tidings, that sickness of various kinds had so spread among his monks in the monastery of Luxeuil, that barely enough still remained well to take care of the invalids. He hastened to them, and finding them all sick, bid them rouse up and go to work in the granary at threshing out corn. A part of them in whom the words of Columban inspired the confidence, that strength for the labor would not be found lacking, went to work. Very soon, however, he said to them, that they should allow a little refreshment to their bodies exhausted by disease. He caused food to be placed before them, and they were well. If the discipline was severe, yet it should also be considered, what a number of rude men, whose powers were to be directed to one end, were here brought together, and how much was required, in order to train and govern so rude a multitude. Although again, he insisted with great rigor on the punctilious observance of all prescribed outward customs, and imposed upon his monks many outward devotional practices, which might easily become mechanical, yet he was far from making the essence of piety to consist in externals. He considered these but as means, and was careful to remind his monks, that everything depended on the temper of the heart.[2] Although the monks were kept daily employed in the severest bodily labor, their minds should still not be prostrated under the burden of a task-work urged on by earthly solicitudes, but should constantly rise to the contemplation of divine things, and the hours of each day should be portioned out to prayer, to labor, and to the reading of spiritual works.[3] Columban himself knew how to unite the contemplative life with great activity in practical business. Occasionally he retired from his convent into the dense forest, bearing on his shoulder a copy of the holy Scriptures, which he wanted to study in the solitude. Especially for the celebration of high festivals, he was accustomed thus to prepare himself in solitude by prayer and meditation. His Rules

[1] C. III. the Rule: "ideo temperandus est ita usus, sicut temperandus est labor, quia haec est vera discretio, ut possibilitas spiritalis profectus cum abstinentia carnem macerante retentetur. Si enim modum abstinentia excesserit, vitium, non virtus erit, virtus enim multa sustinet bona et continet."

[2] In the Instructio II. he impresses on their hearts the words of the monk Comgall: Non simus tanquam sepulcra dealbata, de intus non de foris speciosi ac ornati apparere studeamus, vera enim religio non in corporis, sed in cordis humilitate consistit. And after having represented charity as the highest thing of all in his Instructio XI, he says: "non est labor dilectio, plus suave est, plus medicale est, plus salubre est cordi dilectio."

[3] Reg. c. II. quotidie jejunandum est, sicut quotidie orandum est, quotidie laborandum quotidieque est legendum.

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for the spiritual life (Instructiones variae) evince a deep feeling of Christian piety.[1]

Columban had many violent contests to endure in the French kingdom. His zeal for moral discipline, and for the restoration of its ancient order and severity to monasticism, must have created for him many enemies, in the then degenerate state of the Frankish church, among a set of ecclesiastics, whose whole life, governed by the spirit of this world, stood in too marked a contradiction to such an example. Add to this, that as he was unwilling to give up the peculiar usages he had brought with him from his native land, he thus furnished no small occasion of offence to the sticklers for the letter of the old church tradition, and for uniformity in all things. With a free spirit, he asserted his independence in this respect, as well in controversy with the popes Gregory the Great, and Boniface the fourth, as with the French bishops. To Gregory the Great, he wrote, that he ought not allow himself to be determined in these matters by a false humility; as he would be if, out of deference to the authority of his predecessor, Leo the Great, he refused to correct that which was false; for perhaps a living dog might be better than a dead lion, Eccles. 9: 4 — living saints might improve what had been left unimproved by another and a greater. He adjured pope Boniface IV, by the unity of the Christian fold, to grant himself and his people permission, as strangers in France, to preserve their ancient customs, for they were just the same as if in their own country, since dwelling in the wilderness, they followed the principles of their fathers, giving annoyance to no one. He held up to him the example of the bishops Polycarp and Anicetus, who had parted from each other with charity undisturbed, though each of them remained firm by his ancient usages. A Frankish synod having met to deliberate on this matter, in the year 602, he wrote to them, that he must express his disapprobation, that they did not, in conformity with the ecclesiastical laws, hold these synods oftener, which were so essential to the correction of abuses in the church, while at the same time he thanked God, that at least the present dispute respecting the celebration of Easter had occasioned the assembling of such a synod once more; but he expressed the wish, that they would also busy themselves with more important things. He called upon them to take care, that, as shepherds, they followed the example of the chief shepherd. The voice of the hireling, who may be known because he does not himself observe the precepts he lays down for others, could not reach the hearts of men. Words profited nothing without a corresponding life. True — he said, the diversity of customs and traditions had greatly disturbed the peace of the church; but — added he — if we only strive in humility to follow the example of our Lord, we shall next acquire the power of mutually loving each other, as true disciples of Christ, with all the heart and without taking offence at each other's failings. And soon would men

[1] In the first he says: Non longe a nobis manentem quaerimus Deum, quem intra nos sumere habemus, in nobis enim habitat, quasi anima in corpore, si tamen nos membra sana sumus ejus.

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come to the knowledge of the true way, if they sought the truth with equal zeal, and none were inclined to borrow too much from self, but each sought his glory only in the Lord. One thing I beg of you, he wrote to them, that since I am the cause of this difference, and I came, for the sake of our common Lord and Saviour, as a stranger into this land, I may be allowed to live silently in these forests, near the bones of our seventeen departed brethren, as I have been permitted to live twelve years among you already, that so, as in duty bound, we may pray for you, as hitherto we have done. May Gaul embrace us all at once, as the kingdom of heaven will embrace us, if we shall be found worthy of it. May God's free grace give us to abhor and renounce the whole world, to love the Lord alone, and long after him with the Father and the Holy Ghost. And after having requested their prayers for him, he added — we beg of you not to consider us as strangers, for we are all members of one body, whether we be Gauls, Britons, Irish, or of whatever other country. Already when writing this letter, Columban had reason to apprehend, that on account of these disputes he would be driven out of the country, and this letter, in which he reproached the French bishops on account of their worldly lives, was not exactly suited to render them more favorably disposed to him. Circumstances also now occurred, which enabled his enemies to accomplish their designs against him. He drew upon himself the hatred of the then powerful, but vicious Brunehault, the grandmother of king Thierri II, who ruled over the Burgundian empire, in which lay the three monasteries abovementioned, and which had hitherto chiefly supported him. He came into collision with her policy, by decidedly protesting against the unchaste life of that prince, and by exhorting him, in opposition to the designs of Brunehault, to enter into a regular marriage connection.[1] As Columban opposed an unbending will to all the threats and all the favors, by which it was endeavored to change his mind, and refused to abate anything from the rigor of discipline in his monasteries, he was at length, in the year 610, banished from Thierri's kingdom, and was to be conveyed back to Ireland. But no one ventured to carry the order into execution.[2] He was now on the point of paying a visit to the Longobards in Italy, for the purpose of founding there a monastery, and of laboring for the dissemination of pure doctrine among the Arians. But by the invitation of a Frankish king, he was induced

[1] Once when Columban came to the monarch's camp, Brunehault caused Thierri's illegitimate children to be presented, that he might give them his blessing; but he declared, they ought to know that these children of an unlawful bed would not come to the succession in the kingdom, which put her in a great rage.

[2] As the author of Columban's life relates (§ 47), the vessel which was to convey him to Ireland, was driven ashore by the waves, and could not for several days be got loose from the strand. This led the ship-master to conclude that Columban's banishment was the cause of his unfortunate voyage, and he refused to take either him or his property on board. And now, from the fear of God's anger, no one was willing to execute against him the decree of banishment. He was left free to go where he pleased, and was venerated still more than before. Yet Columban says in his letter to his monks, § 7: "Nunc mihi scribenti nuntius supervenit narrans mihi navem parari, qua invitus vehar in meam regionem, sed si fugero, nullus vetat custos, nam hoc videntur velle, ut ego fugiam."

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to look up a place in his kingdom, from which, as a centre, he might conveniently carry out his plans for the conversion of the bordering tribes. Thus he established himself, with his associates, in the territory of Zurich, near Tuggen on the Limmat, expecting to find here an opportunity of converting the Alemanni or Suevi, who dwelt in this region.[1] But they drew upon themselves the rage of the pagan people by burning one of their idol-temples, and were obliged to seek safety in flight. Arriving at a castle, named Arbon, near lake Constance, a monument of the Roman dominion, they here fell in with Willimar, a pastor and priest, who was overjoyed to be once more visited in his solitude and desertion, by Christian brethren. Entertained by his hospitality for seven days, they then heard of an eligible situation, at no great distance, near the ruins of an ancient castle called Pregentia (Bregenz,) well suited to their purpose on account of the fruitfulness of the country, and the vicinity of a lake abounding in fish. To this spot they repaired; here they founded a church; here they supported themselves by cultivating a garden and by fishing; they also distributed their fish among the pagan people and thus gained their confidence and affection. Gallus, a young Irishman of respectable family, whom Columban had brought up, and who during his residence in the Frankish kingdom had acquired a knowledge of the German language, availed himself of this knowledge to preach divine truth to the people. For three years, they continued to labor after this manner; until Columban was driven by the hostile party from this retreat also. He now executed the plan which he had before already resolved upon, and betook himself, in the year 613, to Italy, where he founded, near Pavia, the monastery of Bobbio.

Although the communities now to be found among the Longobards, the Arians, had the strongest reasons for union among themselves, yet the schism which had grown out of the dispute concerning the three chapters prevailed here still. For this reason, Columban, at the instigation of the Longobardian king himself, wrote a letter to pope Boniface IV. in which, with great freedom, he called upon him to take measures to have this subject submitted to the careful investigation of a synod, the Roman church vindicated from the reproach of heresy,[2] and the schism brought to end. It is plain, indeed, that either his residence in France and Italy had operated to modify the views he entertained of his relation to the Roman church, or the influence of the circumstances in which he now found himself placed altered his position to that church, and that he now addressed the pope, in a different style from what he would have done in Ireland or Britain. The Roman church he pronounces mistress, and speaks in exalted terms of her

[1] Agathias, in the last half of the sixth century, Hist. l. I. c. 7. ed. Niebuhr, pag. 28, writes, that the Alemanni were gradually converted from their idolatry by intercourse with the Franks. *ἡ ἐπιμιξία ἤδη ἐφέλκεται τοὺς ἐμφρονεστέρους, οὐ πολλοῦ δὲ οἶμαι χρόνου καὶ ἅπασιν ἐκνικήσει.*

[2] The way in which he speaks of it shows how far he was from possessing a correct knowledge of the more ancient doctrinal controversies. He brings together Eutyches and Nestorius as kindred teachers of error.

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authority. Much of this however, is nothing more than a formal courtesy; and he would have been very far from ascribing any thing like infallibility to her decisions, or allowing himself to be governed unconditionally by them. He avows this peculiar respect for the Roman church, on the ground that Peter and Paul had taught in it and honored it by their martyrdom, and that their relics were preserved in Rome. But he places the church of Jerusalem in a still higher rank.[1] He admonishes the Roman church so to conduct as not to forfeit, by any abuse, the spiritual dignity conferred on her; for the power would remain with her only so long as the *recta ratio* remained with her. *He* only was the true key-bearer of the kingdom of heaven, who by true knowledge opened the door for the worthy, and shut it upon the unworthy. Whoever did the contrary, could neither open nor shut. He warns the Roman church against setting up any arrogant claims on the ground that the keys of the kingdom of heaven had been given to St. Peter; since they could have no force in opposition to the faith of the universal church.[2] Addressing himself to both parties, he says, "Therefore, beloved, be ye one, and seek not to renew old disputes: but be silent rather, and bury them forever in oblivion: and if anything is doubtful, let it be reserved to the final judgment. But whatever is revealed, and capable of being made a matter of human judgment, on this decide justly, and without respect to persons. Mutually acknowledge one another; that there may be joy in heaven and on earth on account of your peace and union. I see not how any Christian can contend with another on the faith; for whatever the orthodox Christian who rightly praises the Lord may say, to that the other must respond Amen, because he has the same faith and the same love. Be ye all, therefore, of the same mind; that ye may be both one, all Christians."

As to Gallus, he found himself to his great grief compelled by sickness to let his beloved father Columban proceed on his journey alone. He took his net, and with his boat proceeded by the lake of Constance to the priest Willimar, by whom they had before been hospitably entertained, where he met with the same friendly reception again. Willimar gave the sick man in charge to two of his clergy. No sooner had Gallus recovered, than he begged the deacon Hiltibad, who was best acquainted with the paths in the surrounding country, as it was his business, by hunting and fishing, to provide for the wants of his companions, to conduct him into the vast forest near by, that he might there look out some suitable spot for a hermitage. But the deacon described to him the great danger to which he would be exposed, the forest being full of wolves, bears and wild boars. Said Gallus, "if God be for us, who can be against us? The God who delivered Dan-

[1] § 10. Roma orbis terrarum caput est ecclesiarum, salva loci dominicae resurrectionis singulari praerogativa.

[2] Vos per hoc forte superciliosum nescio quid prae caeteris vobis majoris auctoritatis ac in divinis rebus potestatis vindicatis, noveritis minorem fore potestatem vestram apud Dominum, si vel cogitatur hoc in cordibus vestris, quia unitas fidei in toto orbe unitatem fecit potestatis et praerogativae, ita ut libertas veritati ubique ab omnibus detur et aditus errori ab omnibus similiter abnegetur, quia confessio recta etiam sancto privilegium dedit claviculario communi omnium.

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iel out of the lion's den, is able to defend me from the fangs of the wild beasts." He prepared himself, by spending a day in prayer and fasting, for the perilous expedition, and with prayer he set out on his journey the next day, accompanied by the deacon. They travelled on till the third hour after noon, when the deacon invited him to sit down with himself, and refresh themselves with food, for they had taken with them bread, and a net to catch fish in the well watered forest. But Gallus said he would taste of nothing, until a place of rest had been shown him. They continued their pilgrimage until sun-down; when they came to a spot, where the river Steinach, precipitating itself from a mountain, had hollowed out a rock, and where plenty of fish were seen swimming in the stream. They caught several in their net. The deacon struck up a fire with a flint, and they prepared themselves a supper. When Gallus, before they sat down to eat, was about to kneel in prayer, he was caught by a thorn-bush, and fell prostrate to the earth. The deacon ran to his assistance; but said Gallus, "let me alone, here is my resting-place forever; here will I abide." And after he had risen from prayer, he made a cross out of a hazel-rod, from which he suspended a capsule of relics. On this spot Gallus now laid the foundation of a monastery, which led to the clearing up of the forest, and the conversion of the land into cultivable soil, and which afterwards became so celebrated under his name, St. Gall. Some years after this foundation, in 615, the vacant bishopric of Costnitz was offered to Gallus; but he declined it, and procured that the choice should fall upon a native of the country, a certain deacon Johannes, who had been trained under his own direction. The consecration of the new bishop to his office drew together a large concourse of people of every rank, and the abbot Gallus availed himself of this opportunity to bring home to the hearts of the still ignorant people, who had but recently been converted from Paganism, a word of exhortation suited to their case. He himself delivered in the Latin language what his disciple interpreted to the people in the dialect of the country.[1] After having described in this discourse the history of God's providence, for the salvation of mankind, from the fall downwards, he concluded with these words: We who are thus the unworthy ministers of this message to the present times, adjure you in Christ's name, that as ye have once, at your baptism, renounced the devil, all his works and all his ways, so ye would renounce all these through your whole life and live as becometh children of God; and he proceeded to designate, by name, the sins which they should especially strive to shun. Having then alluded to the judgment of God, in time and in eternity, he ended with the blessing: "May the Almighty God, who wills that all men should be saved, and come to the knowledge of the truth, and who through the ministry of my tongue has communicated this to your ears, may he himself by his own grace cause it to bring forth fruit in your hearts!" Thus Gallus labored for the salvation of the Swiss and Swabian populations dwelling around him till the year 640.[2] A short time before his death, he had

[1] The sermon is to be found among others in Galland. Bibl. patr. T. 12.

[2] The oldest, simplest account of the life of Gallus, written in a Latin which is often

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requested his old friend the priest Willimar, to meet him at the castle of Arbon. Feeble as he was, he summoned his last energies, and preached there to the assembled people. Sickness prevented him from returning back to his monastery, and he died at this place.[1]

He left behind him disciples who labored on, after his example, for the culture of the people and of the country, and founded monasteries, from which proceeded the reclaiming of the wilderness. Among these may be mentioned particularly Magnoald (Magold, or abbreviated Magnus) who had probably while a youth joined Gallus at the castle of Arbon, and was of German descent. He founded the monastery at Füssen (Faucense monasterium), on the Lech, in the department of the Upper Danube; and this marks the theatre of his labors.[2] We may observe in most cases, that these men reached a good old age, — a consequence of their simple mode of life, and a kind of activity, which with all its toils strengthened their physical powers. In a length of life which seldom fell short of seventy years, they were enabled to extend and confirm the work of their hands in a proportionate degree. The number of individuals who thus passed over from Ireland to France was undoubtedly great; and the names of many of them are unknown to us. Of very few indeed have we any exact information. Soon after the death of Gallus, Fridolin a monk came over from Ireland. He labored among the people on the borders of Alsace, Switzerland, and Suabia, and founded a monastery near Säckingen, on the Rhine.[3] There came also from Ireland, soon after the death of Gallus, the monk Thrudpert;[4] he went to Breisgau, in the Black Forest, and would have founded there a monastery; but some of the people, whom a prince of that country, favorable to his plan, sent with him to assist in subduing the wilderness, are said to have murdered him. A monastery, called after his name, St. Hubrecht, perpetuated his memory.[5]

Another Irish monk by the name of Cyllena (Cilian) appeared in the last half of the seventh century, as a preacher in a part of the Frankish territory, where probably, at an earlier period, when it belonged to the Thuringian dominion, some seeds of Christianity had been scattered.[6] He is said to have found in the command of Christ,

scarcely intelligible, is to be found in the latest collection of the scriptores rerum Germanicarum by Pertz III. The recomposed life by the abbot Walafrid Strabo of the ninth century is in Mabillon Acta S. ord. Bened. S. II.

[1] According to the ancient tradition, ninety-five years old: which certainly cannot be correct, as he accompanied Columban from Ireland when he was a young man.

[2] The account of his life (unfortunately of very uncertain authority,) written at a later period, is to be found in the Actis sanctorum, at the VI. of September.

[3] The uncertain accounts of his life, at the VI. of March.

[4] It is singular, that the names of the two last sound more like German than Irish; yet they may have been early altered by a foreign pronunciation.

[5] See Acta p. 26. April.

[6] We are in want of ancient and trustworthy accounts of the life of this man also; for the older and simpler biographical notices published among those of Canisius (Lect. antiqq. T. III.) cannot be so called. What is told in them both, about Cilian's journey to Rome, for the purpose of obtaining full power from the pope to enter upon his missionary labors, certainly does not look exactly like what we might expect from an Irish monk.

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To forsake all and follow him, a call expressly addressed to himself, and bidding him to engage in the work of a missionary. He set out on his journey with several companions, and came to Würzburg, where he fell in with a certain duke Gozbert, who was baptized by him, and whose example was followed by many of his people. But this person afterwards contracted a marriage with Geilane, his brother's widow, thus violating laws of the church; Cilian, believing him to have arrived at sufficient maturity of Christian knowledge to know better, upbraided him with this as a crime. He resolved to separate from her—but Geilane, being informed of his intention, took advantage of the absence of her husband in a time of war, and caused Cilian to be put to death. If the facts were so, we have here an example showing how the missionaries were hampered and thwarted in the discharge of their proper duties, from being no longer able to discriminate between the divine law and human prescriptions.

As it respects the dissemination of Christianity in Bavaria proper; our sources of information are not sufficiently accurate and certain to enable us to trace the progress of events, subsequent to the death of that man of God, Severinus. From the neighboring fields of missionary labor already mentioned, many seeds of divine truth would find their way here also. It may be supposed, that Irish missionaries would not fail to visit so inviting a spot. A Frankish synod, in the year 613, felt itself called to do something for the spread of Christianity, as well as the diffusion of pure Christian knowledge, among the neighboring populations; and they committed this work to the abbot Eustasius, of Luxeuil, the successor of Columban, and to the monk Agil.[1] These persons are said to have extended their travels as far as Bavaria, where they found not only the remains of idolatry, but also certain heretical views of Christianity;[2] namely, as it is asserted, the errors of Photinus and Bonosus.

As regards the so-designated doctrines of Bonosus, it may be conjectured, that some Irish missionary had introduced there the opinion, in earlier times not deemed offensive, that Mary had other sons after the birth of Jesus; but it may be questioned, whether the reporters of this account had any right notion of the doctrine of Bonosus, or knew how to distinguish it from that of Photinus. At all events, by the latter they meant the denial of Christ's divinity, and the opinion that he was merely a man.[3] We might then suppose, either that

[1] Called by the French St. Aile, afterwards abbot of the monastery Resbacum, Rébais.

[2] The road to Elsace, on the borders of Switzerland, led them perhaps next still further towards Bavaria; for one object of their journey was the tribe of Waraskians, whose locality, in the life of St. Salaberga, (Mabillon O. B. saec. II. f. 425.) is thus described: "qui partem Sequanorum provinciae et Duvii (river Doubs) amnis fluenta ex utraque parte incolunt." According to the Life of Eustasius by the monk Jonas, Eustasius went in the first place to the Waraskians, and found such errors prevailing only among this people—among the Bavarians merely idolatry. But according to the Life of Salaberga, Eustasius went first to the Bavarians, and found such errors prevailing first among these. Also in the Life of Agil (f. 319) their *route* is described in the same manner; but whether these errors were found to prevail also among the Bavarians, is not stated.

[3] The author of the Life of Salaberga describes the erroneous doctrines most distinctly: "purum hominem dominum nos-

some among the new converts had framed to themselves such a conception of the Christian doctrine, the rude understanding of the natural man being easily led to form such views of Christ,[1] or that the ignorance of rude missionaries had given occasion to these opinions; for no sooner had the enthusiasm for missionary labors begun to spread, than it happened, that even such as possessed no suitable qualifications were led from the force of imitation, from ambition, or other impure motives, to devote themselves to the work.[2] It is probable, however, that these errors sprung from some root of false doctrine, which had been propagated among these tribes at a much earlier period; for we find already, at the close of the fifth century, indications of the fact, that along with the Arians, the followers also of these Photinian opinions sought to introduce their doctrines among the Burgundians; whether it was that Arianism itself had called forth a tendency of the natural understanding, which proceeded still further in the denial of our Saviour's peculiar dignity, or that such a sect had from ancient times been secretly propagated in the Roman empire, and now sought to gain among the newly converted people, a place of refuge for itself as well as proselytes to its faith.[3]

When about the middle of the seventh century, Emmeran, a bishop from Aquitania,[4] made a journey to Hungary, with a view to labor for the conversion of the Avares, the Bavarian duke Theodo I., as it is recorded, represented to him, that desolating wars rendered his undertaking impracticable, and begged him, instead of pursuing his plan, to remain in Bavaria, where some seeds of Christianity were already to be found, though mixed up with paganism, and to labor for

trum Jesum esse absque Deitate patris." But here also no distinction is made in fact between the doctrine of Photin and of Bonosus; and as the other narrators say likewise: Photinus vel Bonosus, they too were doubtless aware of no difference.

[1] How possible it is for heretical tendencies to spring up even in the midst of a people in a wholly rude state, when Christianity has made some little progress among them, is seen at present in the remarkable appearances among the islanders of the Pacific Ocean. See the Missionary Operations in the South Sea, by F. Krohn, Hamburg F. Perthes 1833, and Missionary Register for 1832, pp. 99 and 365.

[2] Thus e. g. it is related in the life of the abbot Eustasius, that a certain Agrestius, who had been secretary of the Frankish king Thierri II., seized with sudden feelings of contrition, had renounced all his earthly possessions, and withdrawn to retirement in the convent of Luxeuil. Next he was seized with a violent desire to become a missionary; and it was in vain the abbot Eustasius assured him, that he wanted the maturity necessary for that employment. He went among the Bavarians, but tarried there only a short time, as he could effect nothing.

[3] Sidonius Apollinaris, bishop of Clermont, (epp I. VI ep. 12. opp. Sirmond I. f. 582) speaks of the pains taken by Patinus, bishop of Lyons, to convert the Photinians among the Burgundian people. It might be supposed, however, that he here confounded the Photinians with the Arians. Yet it is plain, from a letter of Avitus bishop of Vienne to the Burgundian king Gundobad, (ep. 28. opp. Sirmond II. f. 44) that persons who denied a preëxistent divine nature of Christ, perhaps proper Photinians, had sought to gain over the king to their opinions. Hence he was led to consult bishop Avitus.

[4] Not even the name of his bishopric is stated in the account of his life first compiled in the eleventh century, which Canisius has published in the third volume of his Lectiones antiquae. The life, in this form, was first composed in the eleventh century; and though an earlier narrative furnishes the basis of it, yet even this does not reach back to the age of Emmeran; and these later compilations are always less trustworthy. A true picture of the labors and fortunes of Emmeran cannot be recovered from these meagre biographies.

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the restoration of religion to its purity among his people. He labored there for three years. After this, he undertook a journey to Rome, intending to spend the remainder of his days in the vicinity of places deemed sacred; but waylaid and murdered by a son of the duke to revenge an accusation of which he was supposed to be the author, he perished as a martyr.[1] At the close of the seventh century, Rudbert (Ruprecht) bishop of Worms, descended from a royal family among the Franks, made a journey to Bavaria at the invitation of duke Theodo II. He begged of the duke that he might be allowed to establish himself in a wild district of country, full of the remains of magnificent structures belonging to the Roman times, where the city of Juvavia lay in ruins. Here he built a church and a monastery, the foundation upon which rose afterwards the bishopric of Salzburg. After this he returned to his native land, to procure further aid for the prosecution of his growing work; and with twelve new missionaries he returned to his old field of action, and labored afresh in it until at an advanced age. Thinking his work established on a sufficiently firm foundation, and having left behind him a successor in the field, he returned back to his bishopric, for the purpose of spending there the remnant of his days.[2] After these men, followed the Frankish hermit Corbinian, who settled down in the district where afterwards sprung up the bishopric of Freisingen.

Bordering on the kingdom of the Franks was the powerful, barbarous and warlike tribe of the Frieslanders, who besides the strip of territory which still bears their name, had possession of several other portions of the Netherlands and of the neighboring Germany; and partly by reason of their vicinity, partly by the conquest of some portions of the territory, zealous bishops among the Franks found opportunity of extending among this people the sphere of their labors. Among these, was Amandus, a person of glowing zeal, but who seems to have been wanting in prudence and wisdom. Having been ordained as a bishop without any fixed diocese (episcopus regionarius), he chose the districts of the Schelde, then belonging to the kingdom of the Franks, as his field of labor. He came to the place called Gandavum (Ghent), and here found idolatry prevailing. But he was unable to subdue the barbarism of the people. He procured an order from the Frankish king Dagobert, by which all might be compelled to submit to baptism. In endeavoring to carry this command into execution, and to preach to the people, who as it may well be supposed could derive but little benefit from preaching, backed by such forcible measures, he exposed himself to the most violent persecutions and ill-treatment, and sometimes to the peril of his life. Yet he endeavored also to win the affections of his hearers by acts of benevolence. He redeemed

[1] The cause of the persecution excited against him still remains in the dark. According to the abovementioned life, Emmeran, out of compassion to the guilty ones, took upon himself the blame of the pregnancy of a daughter of the duke; and when at some later period he retracted the pious fiction, he was not believed.

[2] Respecting these missionaries also we have only a meagre account, drawn up at a much later period. Canis. Lect. antiq. T III. P. II.

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captives; instructed and baptized them. A great impression was made by him on the minds of the rude people, when on a certain occasion, he caused a thief, who had been hung, and whom he had sought in vain, by his intercessions, to deliver from the punishment of death, to be taken down from the gallows after the execution of his sentence, and conveyed to his own chamber, where he succeeded in recalling him to life. As he appeared now in the character of a miracle-worker, many came to him of their own accord and were baptized. They destroyed their idol-temples, and Amandus was assisted by presents of the king and the united offerings of pious men, in the work of converting these temples into monasteries and churches. But now instead of continuing to build on these first successful issues, and to extend and establish on a still firmer foundation his sphere of action where so much still remained to be done, and a happy beginning had just been made, he allowed himself to be hurried on by a fanatical zeal to seek martyrdom among the savage Slavonians, and directed his course to the countries around the Danube; but finding here no opportunity of doing good, nor even a chance for martyrdom, being received perhaps with indifference or ridicule rather than rage, he soon returned back to his former field of labor. At last, he obtained a fixed diocese, as bishop of Mastricht (Trajectum) and with indefatigable pains, he journeyed through it, exhorting the clergy to the faithful discharge of their duties, and preaching to the pagan populations who dwelt within, or on the borders of, his diocese, till his death, in 679.[1] One of the most distinguished among these Frankish bishops who exerted themselves in the cause of missions, was Eligius.[2] The story of his life before he became a bishop, shows, that amidst all the rudeness of the Frankish people, and in spite of the sensuous coloring of the religious spirit, some remains of vital Christianity were still preserved in old Christian families. From such a family Eligius had sprung.[3] Already, while pursuing the occupation of a goldsmith, he had by remarkable skill in his art, as well as by his integrity and trust-worthiness, won the particular esteem and confidence of king Clotaire I. and stood high at his court. Even then the cause of the gospel was to him the dearest interest to which everything else was made subservient. While working at his art, he always had a bible lying open before him. The abundant income of his labors, he devoted to religious objects and deeds of charity. Whenever he heard of captives — who in these days were often dragged off in troops as slaves — that were to be sold at auction,[4] he hastened to the spot and paid down their price. Sometimes, by his means, a hundred at once, men and women, thus obtained their liberty. He then left it to their choice, either to return home, or to remain with him as free Christian brethren, or to become monks. In the first case,

[1] The source, is the ancient account of his life in the Actis S. Ord. Bened. Mabillon Saec. II.

[2] St. Eloy. His life, written by his disciple Audoen, is better suited than other biographies of this period to give a true and vivid picture of the man it describes. It is found in D'Achery spicileg. T. II. nov. edit.

[3] Born at Chatelat, four miles from Limoges, A. D. 588.

[4] Praecipue e genere Saxonum, qui abunde eo tempore veluti greges a sedibus pro priis evulsi in diversa distrahebantur.

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he gave them money for their journey; in the last, which pleased him most, he took pains to procure them a handsome reception into some monastery. While a layman, he made use of his Christian knowledge, in which he excelled many of the common clergy, to further the religious instruction of the people. Thus his fame soon spread far and wide, and when strangers from abroad, from Italy or Spain, came on any business to the king, they first repaired to him for consultation and advice. In the practice of his art, he was most pleased to be employed on objects connected with the interests of religion, consequently in accordance with the peculiar spirit of those times, in adorning with costly shrines the graves of saints.

This person, in 641, was appointed bishop over the extensive diocese of Vermandois, Tournay and Noyon, the boundaries of which touched on pagan tribes, while its inhabitants were many of them still pagans, or new converts, and Christians only in name. With indefatigable zeal he discharged the duties of this office till 659, through a period of eighteen years. He took every pains to search out the rude populations within the bounds of his extensive diocese and even beyond them. In these tours of visitation, he had to suffer many insults and persecutions, sometimes exposing his life to danger; but by love, gentleness and patience he triumphed over every obstacle. The account which his scholar and biographer gives us of the matter of his discourses, shows that he was very far from attaching importance to a barely external conversion, or mere conformity to the Christian ritual; on the contrary, he endeavored carefully to put men on their guard against such outward show, and to insist on a Christian change of heart in its whole extent. "It is not enough — said he — that you have taken upon you the Christian name, if you do not the works of a Christian. The Christian name is profitable to him, who constantly treasures Christ's precepts in his heart and expresses them in his life." He reminded his hearers of their baptismal vows, recalled them to the sense of what these vows implied and of what was requisite in order to fulfil them. He then warned them against particular sins, and exhorted them to various kinds of good works. He taught them that love was the fulfilling of the law, and that the dignity of the children of God consisted in their loving even their enemies for God's sake. He warned them against the remains of pagan superstition. They should not allow themselves to be deluded by auguries or pretended omens of good or ill fortune;[1] but when going on a journey or about to engage in any other business, they should simply cross themselves in the name of Christ, repeat the creed and the Pater noster with faith and sincere devotion, and no power of the evil one would be able to hurt them. No Christian should care in the least on what day he left his house, or on what day he returned home, for all days alike were made by God. None should bind an amulet on the neck of man or beast, even though the charm were prepared by a priest, though it were said to be a holy

[1] Similiter et auguria, vel sternutationes nolite observare, nec in itinere positi aliquas aviculas cantantes attendatis.

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thing and to contain passages of Holy Writ; for there was in it no remedy of Christ, but only a poison of the devil. In everything, men should simply seek to be partakers of the grace of Christ, and to confide, with the whole heart, in the power of his name. They should desire constantly to have Christ in their hearts, and his sign on their foreheads; for the sign of Christ was a great thing, but it profited those only, who labored to fulfil his commandments.

About this period, *Livin*, descended from a respectable Irish family,[1] labored as a missionary among the barbarous people in Brabant; and in 656 he experienced the martyrdom which he had predicted for himself.[2]

Monks from England must have found in their relationship to the German nations, a peculiar motive for engaging in the work of conveying to these nations the message of salvation; and by means of this relationship such an enterprise would in their case be greatly facilitated. In the last times of the seventh century, many young Englishmen resorted to Ireland, partly for the purpose of leading a silent and strictly spiritual life among the monks of that island, and partly for the sake of gathering up the various knowledge there to be obtained. They were received by the Irish with Christian hospitality, and provided not only with the means of subsistence, but with books. Among these, was one by the name of Egbert, who in a sickness which threatened to prove fatal, made a vow, that if God spared his life, he would not return to his native land, but devote his days to the service of the Lord in some foreign country. He afterwards decided, with several companions, to repair to the German tribes; but when on the point of embarking with them, was detained behind.[3] His companions, however, carried their resolution into effect; and thus it was he that really gave the first impulse to the work, which subsequently placed the German church on a stable foundation. The principal among these was the monk *Wigbert*. He resided for two years among the Frieslanders, who at that time still maintained their independence; but owing to the rude temper of the people and of their king Radbod, he met with too determined a resistance, and returned, without accomplishing anything, to his native land. But the work was resumed with better success by another person from England, the presbyter *Willibrord*. A pious education had early lighted up in him the fire of divine love. At the age of twenty, he too visited Ireland, for the purpose of being trained; and after having spent there twelve years,[4] he felt an impulse constraining him to live no longer

[1] Boniface, who wrote the life of this person, affirms, it is true, that he received his facts from the mouth of three of Livin's disciples: but still his narrative is entitled to little confidence, and cannot be safely used. Livin is said to have received baptism from Augustin, the founder of the English church; but to judge from the relations in which he stood to the British church, this certainly is not probable.

[2] His poetical letter to the abbot Florbert in Ghent:

Impia barbarico gens exagitata tumultu
  Hic Brabanta furit meque cruenta petit.
Quid tibi peccavi qui pacis nuntia porto?
  Pax est, quod porto, cur mihi bella moves?
Sed qua tu spiras, feritas, sors laeta triumphi,
  Atque dabit palmam gloria martyrii.
Cui credam novi, nec spe frustrabor inani,
  Qui spondet Deus est, quis dubitare potest?

[3] Bede III. 27; V. 11, 12.

[4] See Alcuin's Life of Willibrord.

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simply for his own improvement, but to labor also for the good of others; and the fame of the nations of German descent, the Frieslanders, the Saxons, where the field of labor was so great, and the laborers so few, strongly attracted him. Pipin, mayor of the palace, having subdued the Frieslanders and made a part of them dependent on the Frankish empire, new and more favorable prospects were thus opened for a mission into these countries. He set out with twelve associates, and others followed after. Among these were two brothers by the name of Heuwald, who died as martyrs among the Saxons. Willibrord having been invited by Pipin to fix the seat of his labors in the northern parts of his kingdom, first visited Rome, in the year 692, yielding to that respect for the Roman church which was so deeply impressed on the English mind. His object was to begin the great work under the authority of the pope, and to provide himself with relics for the consecration of the new churches. Meantime his associates were not inactive. They got one of their own number, a gentle spirit, Svidbert by name, to be ordained as bishop, and he labored among the Westphalian tribe of the Boruchtuarians, but by an irruption of the Saxons was driven away; whereupon Pipin made over to him the island of Kaiserwörth, in the Rhine, for the foundation of a monastery.

Willibrord soon returned from Rome, and began his labors, with flattering results, in Frankish Friesland. Pipin now concluded to give the new church a fixed and permanent form, by erecting a bishopric which should have its seat in the old borough of the Wilts (Wilteburg, the Roman Trajectum, Utrecht), and for this purpose sent Willibrord to Rome, to receive ordination from the pope as an independent bishop over the new church. Thus his church was to obtain the dignity of a metropolis, or an archbishopric. The fame of Willibrord's labors in these districts is said to have induced *Wulfram*, a bishop of Sens, to repair thither with several companions. He went to those Frieslanders who were not yet subjected to the Frankish dominion, and is said to have baptized many. A characteristic incident is related of his labors, which, though the account of his life cannot be relied on as authentic, may nevertheless be true. King Radbod came and represented himself as prepared to receive baptism, but was first desirous of having one question answered; namely, whether on arriving at heaven, he should find there his forefathers also, the earlier kings. The bishop replied, that these, having died without baptism, had assuredly been condemned to hell. "What business have I, then — said Radbod — with a few poor people in heaven; I prefer to abide by the religion of my fathers." Though the barbarous Radbod was, doubtless, only seeking a pretext to reject, in a half bantering way, the proposal that he should embrace Christianity, still this incident may serve to illustrate how the spread of Christianity was hindered and checked, by the narrow and tangled views of its doctrines which had grown out of the ordinances of the church. Alike fruitless were all the pains bestowed by Willibrord on the king of the Frieslanders. The active missionary made a journey,

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however, to the north, beyond the province of Radbod, as far as Denmark. Yet all that he could do here was to purchase thirty of the native youths. These he instructed as he travelled; and having at length landed on a certain island consecrated to the ancient German deity Fosite (Fosite's land, Helgoland) he meant to avail himself of some opportunity while he remained there, to baptize them. But to touch anything consecrated to the god on this holy island, was considered a capital crime. When Willibrord therefore ventured to baptize the lads in a sacred fountain, while his associates slaughtered some animals deemed sacred, the fury of the people was greatly excited. One of the missionaries, selected by lot, was sacrificed to the idols; the rest king Radbod sent back to the Frankish kingdom. Somewhat later, Willibrord was enabled to extend the field of his labors among this people. It was when the Frieslanders were more completely subjected to the Frankish dominion, and after the death of king Radbod, the most violent opposer of the Christian church. This happened in 719. At a still later period, he was assisted in no inconsiderable degree, by one of the natives, a man of high standing, and a zealous Christian. In him, while yet a heathen, we have a remarkable instance of that drawing of the Heavenly Father, which leads those who follow it to the Son; for even then he strove to follow the law of God written on the heart. He was a benefactor to the poor, a defender of the oppressed, and as a judge exercised justice. But in fearlessly administering the law, and setting his face against all the wrong done by king Radbod and his servants, he drew upon himself the persecutions of that prince, and was compelled to escape, with his family, to the neighboring kingdom of the Franks. Here he met with a friendly reception; here too he became acquainted with the Christian doctrines, was convinced of their truth, and went over, with his whole family, to the Christian church. After the death of king Radbod, Charles Martel, the mayor of the palace, presented him with a feof on the borders of Friesland, and sent him back to his native country, to labor there for the promotion of the Christian faith. He established himself in the vicinity of Utrecht, and with his whole family, zealously maintained the preaching of the faith.[1] Thus Willibrord labored for more than thirty years as bishop of the new church. In 739, at the age of eighty-one, he died.[2]

But notwithstanding the individual efforts which had thus far been made, on so many different sides, for the introduction of Christianity into Germany, still these isolated and scattered attempts, without a common centre, or a firm ecclesiastical bond to unite the individual plans in one concerted whole, could accomplish but little which was calculated to endure, amid such a mass of untutored nations and under circumstances in so many respects unfavorable. To insure the steady

[1] See Altfrid's Life of St. Liudger, near the beginning: Monumenta Germaniae historica by Pertz T. II. f. 405.

[2] Bede says of him, A. D. 731: Ipse adhuc superest, longa jam venerabilis aetate, utpote tricesimum et sextum in episcopatu habens annum et post multiplices militiae coelestis agones ad praemia remunerationis supernae tota mente suspirans

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progress of Christianity among these populations for all future time, one of two things was necessary. Either a large number of missionaries laboring singly, and relying simply *on the power of the divine word lodged in the hearts of men*, would have to be distributed through a large number of smaller fields, and to prepare the way, so that the Christian church might *gradually* and by *working* outwards *from within*, attain among these nations a fixed and determinate shape, and Christianity like a leaven penetrate through the whole mass of the people; and this was the end to which the efforts of the Irish and British missionaries chiefly tended; or some one individual must rise up, endowed with great energy and wisdom, to conduct the whole enterprise after *one* plan, who would be able in a much shorter space of time to found a universal German church after some determinate outward form, and to secure its perpetuity by forced outward institutions knit in close connection with the great body of the Roman church. The latter was done; and it was the work of Boniface, whom for this reason, though he found already many scattered missionaries in Germany, we must still regard as the father both of the German church, and of Christian civilization in Germany.

Winfrid, as he was properly named,[1] was born in Kirton, Devonshire, in the year 680. He belonged, as it seems, to a family of some consideration, and was destined by his father for a secular profession. But by the discourses of the clergy, who according to an old English custom[2] were used to visit the families of the laity for the purpose of instructing them in the faith and advancing their progress in the Christian life, the heart of the youth, peculiarly susceptible to religious impressions, was inflamed with a passion for the monastic life; and his father, who was at first opposed, rendered humble and pliant by a reverse of fortune, was finally induced to yield to his wishes. In two considerable English convents, at Adscancester (Exeter) and Nutescelle, he received his clerical education, and theological training. The predominant bent of his mind was practical. By prudence and skill in the management of affairs, he must have early distinguished himself; hence he was employed by his convent as their chosen agent in all difficult cases. But the passion for foreign travel which seemed innate in the monks of these islands, together with a loftier wish of devoting his life to labors for promoting the salvation of pagan nations,[3] constrained him to form the resolution of leaving his native land. In 715, he set out on his voyage to Friesland; yet the consequences of the war, then unfortunate for the French kingdom, between the Ma-

[1] The name *Bonifacius*, by which he was commonly known after his ordination as a bishop, he had perhaps adopted already on his entrance into the convent.

[2] This, in truth, was a kind of duty to which the English missionaries were earnestly devoted from the very first, see above p. 21, 23. In the life of Boniface by his scholar, the presbyter Willibald, in Pertz Monumenta Germaniae historica T. H. c. 1. p. 334, it is said: "Cum vero aliqui, sicut illis in regionibus moris est, presbyteri sive clerici populares vel laicos praedicandi causa adiissent."

[3] He himself says in a letter to an English abbess: "Postquam nos timor Christi et amor peregrinationis longa et lata terrarum ac maris intercapedine separavit" ep. 31.

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jor domo Charles Martel and the Friesland king Radbod, proved a hindrance to his labors, and he was therefore induced, after having spent a whole summer and a part of the autumn in Utrecht, to return back to his convent. The monks of his cloister were now ready and anxious to make him their abbot, the office having just become vacant; but he could not be induced to abandon the missionary work which was so dear to his heart, and following the example of the older English missionaries, he first visited Rome in the autumn of the year 718, when pope Gregory II, to whom he had been recommended by his wise friend Daniel, bishop of Winchester, commissioned him to preach the gospel to the pagan nations of Germany. He now made his first essay in Thuringia, to which at that time a large portion of the French territory belonged: but the information which he obtained there, convinced him, that to accomplish the ends he had in view, it would be necessary for him to secure the coöperation of the French government; and he repaired for this purpose to Charles Martel the mayor of the palace. The favorable prospects which began to open on the mission to Friesland by the death of Radbod in 719, induced him to visit that country, and he acted under the Archbishop Willibrord for three years with encouraging success. The latter, in his advanced age, was desirous of securing him as his successor; but Boniface thought it his duty to decline this offer, feeling himself impelled by an inward call from above to secure the spread of the gospel among the nations of Germany, whose sad condition was known to him by actual observation. This thought so occupied his mind, as to present itself in the shape of a dream,[1] in which he heard the divine call, and saw opened to his view the sure prospect of an abundant harvest among the pagan nations of Germany. In obedience to this call, he journeyed, in 722, to Hessia and Thuringia; at Amoeneburg in Upper Hessia, he baptised two princes of the country, Detwig and Dierolf, and there he founded the first monastery. In Thuringia, a country exposed, by wars with the bordering Saxons, to constant devastations, he had to sustain many dangers and hardships, with great difficulty obtaining a scanty supply for his own wants and those of his companions.[2] Having reported the results of his labors thus far to the pope, he was called by the latter to Rome, which in obedience to this call, he visited again in the year 723. Pope Gregory II, had it in view to consecrate him as bishop over the new church; but he wished in the first place, after the usual manner

[1] I take this anecdote from a letter of the abbess Bugga to Boniface, who at that time was still a presbyter ep. III. In praising the divine mercy, which had been shown to him in so many ways, te transeuntem per ignotos pagos piissime conduxit, she adds: Primum pontificem gloriosae sedis ad desiderium mentis tuae blandiendum inclinavit, postea inimicum catholicae ecclesiae Rathbodum coram te consternavit, demum *per somnia semetipso revelavit, quod debuisti manifeste messem Dei metere et* congregare sanctarum animarum manipulos in horreum regis coelestis. The series of events here described harmonises entirely with the chronology of Boniface's life, as cleared up from other sources. First his journey to Rome and the acquiescence of the pope in his missionary enterprises; next, the event so fortunate for the mission among the Frieslanders, the death of Radbod; then the inward call of God to labor among the pagan tribes of Germany, confirmed by a vision.

[2] See Liudger's life of abbot Gregory of Utrecht § 6.

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to make sure of his orthodoxy, and for this purpose required him to repeat his confession of faith. Partly because he was ignorant of the Roman mode of pronouncing Latin, partly because he distrusted his ability to find suitable expressions at once for doctrinal matter in an oral discourse,[1] he begged to be allowed the privilege of presenting to the pope a written confession, which was granted him. The pope being satisfied with this confession and with the manner in which he had acquitted himself in reporting his labors thus far, solemnly ordained him as bishop over the new church to be founded in Germany,[2] without assigning of course, for the present, a special diocese.[3] His labors were to be confined to no one place; but he was to travel round among the tribes, and to spend the most of his time wherever necessity might require.[4] At this ordination, Boniface bound himself by an oath to ecclesiastical obedience to the pope similar to that usually taken by the Italian bishops belonging to the several Patriarchal dioceses of the Roman church,[5] but with such modifications, as the difference between the relations of an Italian bishop and of a bishop of the new German church required. At the tomb of the Apostle Peter he took the oath, which in substance was as follows: "I promise thee, the first of the Apostles, and thy representative pope Gregory, and his successors, that with God's help I will abide in the unity of the Catholic faith, that I will in no manner agree with anything contrary to the unity of the Catholic church, but will in every way maintain my faith pure and my coöperation constantly for thee, and for the benefit of thy church, on which was bestowed by God the power to bind and to loose, and for thy representative aforesaid, and his successors. And whenever I find, that the conduct of the presiding officers of churches contradicts the ancient decrees and ordinances of the fathers, I will have no fellowship or connection with them; but on the contrary, if I can hinder them, I will hinder them; and if not, report them faithfully to the pope.[6]"

[1] This is probably the meaning of Boniface's words: "Novi me imperitum jam peregrinus" (after he had spent so long a time among the rude populations, and was used to speak only in the German tongue) l. c. in Pertz p. 343. Hence it is next said also of written confessions of faith: Fidem *urbanae* eloquentiae scientia conscriptam.

[2] Yet Boniface seems by no means to have been resolved from the first to pass the whole of his life in Germany; and hence he could not have entertained the design of becoming the head of a new church; for it was his purpose, some time or other, to return to his native land, as is evident from his IV letter ed. Würdtwein, in which, exhorting a friend in England to the diligent study of the sacred scriptures, he says to him: Si dominus voluerit, ut aliquando ad istas partes remeans, *sicut propositum habeo*, per viam (it should doubtless read vitam) spondeo, me tibi in his omnibus fore fidelem amicum et in studio divinarum scripturarum, in quantum vires suppeditent, devotissimum adjutorem.

[3] A so called episcopus regionarius.

[4] As late as the year 739, Gregory III, wrote to him: "Nec enim habebis licentiam, frater, pro incepti laboris utilitate in uno morari loco, sed confirmatis cordibus fratrum et omnium fidelium qui rarescunt in illis Hesperiis partibus, ubi tibi dominus aperuerit viam salutis, praedicare non deseras."

[5] The form of an oath of this sort is still preserved in the business-diary of the popes, belonging to the first part of the eighth century, the Liber diurnus Romanorum pontificum, published by the Jesuit Garnier at Paris 1680, and to be found in C. G. Hoffmann nova scriptorum ac monumentorum collectio. T. II. Lips. 1733.

[6] This latter passage was calculated especially with reference to the circumstances under which Boniface was to labor; and in the present case the references in the original oath, which might suit the old relations of the pope to the Byzantine empire, were altered for the occasion. In the latter, it ran thus: Promitto pariter, quod

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This formal oath was of the greater moment in its influence on the formation of the New German church, inasmuch as Boniface — such was the integrity of his character — would be most conscientious in observing its provisions. The question was now settled, whether the German church should be incorporated into the old system of the Roman hierarchy, and the entire Christian culture of the West be determined by this; or whether from this time onward there should go forth from the German church a reaction of free Christian development. The last would have taken place, if the more free-minded British and Irish missionaries, who were scattered among the German populations, had succeeded in gaining the preponderance. At Rome the danger which threatened from this quarter was well understood; and the formal oath prescribed to Boniface was doubtless expressly intended for the purpose of warding off this danger, and of making Boniface an instrument of the Roman church system, for suppressing the freer institutions which sprung from the British and the Irish churches. The purpose of his mission was not barely to convert the pagans, but quite as much also to bring back those whom the heretics had led astray, to orthodoxy, and to obedience to the Roman church.[1] And it is singular to remark, that the church from which the Christian spirit that was to burst the chains of the Roman church system was destined to proceed, was even in its first beginnings on the point of taking this same direction!

Now, although the missionaries, whom Gregory was bound to oppose, were his superiors in Christian knowledge and in clerical training, yet it may be questioned, whether they so exactly understood the condition and the wants of the rude nations among whom the Christian church was to be planted; and whether they were qualified to labor for this object to so good a purpose; — whether they could

si quid contra rem publicam vel piissimum principem nostrum a quolibet agi cognovero, minime consentire; sed in quantum virtus suffragaverit, obviare et vicario tuo, domino meo apostolico, modis, quibus potuero, nuntiare et id agere vel facere, quatenus fidem meam in omnibus sincerissimam exhibeam.

[1] In an old report, the object of Boniface's mission is thus described: ut ultra Alpes pergeret et in illis partibus, *ubi haeresis maxime pullularet*, sua salubri doctrina funditus eam eradicaret. S. acta S. Mens. Jun. T. I. f. 482. Willibald also, in his life of Boniface, speaks of the influence of such ecclesiastics in Thuringia: qui sub nomine religionis maximam haereticae pravitatis introduxerunt sectam § 23. Pertz monumenta II. f. 344. Compare also the admonition of pope Gregory III. in the epistola ad episcopos Bavariae et Alemanniae, that they should receive Boniface with all due respect as the pope's legate, adopt the liturgy and creed according to the model of the Roman apostolic church, and beware of the doctrina venientium Brittonum vel falsorum sacerdotum et haereticorum ep. 45. In his letter to the German bishops and dukes, (ep. 6) the pope states it as being the object of Boniface's mission, partly to convert the heathen, partly et si quos forte vel ubicunque a rectae tramite fidei deviasse cognoverit aut astutia diabolica suasos erroneos repererit, corrigat. It must be owned, that even in the official letters, the customary forms of the chancery style from the liber diuturnus seem sometimes to have been preserved unaltered, though they may have been scarcely suited to these new relations. Thus, in the letter to the Germans, (ep. 10) in reference to the obstacles to ordination: "non audeat promovere Afros passim ad ecclesiasticos ordines praetendentes, quia aliqui eorum Manichaei, aliqui rebaptizati saepius sunt probati." Which warning might have some force in the time of Gregory the Great; but could hardly be in place, as applied to the churches in Germany.

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have laid the foundation of an ecclesiastical structure, which might promise to endure and bid defiance to destruction. But certainly Boniface, who had been educated in the faith of the Roman theocratic church system, and inured to the punctilious obedience of the monks, could not, from his own point of view and according to his own religious convictions, act otherwise than he did; and he verily believed that by so acting, he was taking the best course to promote the prosperity of the new church. Indeed, the course of development pursued by the church under the guiding hand of a higher Spirit, had long since been settled after such an order, as that the nations should first be trained and nurtured to the full age of gospel freedom by means of a legal Christianity, or a gospel in the form of Judaism.

Supported by letters of recommendation from the pope, Boniface directed his steps, in the first place, to the mayor of the palace; and after having made sure of his coöperation, proceeded to Hessia and then to Thuringia. It might be expected, from what has already been said, that Boniface would find a foundation of Christianity already laid for him in Thuringia. This, too, is presupposed by the pope, in the letters which Boniface carried with him.[1] The pope required the people of Thuringia to erect churches,[2] and to build a house for Boniface. We see from the letters of the pope to some of the nobles, and other believers in Thuringia, that a contest was already going on there between the pagan and the Christian party; for he praises the Christian dukes, because they had not suffered themselves to be moved by any threats of the pagans to take part again in idolatry, but had declared that they were ready to die rather than do anything to injure the Christian faith.[3] Boniface now brought back to Christianity such of the chief men as had fallen away. Having confirmed the wavering, he proceeded to labor for the suppression of paganism, which still continued to prevail among the mass of the people, and for the further spread of Christianity among them. Up to the year 739, Boniface had baptized towards one hundred thousand of the pagan inhabitants of Germany; and this, as pope Gregory III. remarks, was effected by his exertions and those of Charles Martel.[4]

[1] Nor does Willibald, in his life of Boniface, say that he first planted Christianity here, but that he restored it. He says, that the bad administration of the country under the dukes dependent on the Frankish empire, (since the destruction of the Thuringian empire, A. D. 531) favored the revival of paganism, and even induced a portion of the people to become subject to the pagan Saxons. He says of Boniface: seniores plebis populique principes affatus est eosque ad *acceptam dudum* christianitatis religionem iterando provocavit, § 23.

[2] Willibald mentions first the ecclesiastical institution founded by Boniface at Orthorp (Ohrdurf, in the dukedom of Gotha); a church together with a monastery. But as this was already something considerable, and Boniface had now gained a wide entrance among the people, it certainly could not have been the first church which he founded in this country; but this was perhaps the little church near the neighboring village of Altenberga, which tradition derived from him, — the first which he caused to be erected, when coming from Hessia to Thuringia. See Löffler, Celebration in remembrance of the first church in Thuringia, Gotha 1812.

[3] Ep. 8. Quod paganis compellentibus vos ad idola colenda fide plena responderitis, magis velle fèliciter mori, quam fidem semel in Christo acceptam aliquatenus violare.

[4] Ep. 46. Tuo conamine et Caroli principis.

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In the case of these conversions by masses, there may have been a great deal at first which was merely superficial; but the suppression of idolatry, the destruction of every monument that spoke to the senses, the prohibition of all pagan customs, participation in the rites of Christian worship, and the religious instruction given in connection therewith, all this could not but serve to advance the work; while at the same time provision was made for Christian education by schools connected with the monasteries. There is no indication that Boniface ever made use of the power of the mayor of the palace to enforce baptism. For what purpose he required it, we are informed by himself;[1] for he says that without the protection of the Frankish princes, he would have been able neither to govern the people, nor to defend the clergy, monks and nuns (who superintended the instruction of the youth); nor without their command and the fear of their displeasure, to forbid idolatry and the pagan customs.[2] And how much he could effect by destroying an object of superstitious veneration among the people, which from one generation to another, and from the childhood of each individual, had enchained their senses, is shown by the following example. At Geismar, which lay at no great distance from Fritzlar, in the department of Gudensberg, in Upper Hessia, stood a gigantic and venerable oak, sacred to Thor, the god of thunder, which was regarded by the people with feelings of the deepest awe, — and was a central spot for their popular gatherings.[3] In vain had Boniface preached on the vanity of idols. The impression of that ancient object of superstitious veneration ever counteracted the effect of his sermons, and the newly converted were drawn back by it to paganism. Boniface[4] resolved to destroy one sensuous impression by means of another of the like kind. Accompanied by his associates, he repaired to the spot with a large axe. The pagan people stood around, full of rage against the enemy of the gods, and they expected nothing but that those, who dared attack the sacred monument, would fall as dead men, struck by the avenging deity. But when they beheld the huge tree, cut into four pieces, fall prostrate before their eyes, their faith in the power of the dreaded deity vanished. Boniface took advantage of this impression, and, to make it a lasting one, immediately caused to be constructed out of the timber a church, which he dedi-

[1] Ep. 12 to Bishop Daniel.

[2] Sine patrocinio principis Francorum nec populum regere nec presbyteros vel diaconos, monachos vel ancillas Dei defendere possum vel ipsos paganorum ritus et sacrilegia idolorum in Germania sine illius mandato et timore prohibere valeo.

[3] In the district of the ancient Mattium.

[4] An interesting comparison is furnished by what happened in the province of Madura, in India, in August, 1831. There stood in this place a gigantic odia tree, a hundred and twenty years old, which had for several generations been held in great veneration, and was regarded as the seat of the patron god of the province, to whom every year it was customary to present a great offering. At first a number of boughs were chopped off, which were employed in the construction of a school-house. But as the converted head of the village, who had done this, afterwards fell sick, the pagan people regarded it as a punishment sent upon him by the idol. To confute their opinion, he now resolved to cut away the entire tree. As it was falling many hundreds collected around it full of amazement, and they still continued visiting it for a whole week, contemplating it as a wonder, and threatening the new convert with the vengeance of their god. See Missionary Register for 1832, p. 399.

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cated to St. Peter the apostle, whose authority and whose church it was his great aim to establish.

But although he endeavored, after this manner, by outward and sensible impressions, to acquire an influence over the rude people, yet it is evident, from many indications, that he by no means neglected the work of religious instruction, but well understood its high importance. His old friend Daniel, bishop of Winchester, who was now blind, gave him the following advice with regard to religious instruction.[1] He was not to begin at once with refuting the idolatrous notions of the pagans; but in the way of interrogation, in which he ought to show his own thorough knowledge of their system, he was to lead them on to discover for themselves the self-contradiction it involved, and the absurd consequences it led to; all, without ridiculing or exciting them, but rather with gentleness and moderation.[2] Then he should occasionally introduce here and there scraps of Christian doctrine, comparing it with their superstition, so that they might rather be shamed than excited to anger. That he himself preached, and used the sacred Scriptures in preaching, appears evident — from a remarkable commission, which he gave to his old friend, the abbess Eadburga, who used to send him clothes and books from England.[3] He requested her to procure for him a copy of the epistles of St. Peter written with gilt letters, which he might use in preaching. By the use of this, he hoped to inspire in sense-bound men a reverence for the Holy Scriptures, and no doubt, also for St. Peter, whose missionary he conceived and represented himself to be.[4] How diligently he studied the Scriptures may be inferred from the fact, that he often imported from England copies of the same, together with expository works, fairly written, on account of his weak eyes. Thus, for example, he secured a copy of the prophets prepared by his teacher, the abbot Wimbert, without abbreviations, and with plain and distinctly separated letters.[5] There are still extant a few fragments of discourses preached by Boniface, probably after being translated into the language of the country, — one of which is an exhortation to chastity and purity of morals, as necessary in order to a worthy participation in the sacrament of the supper. "We address you — said he — not as the messengers of one, from the obligation of obedience to whom you can *purchase exemption with money;*[6] but of one to whom you are bound by the blood he shed for you. My beloved, we are men covered with the defilement of sin, and yet we would not suffer our limbs to be touched by the defiled — and we believe that the only begotten Son of God willingly took upon his own body the defilement

[1] Ep. 14.

[2] Non quasi insultando vel irritando eos, sed placide ac magna objicere moderatione debes.

[3] Ep. 19.

[4] Et quia dicta ejus, qui me in hoc iter direxit, maxime semper in praesentia cupiam habere.

[5] Quia librum prophetarum talem, qualem desidero, acquirere non possum, et caligantibus oculis minutas ac connexas litteras discere non possum.

[6] Doubtless an allusion to the *Compositiones* customary among the German tribes. Out of accommodation to this custom, against which Boniface seems here to be guarding himself, grew the indulgences

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of our sins. Behold, brethren, our king, who has condescended to make us his messengers, comes directly after us; let us prepare for him a pure mansion, if we desire him to dwell in our bodies." In the other sermon, he replies to the objection, why have the messengers of salvation come so late after so many have already been ruined — in the following language: "You would have a right to complain of the late coming of the physician, if now, when he *is* come to attend you, you are eagerly bent on making the right use of the remedies he prescribes." Instead of minutely inquiring why the remedy came so late, they should rather hasten to apply it, now that they had it.

The whole conduct of Boniface in founding the new church, shows also how much importance he attached to the spiritual culture of the people by Christianity. The same thing is apparent from his founding monasteries, especially in the central spots of the tribes, whence proceeded the culture of the people as well as the reclaiming of the wilderness; and into which he introduced monks[1] and nuns from England, who brought with them various arts and sciences,[2] and books for the instruction of the youth[3] — and who furnished missionaries for the people.[4] It is apparent also from his ordinances, which directed that no man or woman should stand in the relation of godfather or god-mother unless he or she knew by heart the creed and the Lord's Prayer; that no person should be appointed priest, who could not repeat the form of renunciation at baptism, and the confession of sins in the language of the country.[5]

Boniface met with various opponents in his field of labor. Concerning these, it must be confessed, we can get but little certain knowledge from his by no means unprejudiced and impartial reports. Some of them were free-minded British and Irish clergy, particularly such as would not submit to the Roman laws touching the celibacy of priests,[6] but whose married life appeared to Boniface, looking at the matter from his own point of view, an unlawful connection. Others were rude and ignorant men, whose lives were a disgrace to their profession, who freely took part in the sports of the chase and in warlike expeditions, made traffic of their priestly functions, and spread among the untutored people false notions of Christianity, extremely detrimental to the interests of religion and morality.[7] Others again were

[1] The monks magistri infantium ep. 79.

[2] Willibald says (§ 23), E Britanniae partibus servorum Dei plurima ad eum tam lectorum quam etiam scriptorum (who busied themselves in the copying of books), *aliorumque artium* eruditorum virorum congregationis convenerat multitudo.

[3] He also procured books from Rome. See ep. 69. ep. 54.

[4] Boniface went a long distance to meet such new comers. See ep. 80. They wrote to England about their labors among the heathen: "Deus per misericordiam suam sufficientiam operis nostri bonam perficit, licet valde sit periculosum ac laboriosum paene in omni re, in fame et siti, in algore et incursione paganorum inter se degere."

[5] See f. 142 in epp. ed. Würdtwein.

[6] As it is ordered by an Irish synod, A. D. 456, can. 6, that the wives of the ecclesiastics, from the ostiarius to the priest, should never go about otherwise than veiled. See Wilkins's Concil. Angl. T. I. p. 2; so it is evident from this, that the marriage of these ecclesiastics was considered regular.

[7] There were those, who in consequence of their scanty knowledge, and to please

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ecclesiastics or monks, who for some reason or other, whether right or wrong, struggled against the authority of Boniface, while the veneration inspired by their lives of rigid austerity, had secured for them a strong interest in the affections of the people. Certainly, the schisms occasioned by such ecclesiastics, even though they belonged themselves to the better class, could not but hinder the prosperous growth of the church among so rude a people.[1] These persons too may have had their influence at the court of the warlike Charles Martel, with whose interests and inclinations, many things which they aimed at and advocated, perhaps more fully coincided, than the strict ecclesiastical rules of Boniface. At any rate, the latter could not succeed, as long as Charles Martel lived, in making good his authority as papal legate against these antagonists. But as he had sworn to withdraw fellowship from all ecclesiastics who opposed the Roman church-system, he was not a little perplexed, when he visited the court of Charles Martel, to find that he could not avoid having some fellowship with the persons above described, while yet he could not neglect the oath without prejudice to his ecclesiastical institutions. He consoled himself, however, by reflecting, that he satisfied his oath, if he shunned all voluntary connection, and all church-communion with those persons. In this opinion, he was confirmed by his prudent friend, bishop Daniel, to whom he confessed his scruples; for that prelate advised him, to pay a due regard to the circumstances of the case, and to accommodate himself to them with a wise dissimulation subservient to higher ends.[2] Boniface could not feel perfectly at rest on this subject, until he had also made known his scruples to the pope who had placed him under this oath, and had received from him an authentic interpretation of its import. The pope wrote back to him, that the clergy who lowered the dignity of their office by a disreputable life, he should endeavor to set right. But if they would not allow themselves to be corrected, he still ought not to avoid their company, nor to refuse to sit at the same table with them; for it was often the case, that men could be more easily led into the right way by friendly intercourse and the familiar society of the table, than by harsher measures.[3]

the rude multitude, mixed up pagan customs with Christian, and even sacrificed to idols. According to Boniface's report to pope Zacharias: "Qui tauros, hircos, diis paganorum immolabant."

[1] Boniface says, ep. 12: Quidam abstinentes a cibis, quos Deus ad percipiendum creavit. Quidam melle et lacte proprie pascentes se, panem et caeteros abjiciunt cibos. He seems to describe these as false teachers; and from this account we might be led to surmise that there was some connection of these mortifications with theoretical errors, and we might be reminded particularly of Gnostic errors. But had Gregory been knowing to anything of this kind, he who was so ready to detect dangerous heresies in the slightest deviations from the prevailing notions, would certainly have stated the matter more distinctly. It is very possible, that these people, without following any erroneous tendency in doctrine, simply lived in habits of unusually rigid abstinence. Ascetic severity under other circumstances would perhaps have appeared to Boniface a praiseworthy thing; but he judged otherwise in the case of these people, because they availed themselves of the consequence they thus acquired to render themselves independent of him, and to resist his ordinances.

[2] The principle of the officiosum mendacium, quod utilis simulatio assumenda sit in tempore, which he defended, as others had done before him, by the examples of St. Peter and St. Paul. Ep. 13.

[3] Ep. 24. Plurumque enim contingit, ut quos correctio disciplinae tardos facit ad

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Having, within the space of fifteen years, founded the Christian church among a hundred thousand Germans, and erected church edifices and monasteries in the midst of what was before a wilderness, Boniface, in 738, repaired for the third time to Rome, for the purpose of an interview with the new pope Gregory III, and to obtain from him a new commission with ample powers. This pope empowered him also as his legate, to visit the Bavarian church,[1] which had not as yet received any permanent organization, and was going to decay, and moreover stood open to the British and Irish missionaries, who were regarded at Rome with jealousy. He was invited there also by the Bavarian duke Odilo. On his return from Rome therefore in 739, he paid a visit to Bavaria, where he resided for some time, and founded, under the papal authority, the four bishoprics of Salzburg, Regensburg, Freisingen and Passau.

Soon after he had resumed his former field of labor, a political change took place which was favorable to his objects, in the death of Charles Martel, in the year 741. Martel, although he had received Boniface as a papal legate, and on the whole favored his mission, yet could never be prevailed upon to give him such decided preponderance as would have enabled him to crush all the opponents to his measures, and to the Roman supremacy; and as the rough warrior encouraged the clergy to take a part in his warlike enterprizes, and did not hesitate to sequester at will the property of churches and convents,[2] he himself often came into conflict with Boniface and his interests in respect to the new ecclesiastical foundations. Far greater was the influence acquired by Boniface over the sons of Charles Martel, Carloman and Pipin. In the former of these, the religious bent was so strong, that he once thought of relinquishing the sovereign power for the monastic life. The other understood far better than his predecessor how to enter into the plans of Boniface for the Christian culture of the German people. He was also inclined to form a stricter alliance with the papacy, with a view to the promotion of his own political interests. In particular, it was now in the power of Boniface to carry out two important objects calculated to secure the better organization of the new church. One was the *foundation of several bishoprics;* the other, *the arrangement of the synodal system.* He founded, in 742, under the papal authority, three bishoprics for the new church, at Würzburg, at Erfurt,[3] and at Burburg, not far from Fritzlar. By the introduction of regular provincial synods, the means was to be provided for maintaining an oversight over the entire moral and religious condition of the people, and for a form of legislation suited to

percipiendam veritatis normam, conviviorum sedulitas et admonitio disciplinae ad viam perducat justitiae.

[1] Yet the missionaries in the present case may have shown themselves more inclined to subject themselves to the authority of the Romish church; as we see in the example of Virgilius.

[2] See Mabillon Annal. Ord. Benedict. T. II. f. 114.

[3] In reference to this, a difficulty arises from the fact, that no later indications are to be found of any such bishopric; whether it was that for special reasons, in the circumstances of the times, this arrangement was soon altered, or whether a false reading has here crept in.

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the necessities of the church. In the Frankish church itself, these regular synods had fallen into utter desuetude. No such meeting had been held for a period of eighty years; and Carloman himself called upon Boniface to appoint one, and to take preventive measures against the lamentable abuses that had crept into the administration of church affairs.[1] At these synods, Boniface, who acted in the name of the pope, enjoyed the first seat; and his influence was thus extended over the whole Frankish church, which stood so much in need of new regulations. At the same time, pope Zacharias had expressly clothed him with full powers to introduce into the Frankish church a thorough reform, in his name.[2] He held, in all, five such synods. At these synods, he caused laws to be passed, whereby the clergy were bound to a mode of life better corresponding to their profession, and forbidden to take any part in war or in the chase on pain of being deposed from office; — laws to secure the general diffusion of religious instruction, and to suppress the superstitious customs which had sprung out of paganism, or which at least were grounded in pagan notions transferred to the objects of Christianity,[3] such as soothsaying, pretended witchcraft, amulets, even though passages of Scripture were employed for that purpose.[4] At some of these synods, from the year 744 onward, several persons were tried as teachers of false doctrines, belonging, as it may be conjectured, to the number of those of whom Boniface had already complained, but whom, in the times of Charles Martel, he was not strong enough to put down.

One of these persons, Adelbert, was a Frank of mean descent, probably belonging to that class whom Boniface had some time before described, as persons who by the austerity of their lives acquired consideration in the eyes of the multitude, and then used their influence against himself. Adelbert was honored by the people as a saint and a worker of miracles.[5] He found ignorant bishops, who were willing

[1] See ep. 51. Carolomannus me accersitum ad se rogavit, ut in parte regni Francorum, quae in sua est potestate, synodum facerem congregari, et promisit, se de ecclesiastica religione, quae jam longo tempore id est non minus quam per sexaginta vel septuaginta annos calcata et dissipata fuit, aliquid corrigere et emendare velle.

[2] The words of pope Zacharias, ep. 60, are: "Nos omnia, quae tibi largitus est decessor noster, non minuimus, sed augemus. Nam non solum Bojoariam, sed etiam omnem Galliarum provinciam nostra vice per praedicationem tibi injungimus, ut quae repereris contra christianam religionem vel canonum instituta ibidem detineri, ad normam rectitudinis studeas reformare."

[3] E. g. hostias immolatitias, quas stulti homines juxta ecclesias ritu pagano faciunt, sub nomine sanctorum martyrum vel confessorum. The German synod of the year 742. See p. 123.

[4] Si quis clericus auguria vel divinationes, aut somnia sive sortes seu phylacteria id est scripturas observaverit, p. 142. Neither was the chrism to be used as a remedy for diseases, p. 140.

[5] The priest of Mayence, whose brief report of the life of Boniface has been published by the Bollandists, at the V. of June, relates, that he hired people with money to assume the appearance of being affected by various bodily ailments, and then to pretend being cured by his prayers. See Pertz T. II. f. 354. But this, being the testimony of a passionate opponent, is not entitled to credit. When a man came once to be regarded as a false teacher, nothing remained but to declare the miracles supposed to be wrought by him to be either works of sorcery, performed by the aid of an evil spirit, or a deception. For the rest, it was no uncommon thing in the Frankish church, for fanatics or impostors, who contrived to give themselves an air of sanctity, to draw around them, as men who could work miracles, a crowd of followers. Thus Gregory of Tours (l. IX. c. VI) relates the

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to give him episcopal ordination.[1] It would seem, that Adelbert, with many fanatical extravagancies, and with many qualities also betokening a purer and freer gospel spirit, was opposed to the reigning doctrines or to the reigning ritual of the church. Boniface reports of him,[2] that he carried his pride to such extravagant length, as to put himself on a level with the Apostles. Hence while he thought Apostles and Martyrs not worthy of the honor of having churches dedicated to them, he yet had the folly to dedicate oratories to his own name. But if his claiming to be of equal dignity with the Apostles, was the reason why Adelbert thought churches ought not to be erected in the name of the Apostles, he might then say, that churches could as properly be consecrated to his own name, as to the names of the Apostles; and in that case, there would be no inconsistency in his language, of which Boniface, however, seems desirous to convict him. But from the words of Boniface himself it may, perhaps, be gathered, that he ventured on a false construction of Adelbert's assertions. Adelbert probably said, churches ought not to be dedicated to the name of *any man*,[3] therefore not to the name of an apostle; and in this case, he might certainly be accused of self-contradiction, if he permitted oratories to be dedicated to his own name. Yet even a fanatic would not be likely to fall into so gross a contradiction as this. Probably the truth was, that Boniface represented the conduct of Adelbert in the false light which grew out of his own inferences from his doctrines. And this view of the matter is confirmed, when we find that Adelbert was a severe censurer of the zeal, manifested by so many in those times, to visit the "threshold of the Apostles" (the limina Apostolorum,) instead of seeking help from the omnipresent God, or from Christ alone. The bad effect on the morals of the pilgrims, which as Boniface himself is compelled to acknowledge, resulted from these visits to Rome, would be an additional reason for the opposition

instance of a certain Desiderius, who went about in a cowl and a shirt of goat's hair, pretending to lead a strictly abstemious life, and to enjoy special interviews with the apostles Peter and Paul; and numerous bodies of the country people allowed themselves to be deceived by him, — many sick were brought to him to be healed. In the case of those who were lame, he caused their limbs to be stretched with great violence, — an experiment which turned out sometimes fortunately, sometimes unfortunately. Ut quos virtutis divinae largitione dirigere (make their limbs straight again) non poterat, quasi per industriam (by the aid of human art) restauraret. Denique apprehendebant pueri ejus manus hominum, alii vero pedes, tractosque diversas in partes, ita ut nervi putarentur abrumpi, cum non sanarentur, dimittebantur exanimes. In another place (l. 10. c. 25) Gregory relates the instance of a man who, at first doubtless in an attack of insanity, had given himself out as Christ, and a woman whom he carried about with him, as the virgin Mary. The people flocked to him, and brought their sick, who were to be healed by his touch. At the same time he set himself up as a prophet. More than three thousand suffered themselves to be deceived by him, and among these there were some priests. Gregory says, that in France many such had appeared, who, after a few women had joined them, whom they extolled as saints, found believers among the people.

[1] Boniface says that, contrary to the church laws, he had received ordination without a specific diocese, an ordinatio absoluta. This was undoubtedly contrary to the church laws; but in the case of missionaries it could not be otherwise; and in fact it was the same with Boniface himself. Probably Adelbert wanted to labor as a missionary; like so many even ignorant and fanatical persons, who believed they felt this call.

[2] Ep. 62.

[3] As is intimated by the words "dedignabatur consecrare."

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shown to them.[1] Adelbert procured crosses to be erected in the fields where the people might assemble. He built small oratories in the same places and near fountains of water. Hence the accusation of Boniface, that he had allowed these oratories to be dedicated to his own name, was probably no more than an inference, founded perhaps upon the fact, that the people were wont to name these oratories after Adelbert. Large numbers of the people might be induced to forsake the public churches and the other bishops and to assemble in these places; saying, we shall be helped by the merits of the holy Adelbert. Perhaps Adelbert's followers paid him the excessive veneration usually bestowed on other men who bore the reputation of saints. One mode of expressing this excessive veneration, which in these times was by no means singular, may have been that alleged by Boniface — if his report can be relied on — namely, that Adelbert's followers were in the habit of carrying about as relics hair and nails taken from his person (from which however it would be wrong to infer, that he sought any such honor, though it might be true, that he took no pains to avoid it;) and hence, proceeded to form a party. When people came to him to confess their sins, he is said to have told them, he knew all their sins, for to him every secret thing was open. They needed not confess to him, but might consider all their sins forgiven, and return in comfort and peace to their homes. Now it is quite possible that Adelbert may have been misled by a fanatical self-exaltation actually to make use of some such language. But the assertions of Boniface a man so constantly on the watch for heresies and so inclined to paint every heretic in the blackest colors, may well be regarded with suspicion. Perhaps Adelbert was merely opposed to the church-system of confession and penance. Perhaps he told people, they needed only confess their sins to God, and confiding in the forgiveness of sins obtained by the merits of Christ, they might go away comforted. There is still extant the fragment of a prayer by him,[2] in which no trace is to be discovered of the fanatical self-exaltation here ascribed to him; but which on the contrary breathes the spirit of Christian humility. "Lord, Almighty God, Father of the Son of God, our Lord Jesus Christ, thou the Alpha and Omega, thou who sittest above the seventh heaven, above Cherubim and Seraphim, thou supreme Love, thou Fountain of joy, I invoke thee, and invite thee to me the poorest of thy creatures; since thou hast vouchsafed to say, whatever ye ask of my Father in my name, that will I do. I beg of thee, therefore, to bestow upon me thyself."[3] In another passage, however, cited from this prayer, follows something which does not so well accord with the pure Christian spirit expressed in the first words; but which however, in a dark, fanatical

[1] Boniface endeavored to have a law enacted in England by a synod and by the kings, whereby pilgrimages to Rome, which so frequently led to corruption of morals should be forbidden to married women and the nuns, quia magna ex parte pereunt, paucis remanentibus integris. Perpaucae enim sunt civitates in Longobardia vel in Francia aut in Gallia, in qua non sit adultera vel meretrix generis Anglorum, see ep. 73 to Cuthbert Archbishop of Canterbury, ed. Würdtwein p. 201.

[2] In the transactions of the Roman council, which was held in consequence of the report drawn up by Boniface. Bonifac. epp. 174.

[3] According to another reading "To thee I direct my prayer."

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mysticism, might perhaps be reconciled with them — namely, the invocation of angels, many names of whom are cited which do not elsewhere occur.[1] In the acts of the Roman council, mention is made of a pretended letter of Christ,[2] which in Jerusalem had fallen from heaven, and which Adelbert took pains to circulate. The superscription of this letter was couched in a singular style, and the Roman church was recognized in it as the one in which were deposited the keys of the kingdom of heaven. From this, it would seem evident that the mysticism of Adelbert could not be considered as opposed, at least in a consistent manner, to the hierarchical system, as we might be led to suppose it would be, on various grounds of evidence. According to the statements of Boniface he drew notice also by exhibiting certain relics, to which he ascribed great miraculous power, and which as he pretended, had been brought to him from the farthest boundaries of the world by an angel in human form.[3] Yet it deserves to be mentioned, that Boniface says it was *in his younger days*,[4] he came forward with such pretensions. From this we might infer, that he had not always maintained the same opinions and professions; and if such were the case, the contradictions so apparent in the tenets ascribed to him, are to be explained, perhaps, not so much from the mingling together of opposite elements in his mode of thinking, as from confounding together the reports of two different periods in the history of his religious development, the earlier and the later. We might suppose, that the element of mysticism in him had, at the outset, been covered up under a religious tendency bordering on sensuous fanaticism, and more closely attaching itself to the forms of the church; and that gradually he stripped away these sensuous forms one after the other. Yet owing to the vague and untrustworthy character of all our present sources of information, nothing certain can be said on the subject. On the whole, it is evident, that Adelbert must have found no inconsiderable support even from those who could not be classed with the ignorant multitude; for while living, he experienced an honor which the most attached disciples are wont to bestow on a venerated master only after his death. His life was written before its close; and in this document he is styled, the holy and blessed servant of God (sanctus et beatus Dei famulus.[5]) But then, if he had many disciples, a great deal which

[1] At the council these unknown names of angels were declared to be the names of evil spirits, which Adelbert invoked to his assistance, and this was brought against him as a specific charge.

[2] There were at the present time many pieces of forgery of this character in circulation. In a capitulary of the emperor Charles A. D. 789, it is said: Pseudographiae et dubiae narrationes vel quae omnino contra fidem catholicam sunt, ut epistola pessima et falsisima, quam transacto anno dicebant aliqui errantes et in errorem alios mittentes, quod de coelo cecidisset, nec credantur nec legantur; sed comburantur. Mansi Concil. T. XIII. p. 174, appendix.

[3] By such pretences, the people were often deceived in these times, see Gregor. Turon. l. IX. c. VI.

[4] In primaeva aetate.

[5] The introduction only of this biography is known to us through the citations in the acts of the Roman council. It is here said that from his birth he was filled with the grace of God, in imitation of the account of John the baptist's nativity. True, this expression was declared at the Roman council blasphemous; but many similar ones may be pointed out in the Actis sanctorum, belonging to this age.

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ought to be attributed to the mistakes or to the exaggeration of his followers, may have been incorrectly charged to his own account.

When Boniface had compelled Adelbert to cease from preaching,—perhaps before his report to the pope,—and when, by the authority of the mayor of the palace, he had effected his arrest, Adelbert's numerous followers complained that they had been deprived of their holy apostle, their intercessor and miracle-worker. The reputed worker of miracles stood higher in the estimation of the multitude, than Boniface, whose zeal was tempered with Christian prudence, whose religion was marked by coolness of understanding, rather than by the impulses of enthusiasm, and who had no ambition to be considered a worker of miracles. This was one peculiarity which distinguished him from other laborious and successful missionaries of the same age. Not even his own disciples have been able to record a single miracle wrought by him.[1]

The second of these antagonists of Boniface, Clement, an Irishman, was a person of an entirely different bent of mind. The theological training he had received in Ireland rendered him, no doubt, Boniface's superior in largeness of understanding and in Christian knowledge, while it raised him above all the fanatical extravagancies which we observed in Adelbert. We recognize in him an instance of one of the earliest reactions of the Christian consciousness, still holding fast to the primitive truth, against the hierarchical spirit, or the principle of the Old-Testament theocracy, which characterized the middle ages. He would allow to the writings of the older fathers,[2] and to the canons of councils, no authority binding on faith; and from this it may with probability be inferred, that he conceded such authority to the holy Scriptures alone, acknowledging them as the only fountain and directory of Christian faith. The application of this principle would lead him, of course, to many important deviations from the reigning doctrines of the church; though we have no exact information as to what these deviations were. Boniface charges him

[1] The priest of St. Martin's church in Utrecht, who in the ninth century drew up a short biographical sketch of Boniface (published by the Bollandists, at the fifth of June), was obliged to vindicate himself from the reproach of not having cited any miracles wrought by him. What he says on this point is worthy of notice, as an expression of the Christian sense of truth which is to be found extending through all the centuries. Everything—says he—depends on the agency of God, which operates on man's inmost being, produces miracles from within outwards, and by means of miracles quickens the inward susceptibility to truth, intus, qui moderabatur quique idololatras et incredulos trahebat ad fidem. The same Spirit distributed his gifts in manifold ways. Uni dabat fidem ut Petro, alteri facundiam praedicationis ut Paulo, and as an instrument of the same Spirit Boniface had shown himself. Faciebat autem signa et prodigia magna in populo, utpote qui ab *aegrotis mentibus morbos invisibiles* propellebat. After having prosecuted this thought still further, he adds: Quod si ad solam corporum salutem attenditis et eos angelis aequiparatis, qui membrorum debilitates jejuniis et orationibus integritati restituunt, magnum quidem est quod dicitis, sed hoc sanctis quodammodo et medicis commune esse crebris remediorum manifestatur eventibus. Sed et quemlibet in his talibus miraculis sublimem oportet magna seipsum circumspectione munire, ut nec jactantia emergat nec appetitus laudis surripiat, ne forte quum alios coöperante sibi virtute sanaverit, ipse suo vitio vulneratus intereat.

[2] Boniface names particularly Jerome, Augustin, and Gregory the Great, because it was customary to appeal especially to their authority in the Western Church

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with maintaining, that he could continue to be a Christian bishop, though the father of two sons by adultery. It is probable, that Boniface in this case allowed himself a little prevarication; and because the marriage of a bishop, considered from his own point of view, was an irregularity, chose to disparage it under the name of an unlawful connection. But there can be no question that Clement defended the legality of marriage in a bishop, on such grounds as he found stated in the sacred Scriptures. Boniface, again, accused him of bringing back Judaism, because he declared it lawful to marry the widow of a deceased brother. But the point charged, that he considered the Mosaic law still obligatory on Christians, would lie against him only in case he declared a Christian *bound*, according to Deut. 25, to marry the widow of a deceased brother, when the latter left no posterity; and in that case, he must have declared all other marriage with the widow of a deceased brother forbidden; because all other marriage of a brother's wife, this only excepted, is forbidden in the Mosaic law. Perhaps, therefore, he only pronounced the ecclesiastical ordinance, whereby this was placed among the prohibited degrees of relationship, an arbitrary one; and adduced the abovementioned Mosaic statute in evidence, that such an ordinance had no foundation whatever in the divine law, since otherwise Moses would not have allowed of any exception. The example of Cilian shows how important such disputed points, on questions of ecclesiastical law, might become to the missionaries. And it is worthy of remark, that on another kindred point, the Christian feelings of Boniface himself brought him into collision with the statutes of the ecclesiastical law. Although he found the principle to prevail both in the Roman and in the Frankish church, that the so-called spiritual kinship of god-father or god-mother should prevent a marriage contract between the parties, yet he could not feel the propriety of it, nor did it seem to him to have any foundation either in Scripture, or in the essence of Christianity; since baptism establishes a spiritual relationship among all Christians.[1] Finally, this Clement taught, as Boniface reports, that Christ, in descending to Hades, delivered the souls not only of believers, but also of unbelievers and idolaters. This we must understand as follows: He declared himself opposed to the common doctrine of the *descensus Christi ad inferos*, according to which Christ is supposed to have delivered only the pious dead of the Jewish nation. That is, he found in this doctrine, because he held only to the Scriptures, an intimation, that all those, who, during their life on earth, had no opportunity of hearing the message of the gospel, were after their death taught by Christ himself to know him as the Saviour, and brought into fellowship with him. A reflecting missionary among the heathen, might easily be led to entertain doubts of the doctrine, which taught that all pagans were unconditionally lost;[2] while to the

[1] Quia nullatenus intelligere possum, quare in uno loco spiritualis propinquitas in conjunctione carnalis copulae tam grande peccatum sit, quando omnes in sacro baptismate Christi et ecclesiae filii et filiae, fratres et sorores esse comprobemus. See ep. 39, 40 and 41, f. 88. etc.

[2] From l. VII. ep. 15 of Gregory the

purely human feelings of those to whom the Christian doctrine was thus presented, much offence might be given, many doubts awakened in their minds. But whoever was led, by his own careful examination of the divine word, to reject that doctrine, would easily be tempted to go further, and to cast himself loose from the views hitherto held concerning the doctrine of predestination. And accordingly we find that Boniface actually accuses Clement of teaching other things, contrary to the Catholic faith, relative to the divine predestination.[1] Whether Clement, however, went so far as to maintain the doctrine of universal restoration,[2] is a point which cannot be certainly determined. Of course, neither the peculiar spiritual bent nor the doctrines of Clement, were suited to procure for him, in this rude age, so large a number of followers, as flocked after the fanatical Adelbert.[3]

Boniface, in bringing his complaint against these two persons before pope Zacharias, proposed that, in order to render them harmless, they should be confined for life. The pope, in his reply to Boniface's report, A. D. 745, confirmed the sentence by which they were condemned, but without determining anything with regard to their persons, except that they should be removed from their spiritual charges. But it is worthy of remark, that perhaps the just and humane Zacharias was led, by another report from Germany, to doubt the justice of the proceedings instituted against these two men; for about two years later, in 747,[4] he ordered a new investigation into the cases of the two deposed bishops.[5] *And should they be convicted* of having in any respect departed from the right way, then if they showed an inclination to be set right, measures were to be taken for proceeding with them according to the ecclesiastical laws. But should they obstinately persevere in insisting upon their innocence, they were to be sent, in company with two or three of the most approved ecclesiastics, to Rome, in order that their case might be carefully investigated by the apostolical see, and that they might then be treated according to their deserts. So important was it considered by the pope, to take care that his agents should not proceed with injustice or harshness against two men, in whom he could not possibly have any personal interest; and so far was he from being willing to sacrifice them, by giving the sanction of his own supreme judicial authority, to a man who had done so much for the interests

Great, we see that two ecclesiastics at Constantinople had also come to the conclusion, Christum ad inferos descendentem omnes qui illic confiteruntur eum salvasse atque a poenis debitis liberasse. Which to Gregory, judging from his point of view, the common doctrine of the church, appeared extremely erroneous.

[1] Multa alia horribilia de praedestinatione Dei.

[2] It may be remarked, that Scotus Erigena, in whom we find similar doctrines, come from Ireland.

[3] The presents which Boniface sent to the deacon Gemmulus, to whom he entrusted the management of his cause with the pope (a silver ewer and a napkin), might throw a suspicion upon him, were it not the custom of those times, as is evident from Boniface's letters, to accompany letters sent from a distance with presents. To a pope, Boniface sent as a present a napkin, to wipe the hands or feet (villosa), and a small sum of gold or silver.

[4] See ep. 74.

[5] Together with Adelbert is here mentioned a certain Godalsacius, who perhaps was associated with him.

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of the papacy, and who ever remained so faithful an instrument in promoting them. Had the interests of the papacy been the chief thing aimed at by the pope, he would not have hesitated to follow at once the report of Boniface. But as it was, the powerful Boniface seems still to have found means to delay the execution of the pope's intentions.

Respecting the fate of Clement, we have no exact information; though it is certain, from the character of his doctrines, that he could not expect any more favorable issue of his case to result from the examination at Rome. But with regard to Adelbert we know, that by the sentence of Boniface he was subjected to imprisonment for life, and that after having effected his escape from his cell, he came to a miserable end.[1]

This was not the only case, in which pope Zacharias showed that he was not to be governed at once in his decisions by the reports of the credulous Boniface — a man so ready, on some misunderstanding of his own, to set down his opponents as heretics — but that he was inclined to hear these opponents speak for themselves. Virgilius, another Irish priest in Bavaria, got into his first difficulty with Boniface, by occasion of a baptism informally administered. Because the ignorant priest had been guilty of an error in repeating some of the words of the Latin formula,[2] Boniface declared that the baptism was invalid, and must be repeated. Virgilius protested against this; he ventured with Sidonius, another priest, to appeal to the pope, and the latter decided against Boniface.[3] The same Virgilius, who seems to have stood in some estimation with the duke Odilo, afterwards presented himself as a candidate for one of the bishoprics founded by Boniface. The latter, however, endeavored to exclude him. He accused Virgil of maintaining the heretical opinion, that under the earth existed another world and other men — perhaps a misapprehension; perhaps the opinion that there were antipodes. Now the pope himself, it is true, found this opinion objectionable; perhaps on account of the inference which might be supposed to follow, that the whole human race did not spring from Adam, that all men were not involved in the original sin, that all did not need a Redeemer. And on the presumption, that Boniface's report agreed with the truth, he decided that Virgil should be deposed from the priestly dignity. He addressed a threatening letter to Virgil and Sidonius, and assured Boniface that he believed him rather than the two former. But still he summoned them both to Rome, where their case might be more accurately investigated, and a definitive sentence passed accordingly. And the result teaches, that Virgil must have succeeded in justifying himself before the pope, for he became bishop of Salzburg, and attained afterwards to the honors of a saint.[4]

[1] The presbyter of Mayence relates (see Monumenta ed. Pertz II. 355), that he was confined in the convent of Fulda, but that he succeeded in effecting his escape, with a boot full of nuts, by which he meant to sustain himself on the way. But he was fallen upon, robbed and murdered by shepherds.

[2] In nomine patria et filia.

[3] See ep. 62.

[4] See the epigram of Alcuin upon him. As Boniface fell into collision for the most

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Though, for the rest, Boniface constantly acted in subservience to the popes, and paid them the utmost deference, yet at the same time he never hesitated to speak out what a pope might not like to hear, when the duty of his calling required that he should do so. He fearlessly censured pope Zacharias for permitting the Roman church to incur the charge of simony, by demanding money for the bestowment of the pall.[1] He complains in a letter to this pope, of the bad example set at Rome to the ignorant and rude people from Germany; of the various superstitious practices allowed there on the first of January; of the custom among the women to hang amulets around their arms and limbs, which amulets were publicly exposed for sale. Now the vulgar had it to say, that such things were done at Rome under the eyes of the pope; and so his instructions, he said, were not a little hindered of their effect.[2] He cites the authority of St. Paul and of Augustin against such practices, — and urgently demands of the pope a suppression of these abuses.[3]

The reformation of the church, according to the plan of Boniface, required especially the reëstablishment of a well-devised church organization, at the head of which should stand the pope as the director of the whole. All the bishops should hold the same relation to the metropolitans, as these held to the pope himself. As the bishops, when they found it impossible themselves to do away abuses in their dioceses, should discharge their consciences, by bringing the matter before their proper superiors, the metropolitans, thus throwing the responsibility on the latter; so the metropolitans or archbishops should proceed in the same way towards the pope.[4] And an oversight, administered on this organical plan, over the whole church, might undoubtedly, in these times of rudeness, where so many things were contrary to ecclesiastical order, have served a very salutary purpose: but the metropolitan constitution was not so well adapted to the relations of the French empire, as it had been to the old Roman empire; and the spirit of the Frankish bishops, so inclined to independence, was not ready to accomodate itself to any such form. Hence Boniface had on this point many obstacles to encounter. True, when pope Zacha-

part with educated Irishmen who were striving to be independent of him, so we find among them a certain Samson, a priest, who, according to Boniface's report (ep. 82), had asserted, that one might become a Christian by the imposition of the hand of a bishop, without baptism. That he should have asserted this in such a way, that a priest should have so over-estimated the importance of the episcopal laying on of hands, can hardly be supposed, and we are here forced to the conjecture, that Boniface had not rightly apprehended his opponent's meaning.

[1] Zacharias himself says (ep. 60. f. 148) of the letter, in which Boniface complains of this, litterae tuae nimis animos nostros conturbaverunt. He denies the whole thing. Perhaps the officials of the papal chancery had acted without the pope's knowledge or will.

[2] Ep. 51. Quae omnia eo, quod ibi a carnalibus et insipientibus videntur, nobis hic et improperium et impedimentum praedicationis et doctrinae perficiunt.

[3] The pope did not deny, that such abuses had once more crept in at Rome; but affirmed that since he had attained to the papal dignity, they had been wholly suppressed.

[4] See ep. 73 to the English Metropolitan Cuthbert, to whom he sent a report of the administration of his office thus far. Sic omnes episcopi debent metropolitano et ipse Romano pontifici, si quid de corrigendis populis apud eos impossibile est, notum facere et sic alieni fient a sanguine animarum perditarum.

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rias committed to him the business of arranging the order of the Frankish church, Boniface ordained three metropolitans for this church, and the pope sent him the palls for the same.[1] But he found himself unable to carry this arrangement immediately into effect.[2] The new German church also continued to subsist for a longer time without metropolitans. It is true, in the year 732, pope Gregory III. appointed Boniface archbishop, and sent him the pall,[3] but without a determinate metropolis. On the death of Raginfred, bishop of Cologne, in 744, Boniface proposed, that the bishopric of Cologne should be converted into a metropolis, and conferred on himself.[4] This was connected with his favorite plan, to resume once more the personal superintendence of the mission among the Frieslanders, which, since the death of Willibrord in 739, had not been so rigorously conducted as before; for after the death of Willibrord, he reckoned the mission among the Frieslanders as belonging to the sphere of labor assigned him as papal legate among these tribes: and in accordance with the full powers conferred on him for that purpose by the mayor of the palace, Carloman,[5] he had ordained his countryman and disciple, the priest Eoban, bishop of Utrecht. But from Cologne, as a centre, it would be easy for him to extend his watch and care also over Friesland.[6] The Frankish nobles were generally satisfied with this arrangement, and the pope confirmed it; but a portion of the clergy, as we may infer from the intimations of Boniface in his letter to the pope, were opposed to it.[7] These, as it seems, were composed of such as had all along formed a party against Boniface. The pope believed that this opposition might be despised; but subsequent events showed that it was of moment. In addition to this, another event happened, which gave a different turn to the choice of a German metropolis.

[1] See ep. 59 of pope Zacharias.

[2] The pope was much surprised to learn that Boniface afterwards demanded nothing but the *pallium*, and asked him, cur tantae rei facta sit permutatio? ep. 60. At the council of Soissons, in the year 744, he succeeded, however, in securing the appointment of two metropolitans. He wrote, at some later time, to the pope, exculpating himself, (ep. 86) de eo autem, quod jam praeterito tempore de archiepiscopis et de palliis a Romana ecclesia petendis juxta promissa Francorum sanctitati vestrae notum feci, indulgentiam apostolicae sedis flagito, quia, quod promiserunt, tardantes non impleverunt et adhuc differtur et ventilatur, quid inde perficere voluerint, ignoratur, sed *mea voluntate* impleta esset promissio.

[3] See ep. 25.

[4] With the bishop of Cologne Boniface early fell out. The former wanted to extend his diocese over a part of the field of labor assigned to Boniface, though he had taken no pains whatever to diffuse Christianity among the pagan tribes bordering on his diocese. Gregory II, who decided against the bishop of Cologne, describes him as the episcopum, qui uunc usque desidia quadam in eadem gente praedicationis verbum disseminare neglexerat, et nunc sibi partem quasi in parochiam defendit.

[5] See ep. 105.

[6] Boniface had himself, on proposing the establishment of a metropolitan see at Cologne, mentioned the circumstances, which to him seemed to recommend that city as a proper place for the purpose, as the pope says (ep. 70): Civitatem pertingentem usque ad paganorum fines et in partes Germanicarum gentium, ubi antea praedicasti. That not Mentz, as it reads in the superscription of the letter, ed. Würdtwein, but Cologne is to be understood — which Pagi also remarks — may be gathered not only from the circumstances stated, but also from what the pope expressly says in the same letter: De civitate, quae nuper Agrippina vocabatur, nunc vero Colonia juxta petitionem Francorum per nostrae auctoritatis praeceptum nomini tuo Metropolin confirmavimus.

[7] Quidam falsi sacerdotes et schismatici hoc impedire conati sunt.

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In the army, which in 744 marched to the assistance of the Thuringians against the Saxons, was Gerold, bishop of Mentz.[1] He was slain by a Saxon; and Charlemagne appointed his son, by name Gewillieb, to succeed him in the office. This son, though in other respects a person of blameless manners, yet wanted both the disposition and the education requisite for a spiritual office;[2] being passionately devoted, as probably his father also had been, to the sports of the forest. When the two armies again met in the field, Gewillieb challenged the slayer of his father out of the ranks of the Saxons, and killed him on the spot, to revenge his father's death. In pursuance of the ecclesiastical laws, passed at his own suggestion, Boniface was obliged to demand that Gewillieb, who, though a bishop, still bore the sword, should be deposed from his office. This was done at a synod in the year 745, over which Boniface himself presided. In this case, it was the less possible to accuse him of interested motives, because the transfer of the metropolitan see to Mentz, would, according to what we have already remarked, be directly opposed to his own wishes and cherished plans. Besides, he could not, at the beginning, have possibly conjectured, that the deposition of Gewillieb would be followed by this result; since he was still negotiating with the pope, for the establishment of the metropolitan see at Cologne. Gewillieb, it is true, repaired to Rome for the purpose of laying his appeal before the pope, and the latter kept the investigation of the affair in his own hands;[3] but the issue of it must doubtless have led to the confirmation of the sentence passed by the German synod. The removal of Gewillieb, and the vacancy left in the bishopric of Mentz, now enabled the party who strove to hinder the establishment of a metropolitan see at Cologne, to carry their point; and it was thought advisable to make the city of Mentz, which had already enjoyed that honor, once more the seat of an archbishopric. Boniface, in communicating this decision of the Frankish princes and nobles to the pope, besought the latter, at the same time, that he might be allowed, on account of his great age and bodily infirmities, to consecrate some other person than himself to the office of archbishop. This petition of Boniface was certainly not an act of dissimulation or hypocritical humility, traits of which not the least vestige can be detected in his general character. Nor is it by any means necessary so to understand it, as if he wished to devote his already far advanced, but still energetic old age to an inactive repose. Perhaps his simple motive was to avoid the great burden of outward

[1] We are indebted for a circumstantial account of this event to that presbyter of Mentz, to whose report we have already referred on a former page. True, his statements cannot be relied on, and are in this case full of anachronisms; but in Mentz, where he wrote, he might easily obtain better information on this particular subject, and his account wears altogether the impress of truth.

[2] The presbyter of Mentz says of him: Hic autem honestis moribus, ut ferunt, nisi tantum quod cum herodiis et canibus per semetipsum jocabatur. If he is the individual whom Boniface describes in his letter to the pope (see ep. 70) "adulterati clerici et homicidae filius, in adulterio natus et absque disciplina nutritus;" we must remember, that from his own point of view he might thus describe a bishop living in wedlock, and taking an active part in war.

[3] He says in his letter to Boniface: Dum advenerit, ut Domino placuerit, fiet.

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business which must be connected with the administration of the German Archbishopric, and not to suffer his labors as papal legate, from whose duties he by no means wished to be released, to be circumscribed by being obliged to confine himself to a distinct arch-episcopal see, and one of such a character as seemed to promise him but little freedom for missionary journeys. He wished to consecrate his last energies, freely and exclusively, to the instruction of the pagan and newly converted populations belonging to his field of labor, to which he also reckoned Friesland.

He had already, some years earlier,[1] requested of Pope Zacharias, that he might be allowed to select, and ordain a presbyter to succeed him in his office; some such person as, after common deliberation, should appear to him, under the existing circumstances, the most suitable for the place; and he referred to the fact, that Gregory III, had in the presence of Zacharias at Rome, already invited him to select for himself and consecrate a successor; — whether it was, that Boniface even now entertained the purpose just mentioned of committing to or sharing with another the administration of the external affairs of the church, so as to leave himself more freedom for the work of religious instruction; or whether, remembering the uncertainty of life, and the dangers to which he was constantly exposed among the pagans, he wished with a prudent regard to the future, to have everything so arranged, that after his death the young church should not go to destruction. But the old ecclesiastical laws did not permit, that a bishop should nominate and ordain his successor, during his own life-time, a fact of which Boniface perhaps was not aware. And the question now came up, on the presentation of the petition of Boniface to the pope, whether considering the extraordinary circumstances of the case, the pope ought to depart from the accustomed form; as indeed it should seem that the altogether new and difficult relations of things must often call for deviations of this sort. But so thought not the pope, at that time. He replied to him[2] that his request, being incompatible with the laws of the church, could in nowise be granted. Even were the pope desirous of it, still it was not in his power, to confer on him this favor; for as no man knew, whether he or his fellow stood nearest the grave, so it might easily happen, that his destined successor might be outlived by himself. He could, however, select some priest as his special assistant in discharging the duties of his office, who after having proved himself in the work, might be found worthy of a more exalted station. Let it only be your constant prayer, said the pope, that a successor well-pleasing to God may be provided for you; and if the priest whom you may select should live, and at the close of your own life be found still fitted for the office, you may then publicly designate this person as your successor and he may come to Rome and receive his ordination. Even this, he said, had never before been granted to any one.

When Boniface next presented his proposal to resign the arch-episcopal office, the pope with a view to encourage him, in his old age, to

[1] See ep. 51. [2] See ed. Würdtwein p. 113.

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perseverance in his multiplied and manifold labors conceded still more. He wrote him[1] that he ought by no means to leave the episcopal see at Mentz, but should let the word of our Lord be fulfilled in his case, Matth. 24: 13, He that persevereth unto the end shall be saved. But if the Lord gave him an altogether suitable person, qualified to watch over the welfare of souls, he might consecrate him a bishop as his own representative; and such a person might everywhere act as his colleague in the service of the church. Having obtained this privilege of the pope, he now determined[2] to prepare a retreat for his last days, at his favorite foundation, the monastery of Fulda; there to refresh, in some measure, his enfeebled body now suffering under the effects of his long labors and advanced age. In advising the pope of this step, he gave him to understand, that it was by no means his intention to abandon the duties of his calling, but that he meant, as Zacharias had exhorted him, to persevere in it to the end; that the monastery of Fulda was the most convenient of all places for devoting his last energies to the good of the people, to whom he had preached the gospel, "for the four nations to whom, by the grace of God, we have preached the word of Christ, dwell in a circle around this spot. To these I would be useful so long as I live or have my senses; for I wish to persevere in the service of the Roman church, among the German people to whom I was sent, and to obey your commands."[3]

Among the last public acts of Boniface in Germany, belongs the part he took in a political revolution, which was not without its importance, as contributing to the firm establishment of the new ecclesiastical foundations. The mayor of the palace, Pipin, after having for a long time exercised the royal *authority*, determined to assume the royal *name*, and to deprive the last branch of the old legitimate, ruling family, Childeric III, who was in fact, a king only in name, also of this name. That he could believe it possible to justify, by the authority of the pope this illegal act to his own conscience and in the eyes of the people, this without doubt was already one result of the influence exercised by Boniface in changing the religious mode of thinking,—a result of the new point of view in which the church was presented, as a theocratical institution, and the pope, as theocratical head over the nations. To Boniface himself, it must have appeared of the utmost advantage to his field of labor, that Pipin by assuming the royal name should obtain still greater authority, so as to be able to place a stronger check on the individual Dukes, whose arbitrary will threatened to become destructive to all civil and ecclesiastical order; and with the views he entertained respecting the relation of the church to civil so-

[1] Ep. 82.

[2] He proposed this to the pope some years later, in the letter, in which he requested him to confirm what he had done in founding the monastery of Fulda, ep. 86.

[3] In quo loco proposui aliquantulum vel paucis diebus fessum senectute corpus requiescendo recuperare, et post mortem jacere. Quatuor enim populi, quibus verbum Christi per gratiam Dei diximus, in circuitu loci hujus habitare dinoscuntur. Quibuscum vestra intercessione, quandiu vivo vel sapio, utilis esse possum. Cupio enim vestris orationibus, comitante gratia Dei in familiaritate Romanae ecclesiae et vestro servitio, inter Germanicas gentes, ad quas missus fui, perseverare et praecepto vestro obedire-

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ciety, and of the pope to the church, such an act, promising to be so advantageous both to church and state, could easily be rendered legal by the decision of the pope, as the supreme organ of Christ in the government of the household of faith.[1] From the close alliance between Boniface and the pope, from his position as mediator between the latter and the Frankish church, it may be inferred, that the negotiations concerning this important matter, were not managed without his intervention; though it remains uncertain, whether anything in the oral communications which Boniface's delegate, the presbyter Lull, is said to have made about this period to the pope, had reference to this business.[2] Certain it is, that it was Boniface, who in the year 752, at Soissons, by the pope's commission, administered to Pipin the royal unction.

His vast field of labor among foreign nations did not, however, render Boniface forgetful of his native land. Though his duties compelled him to forego his cherished wish of returning there once more, yet he ever took a special interest in its affairs.[3] He maintained a constant correspondence with bishops, monks, nuns and princes of his country, and as it gave him peculiar pleasure — to use his own words[4] — to hear his countrymen praised so he was grieved at being told of their faults. He was much pained on learning, that one of the princes of his native land, Ethelbald king of Mercia, led an immoral life; and thereby encouraged immorality among his people, and that he was guilty of arbitrarily appropriating the property of the church, conceiving himself both bound and fully authorized, by the pope's commission, to exert his influence against any unchristian conduct which came to his knowledge among the nations, even beyond the more narrow circle under his immediate superintendence,[5] he felt himself constrained to transmit, in the name of a small synod, a very decided letter of remonstrance to this petty sovereign. In this letter he described to him, how severely, to the shame of the English people,[6] the violation of chastity was punished in the mother country, among the pagan Anglo-Saxons, who followed the laws of God written on the heart; and held up for his warning the divine judgments on immoral nations. But to conciliate the good-will of the prince, and secure a favorable reception of this admonitory epistle, Boniface wrote him also another shorter letter, which he accompanied with presents, namely, a hawk, two falcons, two shields and two lances.[7] He exhorted the primate of the English church,

[1] Thus Willibald, in the life of Boniface § 23, shows that this insurrection of paganism in Thuringia had been in great measure provoked by the tyrannical Dukes.

[2] See ep. 86 concerning Lull, habet secreta quaedam mea, quae soli pietati vestrae profiteri debet.

[3] In writing to a priest of his native land, to whom he sent the letter of recommendation, presently to be mentioned, for the purpose of being transmitted to the king of the Mercians, he says: Haec verba admonitionis nostrae ad illum regem propter nihil aliud direximus, nisi propter puram caritatis amicitiam et quod de eadem gente Anglorum nati et enutriti hic peregrinamur ep. 71.

[4] In the letter referred to: Bonis et laudibus gentis nostrae laetamur, peccatis et vituperationibus contristamur.

[5] See ep. 54 as the praeceptum Romani pontificis, si alicubi viderem inter Christianos pergens populos erroneos vel ecclesiasticas regulas depravatas vel homines a catholica fide abductos, ad viam salutis invitare et revocare totis viribus niterer.

[6] Ep. 72.

[7] Ep. 55.

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archbishop Cuthbert of Canterbury,[1] informing him of the regulations adopted by himself in the Frankish and German churches, to take measures for improving the condition of the church in England; and it was probably owing to his influence, which extended even to this distant region, that in the year 747, a synod for the reformation of abuses was convened at Cloveshove (Cliff), under the presidency of this archbishop.

Boniface, acting on the permission he had received from the pope, appointed his countryman Lull, who had been for twenty years trained under his eye, and had served as his colleague, to succeed him in office, and ordained him a bishop. Nothing was wanting, except that he should be recognized as his successor by royal authority, and thus secured in the exercise of all the rights pertaining to such a relation. Impressed with a feeling that the infirmities of age announced for him a speedy death,[2] his mind was occupied with the care of providing for his ecclesiastical foundations, the destruction or dismemberment of which he had reason to fear, unless they were placed under the direction of a firm and able head, such as he wished to give them in the person of Lull. The letter in which he solicited Fulrad, the Frankish lord chamberlain, to bring this matter before king Pepin, touchingly expresses the paternal anxiety of Boniface for those who had been committed by God to his pastoral care: "Nearly all my disciples — he writes — are foreigners — a few priests, established at various points for the service of the church and of the people; monks, distributed among the monasteries, for the purpose of teaching the children to read; and many aged persons, who have long lived and labored with me and sustained me. For all these I am anxious, lest after my death they become scattered. I beg, therefore, that they may enjoy a share of your protection, so that they may not be scattered like sheep without a shepherd, and that the people living on the borders of the pagans may not lose the law of Christ. I beg earnestly, in the name of God, that you would cause my son and fellow-bishop Lull, to be appointed for this service of the people and the churches, as a preacher and guide of the priests and the people. And I hope, if God so will, that in him the priests will find a guide, the monks a teacher of their rule, and the Christian people a faithful preacher and shepherd. I beg such a favor especially for this reason, because my priests sustain a miserable life on the borders of the heathen. Bread to eat they can obtain by their own exertions; but clothing they cannot find there, unless they receive help and counsel from other quarters; for so have I sustained them, that they might be enabled to persevere in their labors for the people in those places."

Having obtained what he wished, and thus made the preservation of the German church independent of his own existence, Boniface concluded not to follow out his earlier intention of passing the remnant of his days in the monastery of Fulda, but to consecrate them

[1] Ep. 73.

[2] Ep. 90, to the Frankish lord chamberlain Fulrad, quod mihi et amicis meis similiter videtur, ut vitam istam temporalem et cursum dierum meorum per istas infirmitates cito debeam finire.

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to the work with which his missionary activity had first commenced. Probably it was with a special view of having it in his power to enter again, in a more direct and personal manner, upon this mission in Friesland, that it had been his wish to make the city of Cologne the seat of his archbishopric. But now he was brought into collision with the newly appointed bishop, Hildegar of Cologne; for the latter availed himself of certain claims, founded on ancient tradition, to make the church of Utrecht dependent on himself; though he took no active part in preaching the gospel in those regions. Boniface maintained, on the other hand, that the bishops of Cologne, who gave themselves no concern about the mission among the Frieslanders, had no claims to make upon this province of the church, but that the church of Utrecht had been founded by pope Sergius, as a metropolis for the conversion of the Frieslanders, and subject only to the pope[1]; whence also it followed, that this church ought, for the present, to stand under no oversight but his own, inasmuch as the pope had committed to him, as his legate, the oversight over all these churches, planted among pagan nations. It is so much more reasonable to trace this controversy of Boniface with the bishop of Cologne to his desire of once more taking upon himself, as papal legate, the direction of the mission in Friesland, that we should hardly be justified in adopting the contrary supposition, and in ascribing the plan of his journey to Friesland to an ambition which incited him to make good his power of legate in that country against the bishop of Cologne. Why should he have sought, through so many dangers and difficulties, at such an advanced period of life, to acquire for his few remaining days an honor, which in a much more convenient and less hazardous way, he could have procured for himself by negotiation with the pope,[2] and with the king of the Franks?

Boniface set out on his journey to Friesland, in the beginning of the year 755, under the firm persuasion that he should never return. With this conviction, he took leave of his disciple Lull, and commended to him the preservation and prosecution of the work begun by himself, and in particular the completion of the church, now erecting at Fulda, in which his body was to be deposited. In the book-chest, which he was in the habit of taking with him wherever he went,[3] that he might have a supply of spiritual books at hand, from which he could read or sing by the way — he gave his disciple charge to place a shroud, in which his body was to be enveloped and conveyed to the monastery of Fulda. With a small retinue, composed partly of clergy

[1] See ep. 105 to pope Stephen II.

[2] It is singular, that the bishop of Cologne provoked this controversy, in opposition to the papal charter founding the metropolitan see at Mentz (see Würdtwein ep. 83), by virtue of which Utrecht and Cologne were subordinated to it; and that Boniface did not appeal, before pope Stephen II., to the authority of this arrangement by his predecessor. We might infer from this, that if the text of this charter is correct, yet it could not in this form obtain from the first the power of law.

[3] The priest from Utrecht says of him, § 18: Quocunque ibat, semper libros secum gestabat. Iter agendo vero vel scripturas lectitabat, vel psalmos hymnosve canebat.

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and monks, and partly of servants, he embarked on a boat by the river Rhine, and landed at the Zuyder sea. His disciple, bishop Eodan, joined him in Friesland. They traversed the country; many received them gladly; they baptized thousands and founded new churches. Boniface had sent numbers home, after having instructed and baptized them, with the direction to return to him on an appointed day, for the purpose of receiving from him the rite of confirmation. Meanwhile, he had established himself with his associates in tents, on the river Burda, not far from Dockingen,[1] and it was the fifth of June, 755, when he expected the return of his spiritual children. Early in the morning, he heard at a distance the noise of an approaching multitude, and full of joy came forth from his tent; but he soon found himself painfully mistaken. The clash of weapons announced anything but a friendly disposition and purpose in the approaching bands. The truth was, that numbers of the pagans, maddened to find that Boniface drew away so many from idolatry, had conspired to devote this day, when so many were to be received into the bosom of the Christian church, to vengeance for their gods. The lay servants would have defended Boniface with their weapons; but he forbade them. With the relics in his hand, he calmly awaited the issue; he exhorted his attendants not to fear those, who could only kill the body, not harm the soul; but rather to be mindful of the infallible promises of their Lord, and to confide in him, who would soon bestow on their souls the reward of everlasting glory. Thus, in his seventy-fifth year, he died a martyr;[2] and with him, many of his companions, as well as the bishop Eodan, died the same death.[3]

Boniface left behind him a series of disciples, who labored on in his spirit, zealously devoting themselves to the education of the youth, to the business of clearing up and cultivating the soil, partly as bishops and priests, partly as abbots. Among these, the abbot Gregory takes an important place, who prosecuted the work in Friesland. The singular manner in which this person, while a young man, was led to attach himself to Boniface, furnishes a remarkable example of the power, which the latter exerted over the minds of youth. When Boniface, on his second journey from Friesland to Thuringia and Hessia, came into the territory of Triers, he met, in a monastery near this town, with a hospitable reception from a certain abbess Addula, who, sprung from a noble family, had retired from the society of the great world to this spot. During meal-time, the duty was assigned to her nephew Gregory (a boy fourteen years old, who had just returned from school), to read some passages from the holy Scriptures. Boniface praised him for reading so well; and asked him to translate what he had read into the German language. As he was compelled to con-

[1] Dockum, between Franeker and Gröningen.

[2] The presbyter of Utrecht informs us, that in the district where this occurred, an old woman was still living, who related that Boniface, when he saw the fatal blow about to be struck, made a pillow for his head of a volume of the gospels.

[3] According to the story of the ecclesiastic of Münster, there were fifty-two of them.

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fess his inability, Boniface himself translated and explained the passages read, and made the whole the subject of a discourse, which left a deep impression on the mind of the youth. The latter felt himself so drawn towards him, that he declared himself resolved to go with him, and never to leave him, that he might learn from him how to understand the holy Scriptures. The grand-mother, to whom Boniface was at that time wholly unknown, did all in her power to dissuade the boy from executing his resolution; but in vain. He told her, if she would not give him a horse he would follow Boniface on foot wherever he went. Finally she yielded to his wishes, and gave him a horse and servants, that he might be able to follow the missionary in his journeys.[1] From this time forward he was the companion of Boniface amidst every difficulty, and went with him also on his last journey to Friesland.[2] And now since bishop Eodan had suffered martyrdom with his teacher, and the bishopric of Utrecht was for the present unoccupied, Gregory took upon himself the whole care of the mission in Friesland, which charge was also conferred on him by pope Stephen II. and by king Pipin. He did not assume, it is true, the episcopal dignity, but remained a priest; whether he was deterred by his modesty from aspiring after a higher rank, or whether the business connected with the episcopal office did not agree with what he felt to be his peculiar calling, or whether it was that special reasons, in the circumstances of the times, prevented the re-occupancy of the bishopric. But as abbot of a monastery at Utrecht, to which boys of English, French, Bavarian, Suevian, Frieslandish, and Saxon extraction were sent to be educated, he had an ample field of activity. He himself labored in instructing the Christian and pagan population; and he founded a missionary school, from which missionaries went forth into various fields. To supply the want of a bishop, he got episcopal ordination conferred in his native land on Alubert, an English clergyman, who had joined him in his work. He lived to the age of more than seventy years; and labored as a faithful teacher, to the end. Three years before his death, in the year 781, he was attacked on his left side by a stroke of palsy. Yet he did not cease laboring for the instruction and spiritual culture of his people, until his disease became so severe, that he had to be borne on the arms of his scholars wherever his presence was needed. In his last hours, his disciples gathered round his bed, to hear from his lips the word of exhortation, and to be edified by the example of his faith. "He will not die to-day," said they to each other; — but summoning his last powers, he turned to them and said: "To-day I shall have my release." He

[1] Liudger, the disciple and biographer of Gregory, who had without doubt received this story from his own mouth, says respecting it: Idem spiritus videtur mihi in hoc tunc operari puero, qui apostolos Christi et dispensatores mysteriorum Dei ad illud inflammavit, ut ad unam vocem Domini relictis retibus et patre sequerentur redemtorem. Hoc fecit artifex summus, unus atque idem spiritus Dei, qui omnia operatur in omnibus dividens singulis prout vult.

[2] If he had not before, as having himself come from the neighboring district, pointed out to Gregory this field of labor among the Frieslanders, for whose welfare he ever continued to manifest a special solicitude.

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died, after having prayed and received the holy supper, with his eyes fixed on the altar.

A second among the disciples of Boniface, to whom the German church and the early culture of the nation were greatly indebted, was the abbot *Sturm*.[1] He was decended from a noble and devotedly Christian family in Bavaria. While Boniface was engaged in organizing the Bavarian church, Sturm, yet a boy, was committed to him by his parents, to be regularly trained for the spiritual office. The former placed him in the monastery of Fritzlar, one of his earliest foundations, over which presided the abbot Wigbert, a companion in missionary labors. To the direction of this person he entrusted the boy's education. This being completed, he was consecrated as priest, and assisted Boniface as a fellow-laborer in the missionary work. After having labored three years under Boniface's direction, he was seized with a desire of following the example of others who had retired into the wilderness, and trained themselves, by every sort of self-denial, in the contest with savage nature, to the austere life of the monk. Boniface yielded to the wishes of his disciple. He hoped to make use of him as an instrument for converting the vast wilderness, which then, under the name of Buchwald (Buchonia), covered a large part of Hessia, into a cultivated country. He gave to Sturm two companions, to go with him on his journey, and dismissed them with his blessing, to find a dwelling-place in the wilderness. After having for three days traversed the forest, riding on asses, they finally came to a spot which seemed to them susceptible of cultivation, Herold's field (Hersfeld). Here they built huts, which they covered with bark; and here they spent some time in devotional exercises. Thus, in the year 736, was laid the foundation of the monastery of Hersfeld. After this, Sturm returned again to his beloved master, for the purpose of making report to one so exact and prudent in the examination and calculation of the minutest details, concerning the situation of the place, the quality of the soil, and the springs of water. He was satisfied with all but one thing; the place seemed to him too much exposed to the ravages of the Saxons. Long and vainly did they seek, wandering up and down on the Fulda, for a place of settlement such as Boniface would approve. But the latter stimulated his disciple to new activity, exhorting him to patience, and confidently assuring him, that God would not fail to show him the place prepared for his servants in the wilderness. For many days he roamed the forest, in all directions, entirely alone, singing psalms as he went, to strengthen his faith and cheer his heart, fearless of the numerous wild beasts prowling in the wilderness. He took repose only at night, constructing a rude hedge of hewn branches around his ass, to protect him from beasts of prey; and then, after calling upon the Lord, and signing the cross on his forehead, laying himself down composedly to sleep.

Thus he discovered at last a spot for a settlement, against which Boniface had nothing to object; and here, in 744, was founded the

[1] Sturmi, or Stirme.

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monastery of Fulda. This was Boniface's favorite foundation. Through his influence the monastery obtained great privileges from the pope. It was to be independent of all spiritual jurisdiction of the bishop, and subject to no one, but the pope.[1] He directed, that his body should be deposited there, which contributed in no small degree to give consideration to the monastery. He sent the abbot Sturm to Italy, for the purpose of studying there the patterns of the old conventual institutions, particularly of the original convent of the Benedictines at Monte Cassino, bidding him to avail himself of all the information he could gather for the benefit of his monastery. After his return, Sturm directed, through a long series of years, the energies of four thousand monks, by whose unsparing labors the wilderness was gradually reclaimed and brought into a state of cultivation. His activity at a later period was interrupted by the devastating inroads of the Saxons. By their threats, he was often compelled, when a very old man, to seek safety in flight. After a flight of this sort, to which he had been forced when sick, having returned back to his convent,[2] when security was restored, he felt the approach of death. He now caused all the bells to be rung, so as to bring together the monks, that his near death might be announced to them, and they might be invited to pray for him. A portion of the monks having assembled around his bed, he begged them to forgive him, if through the sinfulness cleaving to all alike, he had wronged any one of their number, adding that, from his whole heart, he forgave all men all the injuries he had received, and pardoned even his constant enemy, the archbishop Lull. On the day of his death, the 17th of December, 779, one of his monks told him he was now certainly going to the Lord, and expressed the hope that when he was with the Lord, he would remember his disciples and pray for them. He looked upon them and said, "So order your conduct, that I may have courage to pray for you, and I will do what you require."[3] Thus was laid here the foundation of a seminary ot Christian education, which in the following centuries proved eminently serviceable to the German church.

The longest continued and the most violent opposition to the establishment of the Christian church, was made by the powerful race of the Saxons, in Northern Germany. The blame is to be imputed in part to the means employed to effect this object. It required peculiar wisdom, to find a way of introducing Christianity among a people of so warlike a character, whose ancient objects of veneration were so intimately connected with their whole character and constitution. But instead of this, everything on the contrary was done to prejudice the minds of the people against the new religion. Along with Christianity, the whole structure of the hierarchy, against which in particular the

[1] But this exemption contributed, also, to keep alive the embittered feelings between archbishop Lull, Boniface's successor, and the abbot Sturm: and the influence of the former, as well as many other things, occasioned his temporary disgrace at the court of Pipin, and his banishment.

[2] The emperor had sent him his own physician Wintar, but the medicine prescribed by the latter made his disease worse.

[3] See the account of his life by his scholar and successor, abbot Eigil, recently published in Pertz's Monumentis, T. II.

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free spirit of the Saxons revolted, was at once to be introduced. The payment of church tythes, which was to be everywhere enforced, was regarded by them as a sign of disgraceful bondage, and served to render still more odious the religion which carried with it such a regulation. In addition to this, the Christian church and the dominion of the Franks were continually presented to them as closely connected; and hence the attachment which bound them to their old freedom and independence led them to repel both together, — Christianity being regarded as a means for subjecting them to the Frankish yoke. The army of the emperor Charles was followed by priests and monks, prepared to baptize the conquered, or those who yielded to force, or who were inclined to purchase peace for the moment, by obedience to the church; and to found among them churches and monasteries.[1] The doctrines of Christianity, which came to them thus accompanied, would naturally be slow to gain their confidence. Large bodies of them often allowed themselves to be baptized in mere pretence, and submitted to the dominion of the church, resolved already to cast off at the first favorable opportunity, all that had been imposed on them. This they did, when they revolted again from the Frankish empire. The monastery of Fulda, whose abbot Sturm had labored most zealously to plant the Christian church among the conquered Saxons, then became a signal mark for their vengeance.[2] The pious and far-sighted abbot Alcuin best understood what had prevented the establishment of the Christian church among the Saxons; and he gave the emperor, his bishops and high officers the wisest counsels with regard to the missionary work; of which however they made but little use. Thus to the imperial chamberlain and lord of the treasury, Magenfrid,[3] he wrote — appealing to the words of our Lord himself, Matt. 28: 19 — three things should go together, the preaching of the faith, the bestowment of baptism, and the exhibition of our Lord's commandments. Without the concurrence of these three parts, the hearer could not be led to salvation. But faith was a voluntary thing and not to be forced. To baptism, indeed, one might be forced; but that was of no avail to faith.[4] The grown up man must say for himself, what he believed and desired; and if he professed the faith in a hypocritical manner, he could not truly attain to salvation. Therefore preachers to the heathen are bound to instruct the people in the faith in a friendly and prudent way.[5] The Lord knew them that were his, and opened the hearts of

[1] See the Life of abbot Sturm, l. c. c. 22. where it is said respecting the effects of the campaigns of the emperor in the years 772 and 776; Partim bellis, partim suasionibus, partim etiam muneribus maxima ex parte gentem illam ad fidem Christi convertit; and the abbot Alcuin writes in the year 790 to a Scottish abbot, ep. III.: Antiqui Saxones et omnes Frisonum populi instante Rege Carolo alios praemiis et alios minis sollicitante ad fidem Christi conversi sunt.

[2] When the Saxons had, in 778, begun a new war, Sturm, together with his monks, was obliged to flee, having heard that the approaching Saxons intended, in their rage, to burn down the convent with the monks and all that was in it. See the life of Sturm § 23.

[3] Ep. 37.

[4] Attrahi poterit homo ad fidem, non cogi. Cogi poteris ad baptismum, sed non proficit fidei.

[5] Unde et praedicatores paganorum populum pacificis verbis et prudentibus fidem docere debent.

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such as he pleased, so that they might be able to recognize the truth preached to them.[1] But after they have received the faith and baptism, in proceeding to set before them the precepts of religion, some regard should be paid to the needs of the weaker minds; great demands ought not to be made upon them at once, but in accordance with St. Paul's direction, they should be fed at first with milk and not with strong meat.[2] Thus the apostles, Acts 15, laid none of the burthens of the law upon the converted gentiles. Paul gloried in supporting himself by the labor of his own hands, Acts 20: 34. 2 Thess. 3: 8. 1 Cor. 9: 15, 18. Thus the great apostle, who was specially chosen by God to preach the gospel to the heathen, had acted, in order effectually to remove every pretext or occasion for accusing the preacher of covetousness; so that none should preach God's word out of the love of gain, but each should do so sustained by the love of Christ, as our Lord himself commanded his disciples: Freely ye have received, freely give. "Let but the same pains be taken — he then went on to say — to preach the easy yoke and the light burden of Christ to the obstinate people of the Saxons, as are taken to collect the tythes from them, or to punish the least transgression of the laws imposed on them, and perhaps they would no longer be found to repel baptism with abhorrence. Let the teachers of the faith but train themselves after the example of the Apostles,[3] let them but rely on the gracious providence of Him, who says, Carry neither purse nor scrip, etc., and of whom the prophet declares, He saveth them that trust in him.[4] This I have written to you — says he after these directions — that thy admonitions may be of service to those who apply to thee for advice."[5] With peculiar freedom and sharpness, does Alcuin express his views of the measures adopted by the emperor, in a letter addressed to that monarch himself.[6] He calls upon him to conclude, if possible, a truce with the abominable people (the Saxons). All threats ought for a time to be suspended, that they might not become inveterate in their hostile feelings to the Frankish empire, and afraid to enter into any compromise whatsoever,[7] but be encouraged with hope till by salutary

[1] The Augustinian doctrine of predestination had, however, this injurious effect, that whenever such a work turned out a failure, men, instead of seeking for the cause in the want of correct teaching, and in the use of wrong means, sought rather to trace it to the want of all-efficient grace, and to non-predestination. Thus, even Alcuin, in the 28th letter to the emperor — though with the intention no doubt of showing, that the *whole* blame could not be cast on the emperor, says: Ecce quanta devotione et benignitate pro dilatatione nominis Christi duritiam infelicis populi Saxonum per verae salutis consilium emollire laborasti. Sed quia electio necdum in illis divina fuisse videtur, remanent hucusque multi ex illis cum diabolo damnandi in sordibus consuetudinis pessimae.

[2] Alcuin by no means intends to say here, that a loose morality should be first preached, so as not to repel the weak; but he has in his thoughts the positive laws of the church, the claims on the people in reference to the bearing of the public burdens, the payment of tythes.

[3] Sint praedicatores, non praedatores.

[4] History of Susannah v. 60, as reckoned to Daniel.

[5] In his letter to Arno archbishop of Salzburg, Let. 72, Alcuin says: Decimae, ut dicitur, Saxonum subverterunt fidem. Quid injungendum est jugum cervicibus idiotarum, quod neque nos neque fratres nostri ferre potuerunt? Igitur in fide Christi salvari animas credentium confidimus.

[6] Ep. 80, in the explanation of which I agree more fully with Frobein than with Pagi, though I cannot agree entirely with the former.

[7] Ne obdurati fugiant.

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counsel they could be brought back to the ways of peace. The revolts of the exasperated Saxons led to other consequences. They fell upon the provinces already belonging to the empire of the Franks, and here paganism once more revived. He therefore cautioned the emperor against allowing himself, by his zeal to win one small state more for the Christian church, to fall into the mistake of exposing to hazard a larger portion of the church in countries where it had already been established.[1] He disapproved also of the plan of transporting many of the Saxons into the Frankish kingdom, since these very emigrants were the better class of Christians, and might have proved, among their own people, an important element towards the conversion of their countrymen, now wholly abandoned to paganism.[2]

It was not till after a series of wars lasting for thirty years, that the emperor Charles succeeded in reducing the Saxons, ever revolting anew against the Christian church as well as the Frankish dominion, to entire subjection; and by the treaty of peace concluded at Selz, in 804, the authority of both these powers was acknowledged by the Saxons, and in consideration of their binding themselves to the payment of the church tythes, they were for the present released from all other burdens. The Christian church having been thus established among the Saxons by force, it followed as a natural consequence that individuals also would in many cases be constrained to unite with it by force. The punishment of death was threatened against such as refused to receive baptism, or endeavored to propagate their ancient idolatry by stealth. But it was natural also that many who consented to be baptized, did so only in pretence, and, so far as they could without danger, treated the laws of the church with contempt, and continued secretly to observe the rites of idolatry. To put a stop to this, the severest laws were enacted. Death was the penalty for setting fire to churches, for neglecting to observe the seasons of fast, for eating flesh during those seasons, if done through contempt of Christianity; death was the penalty decreed against burning a dead body, according to the pagan mode,—against *human sacrifices*,—pecuniary mulcts, against the practice of other pagan rites.[3] In this way, the transfer of many pagan customs to Christianity was encouraged; and thus arose various superstitions, growing out of the mingling together of Christian and pagan elements. More than could possibly be effected by these forcible measures in the present generation, was done for the Christian culture of the rising generation by the establishment of churches and schools. Besides, several individuals now appeared, who did not confine their efforts barely to the suppression of idolatry and of pagan

[1] Tenendum est, quod habetur, ne propter adquisitionem minoris, quod majus est, amittatur. Servetur ovile proprium, ne lupus rapax (the Saxons) devastet illud. Ita in alienis (among the pagan Saxons) sudetur, ut in propriis (the races already incorporated with the empire of the Franks and the Christian church) damnum non patiatur.

[2] Qui foras recesserunt, optimi fuerunt Christiani, sicut in plurimis notum est, et qui remanserunt in patria in faecibus malitiae permanserunt.

[3] See the capitulary for the Saxons A. D. 789. Mansi Concil. T. XIII. appendix fol. 181.

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customs, and to providing for the erection of churches, and the establishment of an external form of worship, but also distinguished themselves by their zeal as teachers of the faith. These were partly such as came from the school of the abbot Gregory in Utrecht, and in part, such as had been led by the report of the great field of labor and the want of laborers among the Saxons, to come over from England. To all these, the emperor Charles assigned their several spheres of labor.

One of the most distinguished among these was *Liudger*, a descendant of Wursing, that pious man among the Frieslanders, who had actively assisted the archbishop Willibrord. Sprung from a devotedly Christian family, he had early received into his heart the seeds of piety, and these were nourished and still further developed by the influence of the abbot Gregory at Utrecht, into whose school he entered. To indulge the eager thirst for knowledge, which discovered itself in him from childhood, the abbot, in process of time, sent him to England, that he might gather up the knowledge to be obtained in the school of the great Alcuin in York. Well instructed, and provided with a store of books, he returned back to his country. After Gregory's death, he assisted as a presbyter Gregory's successor Albrich, who had been ordained a bishop in Cologne; laboring with him especially to accomplish what still remained to be done for the conversion of the Frieslanders. The district in which Boniface had been martyred, was the principal theatre of his activity as a teacher of Christianity. His seven years' labor in these parts was, however, interrupted by the revolt of the Saxon leader Wittekind against the Frankish dominion, in the year 782; when the arms of the pagan Saxons penetrated to this spot, and the pagan party in this place once more gained the ascendancy, the churches were burnt, the clergy driven away, and the idol-temples restored. Upon this, he made a journey to Rome and to the abbey of Monte Cassino, for the purpose of studying the great model of ancient monasticism, in this latter place. On his return, after an absence of three years, he found peace restored in his country, Wittekind having finally submitted and in the year 785 received baptism at Attigny. The emperor Charles assigned him his sphere of labor among the Frieslanders in nearly the same circuit which now includes the towns of Gröningen and Norden. It was he too, who first succeeded in destroying paganism and establishing the Christian church on the island of Heligoland (Fosites-land) where Willibrord had made the attempt in vain. He baptized the prince's son, Landrich; gave him a clerical education and consecrated him to the office of presbyter. This person labored for many years as a teacher of the Frieslanders. Liudger founded a monastery at Werden, then on the boundary between Friesland and Saxony, on a piece of land belonging to his family. After the Saxons were completely subjugated, the emperor sent him into the district of Münster, and a place called Mimigerneford, was the principal seat of his labors, where afterwards a bishopric was founded, which from the canonical establishment (monasterium) founded by him, received the name of Münster. With untiring zeal, he went from place to place, instructing the rude Saxons; and every-

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where founding churches, over which he placed, as pastors, priests who had been trained under his own direction. After having for a long time administered the episcopal functions, without the name of bishop, he was finally compelled to assume the episcopal dignity by Hildebold archbishop of Cologne. His zeal for the spread of Christianity, led him to visit the wild Normans, who were then a terror to the Christian nations; and became still more so in the following times,—where he could reckon upon no human assistance. But the emperor Charles absolutely refused to permit it. From such a man, nothing else could be expected, than that he would seek chiefly to work on the *hearts* of men by the power of *divine truth*, as indeed he had been trained to do, by the example and the instructions of men who looked upon teaching as their proper calling—Gregory and Alcuin. Even in the sickness, which befel him shortly before his death in 809, he did not allow himself to be prevented by bodily weakness, from discharging the spiritual duties of his office. On Sunday preceding the night of his death,[1] he preached twice before two different congregations of his diocese, in the morning in the church at Cosfeld, in the afternoon at the third hour, in the church at Billerbeck where he expended his last energies in performing mass.[2]

Another of these individuals was *Willehad*, who came from Northumberland. He also labored at first, and with happy results, in the district of Docum, where Boniface had poured out his blood as a martyr. Many were baptised by him; many of the first men of the nation entrusted to him their children for education. But having come into the territory of the present Gröningen, where idolatry was at that time still predominant, his preaching so excited the rage of the pagan populace, that they would have killed him; when it was proposed by some of the more moderate class, that they should first determine, by lot, the judgment of the gods concerning him; and it was so ordered in the providence of God, that the lot having fallen for the preservation of his life, he was permitted to go away unharmed. He now betook himself to the district of Drenthe. His preaching had already met with great acceptance, when some of his disciples, urged on by an inconsiderate zeal, proceeded to destroy the idol temples before the minds of the multitude were sufficiently prepared for such a step. The pagans, excited to fury, threw themselves upon the missionaries. Willehad was loaded with stripes. One of the pagans dealt him a cut with his sword, intending to kill him, but the blow struck a thong by which the capsule containing the relics he carried about with him according to the custom of those times, was suspended from his neck, and so he escaped. This, according to the prevailing mode of thinking, was regarded as a proof of the protecting power of relics; and even the pagans were led thereby to desist from their attack on Willehad, who as they believed, was protected by a higher power. The emperor Charles, who possessed the faculty of drawing around him the able men from all quarters, having by this time heard of Willehad's un-

[1] He died on the 26th of March, 809.

[2] The history of his life by his second successor Alfrid, and published in the second volume of Pertz's Monumenta.

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daunted zeal as a preacher, and being just at that moment, after the conquest of the Saxons in 779, in want of men like him to establish the Christian church among that people, sent for him; and having made him acquainted with his views, assigned him his post in the province of Wigmodia, where afterwards arose the diocese of Bremen. He was, for the present, to preside as priest over this diocese which included within it a part of Saxony and of Friesland, and to perform every duty of the pastoral office in it, until the Saxons were brought into a condition to be satisfied with the organization of bishoprics. He accomplished more, by his zeal in preaching the gospel, than could be effected by the forcible measures of the emperor; and by his labors during two years, he succeeded in bringing over many of the Friesland-ers and Saxons to the faith. He founded communities and churches, and placed other priests over them for their guidance. Yet *his* circle of labors also, promising so many happy results, was broken in upon by the revolt of Wittekind in 782, the effects of which extended to this spot. As he felt no fanatical longing after the death of a martyr, and wished not to expose himself to the fury of the pagan army, which threatened death to all Christian clergymen, but in accordance with our Saviour's direction, Matth. 10: 23, considered it his duty to flee from persecution and to preserve his life in order to preach the gospel, he availed himself of the opportunity he had to effect his escape by flight. Many of the clergy, however, appointed by him, died as martyrs. Finding no opportunity, during these times of war, of preaching the gospel, he availed himself of this interval of leisure to make a journey to Rome, at the same time that Liudger also visited Italy. Returning from thence, he found a quiet retreat in the convent founded by Willibrord at Afternach (Epternach,) and this became the rallying place of his scattered disciples. There he spent two years, partly in exercises of devotion, partly occupied with reading the holy scriptures and partly with writing.[1] But as he ever felt a longing to be actively engaged in promoting the salvation of others, it was with great delight, that after the subjugation of Wittekind in 785, he found himself enabled to resume the former field of labor assigned him by the emperor Charles, to whom he had devoted his services in building up the church among the Saxons. Circumstances now for the first time made it possible to carry out the design of here founding an episcopal diocese. In 787, the emperor Charles drew up the records defining the limits of the diocese of Bremen, and Willehad was ordained bishop of Bremen.[2] On Sunday, the first of November, in 789, he consecrated the episcopal head-church in Bremen, St. Peters, which he caused to be built in a magnificent style. But it was only for two years he was permitted to

[1] In this place, he wrote out a copy of the epistles of St. Paul, which was preserved as a precious memorial by his successors, the bishops of Bremen.

[2] Anschar says, in his account of his life, c. 9: "Quod tamen ob id tamdiu prolongatum fuerat, quia gens, credulitati divinae resistens, quum presbyteros aliquoties secum manere vix compulsa sineret, episcopali auctoritate minime regi patiebatur. Hac itaque de causa, septem annis prius in eadem presbyter est demoratus parochia, vocatur tamen episcopus, et secundum quod poterat cuncta potestate praesidentis ordinans.

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administer the episcopal office. On one of his tours of visitation, which the wants of his large diocese consisting of new converts, or those who had received baptism only in pretence, caused him frequently to make, he arrived, in 789, at Blexem[1] on the Weser, not far from Wegesack, where he was attacked with a violent fever. One of the young men, his disciples, who were assembled round his bed, anxiously solicitous for his life, said to him "what are the new communities, and the young clergy, whose head you are, to do without you? They cannot spare you—they would be like sheep without a shepherd, in the midst of wolves. Said Willehad to this: O let me no longer be kept away from the presence of my Lord! I desire to live no longer; I fear not to die. I would only pray my Lord, whom I have ever loved with my whole heart, that he would, according to his grace, give me such a reward of my labor as he may please. But the sheep, whom he has committed to me, I commend to his own protection, for even I myself, if I have been able to do anything good, have done it in his strength. So neither to you will his grace be wanting, of whose mercy the whole earth is full." Thus he died on the eighth of November 789.[2]

The victory of the emperor Charles over the Avares (also called the Huns) then dwelling in Hungary, led to attempts to found the Christian church among them. Tudun, one of their princes, came in the year 796,[3] with a numerous suite, on a visit to the emperor; and, with his companions, received baptism. The emperor resolved to establish among them a mission, and entrusted the direction of it to Arno archbishop of Salzburg. When the subject of planting the Christian church among the Avares was agitated, the abbot Alcuin gave the emperor excellent advice as to the way in which he might prosecute this work with happier results than had been experienced among the Saxons.[4] He should seek out for the people to whom the Christian faith was as yet altogether new, pious preachers, of exemplary lives; such as were well instructed in the Christian system of doctrines and morals. He then subjoined exhortations similar to those, which we have already quoted on a former page.[5] The emperor should himself consider, whether the apostles, instructed and sent forth to preach by Christ had anywhere demanded tythes, or given directions for any such thing. Next, he exhorted him to see to it, that everything was done in the right order, and that conviction of the truths of faith went before baptism; since the washing of the body without any knowledge of the faith, in a soul gifted with reason, could be of no use.[6] No one, said he, should receive baptism, till he has become firmly grounded in his persuasion of the principal doctrines of Christianity.[7] And then by a

[1] At that time Pleccateshem.

[2] His life by Anschar, archbishop of Hamburg and Bremen, lately published in Pertz monumenta T. II.

[3] See Einhardi annales, at this year.

[4] Ep. 28.

[5] He fitly applies here the example of Christ, Matth. 9: 17: Unde et ipse Dominus Christus in evangelio respondet interrogantibus se, quare discipuli ejus non jejunarent: nemo mittit vinum novum in utres veteres.

[6] Ne nihil prosit sacri ablutio baptismi in corpore, si in anima ratione utenti catholica agnitio fidei non praecesserit.

[7] He mentions the several parts of reli

faithful performance of the duty of preaching, the precepts of the gospel should at the proper time be often inculcated on each, until he attained to the ripeness of manhood, and became a worthy dwelling for the Holy Spirit. His friend, archbishop Arno, having requested Alcuin to give him some directions as to the right mode of dispensing religious instruction among the pagans, he at first sent him this letter intended for the emperor.[1] Then he wrote him another special letter on the subject,[2] in which he again strongly insisted on the point, that every thing depended on the preaching of the faith and the conviction of the hearers: without this, baptism could be of no avail.[3] For how could a man be forced to believe, what he did not believe? Man, gifted with reason, must be instructed, must be drawn onward by word upon word, that he may come to the knowledge of the truths of faith. And especially was it necessary to implore for him the grace of the Almighty; since the tongue of the teacher taught in vain, unless divine grace penetrated the heart of the hearer.[4] And here, he insisted with great earnestness upon the necessity of proceeding gradually and by successive steps, in pressing the requisitions of the gospel on such as had attained to the faith, and of not attempting to extort everything at once.[5] A person long established in the faith was more ready and better fitted for every good work, than the mere novice. Peter when full of the Holy Ghost, bore testimony to the faith before the emperor Nero in one way; he answered the maid in the house of Caiaphas in quite another. And the example of gentleness exhibited by our Saviour, when he afterwards reminded him of his fall, should teach the good shepherd how he, too, ought to conduct himself towards the fallen.[6] In another letter, he says, to the same prelate, "be a teacher of the faith, not a tythe-gatherer."[7] — It is true, this work among the Avares seems to have been interrupted by a new war, in the year 798, with this people; but it was in all probability prosecuted

gious instruction in the following order; Prius instruendus est homo de animae immortalitate et de vita futura et de retributione bonorum malorumque et de aeternitate utriusque sortis. Postea pro quibus peccatis et sceleribus poenas cum diabolo patiatur aeternas et pro quibus bonis vel bene factis gloria cum Christo fruatur sempiterna. Deinde fides sanctae trinitatis diligentissime docenda est, et adventus pro salute humani generis filii Dei Domini nostri Jesu Christi in hunc mundum exponendus. Et de mysterio passionis illius et veritate resurrectionis et gloria adscensionis in coelos, et futuro eius adventu ad iudicandas omnes gentes et de resurrectione corporum et de aeternitate poenarum et praemiorum.

[1] Ep. 30; and probably he was thinking of the guilty failure of the missionary efforts among the Saxons, when he complained: Vae mundo a scandalis! Quid enim auri insana cupido non subvertit boni! Tamen potens est Deus recuperare quod coeptum est et perficere quod factum non est.

[2] Ep. 31.

[3] Idcirco misera Saxonum gens toties baptismi perdidit sacramentum, quia nunquam fidei fundamentum habuit in corde.

[4] Quia otiosa est lingua docentis, si gratia divina cor auditoris non imbuit. Quod enim visibiliter sacerdos per baptismum operatum in corpore per aquam, hoc spiritus sanctus invisibiliter operatus in anima per fidem.

[5] Matth. 9: 17. Qui sunt utres veteres, nisi qui in gentilitatis erroribus obduraverunt? Quibus si in initio fidei novae praedicationis praecepta tradideris, rumpuntur et ad veteres consuetudines perfidiae revolvuntur.

[6] Quatenus bonus pastor intelligeret, non semper delinquentes dura invectione castigare, sed saepe piae consolationis admonitione corrigere.

[7] Ep. 72. Esto praedicator pietatis, non decimarum exactor.

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again after their total subjugation. Alcuin complained, that the same zeal was not shown in building up the Christian church among the Avares, as was manifested for the same cause among the ever-resisting Saxons; and he traced it to the negligence with which a business is wont to be passed over, where nothing has been effected.[1]

The dominion of the Franks as well as the Christian church still met with determined resistance from the numerous Slavonian tribes dwelling on the northern and eastern borders of Germany. It is said to have been the intention of the emperor Charles to found a metropolis of the north in Hamburg, with a view to the conversion of these tribes, and to the diffusion of Christianity throughout the entire north: but he failed to execute this plan, which was reserved for his successor.

II. In Asia and Africa.

Whilst a stock of nations altogether new and rude was thus gained over to Christianity, and the germ of a new spiritual creation, proceeding out of Christianity planted in the midst of them, new dangers were threatening destruction, or a continual encroachment on its limits, to the Christian church in the countries which formed its original seat. When the Persian king, Chosru-Parviz, in the beginning of the seventh century, deprived the Roman empire of several provinces, in the year 614 conquered Palestine, and in the years 615, 616, Egypt, many Christians were killed, many carried off as slaves, or forced to unite with the Nestorian church, and many churches and monasteries destroyed.[2] This, however, was but a transient evil; since, in the years 622–628, the East Roman emperor Heraclius subdued the Persian empire, and liberated the conquered provinces. But soon afterwards there rose up against the Christian church in those countries a hostile power, with which that church had to sustain a much longer and more difficult contest.

A Christianity which was already beginning to die out in meagre forms of doctrine, ceremonial rites, and superstition, bowed before the might of a new religion, striding onward with the vigor of youth, and powerfully working on the imagination; a religion which, moreover, called to its aid many physical auxilaries, — the new religion founded by Mohammed in Arabia. In the year 610, Mohammed appeared as a prophet among the Arabian tribes, where, in the midst of prevailing idolatry, particularly Sabaism, and of various superstitions connected with charms and amulets, the remembrance was still preserved of an original, simple, monotheistic religion; while by the numerous Jews scattered among these tribes, in part also by Christians, who possessed

[1] Ep. 92. Hunnorum vero, sicut dixisti, perditio, nostra est negligentia, laborantium in maledicta generatione Saxonum Deoque despecta usque huc et eos negligentes, quos majore mercede apud Deum et gloria apud homines habere potuimus, ut videbatur.

[2] See Theophanes Chronograph. f. 199 etc. Makriz. historia Coptorum Christianor. pag. 79. Renaudot historia patriarchar. Alexandrinor. pag. 154

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however but a very imperfect knowledge of their faith, the recollection of this primeval religion was freshly revived. Under such influences, it was quite possible, that in a man possessed of the lively temper and fiery imagination of Mohammed, the awakened consciousness of God would lead to a reaction against the idolatry in which he had been nurtured and by which he was surrounded — a reaction, however, which would be disturbed by the sensuous element so predominant in the national character of his people. Mohammed felt himself inspired with a certain zeal for the honor of the one only God, whom he had been taught by those traditions of a primitive religion, as well as by what he had learned from Judaism and Christianity, to recognize and adore. The sense of God's exaltation above all created things, of the infinite distance between the Creator and his works; the sense of utter dependence on the Almighty and Incomprehensible — this one element of the knowledge of God — constituted the predominant ground-tone of his religious character; whilst the other element which belongs to the complete unfolding of the consciousness of God, the sense of relationship and communion with God, was in his case wholly suppressed. Hence his one-sided mode of apprehending the divine attributes, in which the idea of Almighty power predominated, while that of holy love was overlooked. Hence almighty power, apprehended in this religion as unlimited arbitrary will; or if some occasional presentiment of the love and mercy of God gleamed out in the religious consciousness, yet it did not harmonize with the prevailing tone of the religion, but necessarily borrowed from the latter a certain tincture of *particularism*. Hence the predominant fatalism, and the total denial of moral liberty. And as it is the ethical shaping assumed by the idea of God which determines the whole moral spirit of a religion, hence notwithstanding the sublime maxims of morality — in contradiction, however, with the general character of the religion — that are to be found here and there scattered among the teachings of Mohammed, yet the whole system, because lacking in the main foundation of a right ethical apprehension of the idea of God, is radically defective. The God who was worshipped as an almighty and arbitrary Will, could be honored by entire submission to his will, servile obedience, the performance of various insulated outward ceremonies, which he had seen fit to prescribe as marks of reverence to him, and by works of charity; but also and especially, by the extermination of his enemies, the idolaters; by the subjugation of infidels; by the repetition of prayers; by festivals, lustrations, and pilgrimages. Answering to that narrow apprehension of the idea of God, was the lack also, in the moral province, of that principle which, wherever it exists, pervades and ennobles every other human quality, a holy love. As the ethical element retires to such a distance in the teachings of Mohammed, so on this very account the sense of the need of a redemption finds no place in the system. The tradition respecting an original state of the first man, and of his eating the forbidden fruit, occurs, it is true, in the Koran, as it had been derived as well from the Old and New Testaments as from apo-

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cryphal writings of Jews or Judaizing Christians;[1] but only as an isolated story — the form in which it would be likely to captivate the poetical fancy of Mohammed and his people — without reference to a great ethical truth, without connecting itself with the whole religion, so that Mohammedanism would lack nothing of its proper essence, were this story entirely expunged from its records. It belongs to the antagonism between Mohammedanism and Christianity, that the former utterly excludes the need of a redeemer and of a redemption.

It was by no means the intention of Mohammed, at the outset, to found a new religion for the entire human race; but he believed himself called, as a national prophet of the Arabians, to proclaim to his people, in their own language, and in a form suited to their wants, the same Theism of the primitive religion, which he recognized as a doctrine communicated by divine instruction, in Judaism and Christianity.[2] He required at first to be acknowledged only as a prophet sent to teach the Arabians, and declared hostility against none but idolaters. But when the success which crowned his first undertakings, and the enthusiasm of his followers, stimulated his imagination and his vanity to a bolder flight, and when, moreover, he became excited by the opposition he met with from Jews and Christians, he came forward with still greater pretensions, not only against idolaters, but also against Jews and Christians themselves. He declared himself a messenger, divinely sent for the restoration of pure Theism, by whom it was to be freed from the foreign elements which had become incorporated with it even in Judaism and Christianity. He expressed, it is true, no hostility to the earlier revelations by Moses, the prophets, and Jesus; but ascribed to these the same authority as he claimed for that communicated by himself; but he attacked the pretended corruptions which had entered into those revelations. Now it was unquestionably true, that Christianity, *in the form in which it was presented to him*, might furnish abundant occasion for such a charge, respecting the corruption of its original truth; as for example, when he rebuked the idolatrous worship of Mary and of the monks (the saints); and the view taken by the church of the doctrine of the Trinity might, to one who looked at it from an outward position, from the position of an abstract Monotheism, and not as a form of expressing what was contained in the Christian consciousness, easily appear

[1] The story about Adam's exalted dignity, and the homage done to him by the angels, which Satan, who envied him, refused to pay, belongs among the Gnostic elements that are to be found in the Koran. See my Genetische Entwickelung der Gnostischen Systeme, p. 125, 265. History of the Church, Vol. II. 655, 656. Geiger — in his instructive essay: Was hat Mahomed aus dem Judenthum aufgenommen? Bonn 1833, p. 100 — is right in not tracing this notion to the Judaism of the Old Testament, but wrong in deriving it from Christianity. More probably the source of it is a Gnostic tradition, or a still older oriental one, from which Gnosticism itself was derived.

[2] See the Koran, Sura 14, f. 375 ed. Maracci—the words ascribed to the Almighty, non misimus ullum legatum nisi cum lingua gentis suae. How the different religions were distributed by the Almighty to different nations, through his revelations in Judaism and Christianity — Sura V. f. 226. How the revelations by Mohammed were designed for those who could not read the Old Testament and the gospels, on account of their ignorance of the language in which they were written — Sura VI. f. 262.

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as a tritheistical doctrine. Still, however, the chief reason which led Mohammed to declare hostility against Christianity certainly did not consist in these corruptions of the gospel doctrine, which he found intermingled with it, so much as it did in the relation of his own fundamental position in religion to the original and peculiar essence of Christianity itself — that fundamental position of an abstract Monotheism, placing an infinite chasm, never to be filled up, between God and his creatures, from which position a mediatorial action of God, for the purpose of bringing human nature into fellowship with himself, must appear as derogatory from the dignity of an infinitely exalted Being, and an approximation to idolatry. It was not merely a certain speculative mode of apprehending the doctrine of the Trinity, which gave offence to Mohammed as savoring of Tritheism; but it was the essential element of Christianity itself, here lying at the bottom and constituting the ground of antagonism both to a stiff and one-sided Monotheism on the one hand, that placed God absolutely out of man, and man absolutely out of God, and to the deification of nature that degrades and divides the consciousness of God in polytheism on the other, — it was this that must remain incomprehensible to Mohammed. And hence, too, the doctrine of Christ's divinity,[1] and in a word everything else in Christianity over and above the general ground-work of Theism — everything by which Christianity was essentially distinguished from the Jewish stage of religion, could not appear otherwise to Mohammed than as a corruption of primitive Christianity, as he would have it to have been. The gospel history he quotes only in the fabulous form in which it appears in the older apocryphal gospels. But even if he had had the opportunity of acquainting himself with the genuine history of Christ, still his imagination, and his poetical temperament, would have been more strongly attracted by those fantastic pictures in the apocryphal writings; and the image of Christ which these set forth, harmonized more completely with his whole religious turn of mind, than the one presented in the genuine gospels.

It is evident from these remarks, that Mohammedanism corresponds in the nearest degree with Judaism; — but a Judaism which, sundered from its connection with the theocratic development, robbed of its prevailing character, the predominating idea of God's holiness, — of its prophetic element and its peculiar luminous point, the animating idea of the Messiah, was degraded from the historical, to the mythical, form, and accommodated to the national character of the Arabians. And here we may notice an important law, relating to the progressive development of the kingdom of God in humanity. Just as, *within the church itself*, a Judaism ennobled by Christianity and permeated by its spirit, or a Christianity in Jewish form (the Catholicism of the mid-

[1] In the final judgment, God, according to the Koran, shall say to Jesus: O Jesu, fili Mariae, tune dixisti hominibus: accipite me et matrem meam in duos Deos praeter Deum? And Jesus shall call God to witness, that he had never taught so: Non dixi eis, nisi quod praecepisti mihi: colite Deum dominum meum et dominum vestrum, Sura V. f. 236.

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dle ages) formed for the converted barbarous nations a medium of transition to the appropriation of a Christianity expressing in essence and form its true character; so *without the pale of the church*, a Judaism degraded to the level of natural religion in Mohammedanism, formed a theistic medium of transition from idolatry, at its very lowest stages, to the only genuine theism of Christianity fully developed and pervading the entire life.

In respect to the relation of Christianity to Mohammedanism, as it was understood by Christian teachers among the Mohammedans in the eighth century, we find that their apologetic writings — so far as we can form a judgment of them from the fragments still preserved in the works of John of Damascus and his scholar Theodore Abukara, both belonging to the eighth century,[1] — relate particularly to the doctrines of free-will and of the divinity of Christ. In seeking to defend the doctrine of free self-determination and moral responsibleness against the Mohammedan principle whereby good and evil were derived alike from the divine causality, and the distinction between a permission and an actual efficiency on the part of God[2] was denied, men fell, as usual, when combatting one extreme, into directly the opposite, namely, into an anthropopathical mode of apprehending the relation of God to his creatures, that led to Pelagianism, without being aware of the consequences flowing from this view of the matter. God, having once completed the work of creation, exerted no further creative power, but left the universe to go on and shape itself according to the laws therein established, — everything, by virtue of the creative word which God spake in the beginning, unfolding itself spontaneously out of the seminal principles clothed by God with their several specific powers.[3]

The schisms subsisting among the oriental Christians, the dissatisfaction of the oppressed schismatic party (in Egypt and Syria) with the Byzantine government and the reigning church, would naturally tend to promote the triumphant advance of the Mohammedan Saracens; and these were inclined, from motives of policy, to manifest special favor to the hitherto persecuted parties, such as were the numerous Monophysite party in Egypt and the Nestorian party in Syria.[4] Wherever

[1] The dialogue between the Christian and the Turk, by John of Damascus T. I. in his works ed. le Quien f. 466. Galland. bibl. patrum T. XIII. f. 272; and the ἐρωτήσεις καὶ ἀποκρίσεις between the Βάρβαρος and the Χριστιανός of Theodore Abukara in Bibliotheca patrum Parisiens. Tom. XI. f. 431. It is difficult to decide which was the original form of this dialogue and which of the two was its author.

[2] The Mohammedan, disputing with the Christian κατ' ἄνθρωπον, on the question was it God's will, or not, that Christ should be crucified?

[3] Ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ αὐτεξούσιος ὢν ἔν τε καλοῖς, ἐν τε κακοῖς, ὅπου ἐάν σπείρῳ, κἂν εἰς ἰδίαν γυναῖκα, κἂν εἰς ἀλλοτρίαν, τῇ ἰδίᾳ ἐξουσίᾳ χρώμενος, ἀναβλαστάνω, καὶ γίνεται τῷ πρώτῳ προστάγματι τοῦ θεοῦ ὑπακούουσα, ὅτι τὸ καταβληθὲν ἔχει ἐν ἑαυτῷ σπερματικὴν δύναμιν· οὐχ ὅτι δὲ νῦν καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ὁ θεὸς πλάττει καὶ ἐργάζεται· ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ, τὰ πάντα πεποίηκε. Theodor Abukara. l. c. f. 432.

[4] The major part of the population in Egypt, the Copts, were inclined to Monophysitism; and these assisted the conquerors in driving out the descendants of the Greeks, who, as followers of the doctrines that prevailed in the empire, were called Melchites. All the churches were now transferred to the former, and the Coptic patriarchate was founded. See the accounts of Macrizi, which especially deserve to be

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the Saracens, in the course of the seventh and eighth centuries, obtained the ascendancy in Asia (Syria and the countries adjacent) and in North-Africa, they forbore indeed to persecute the old Christian inhabitants on account of their faith, if they paid the tribute imposed on them; yet there was no lack of extortions, oppressions and insults, and the fanatical temper of the rulers might easily be excited to deeds of violence.[1] Moreover, they who in ignorance were depending on a dead faith, might be led by various inducements to abandon their creed for a religion which was spreading with the fresh vigor of youth, which flattered the inclinations of the natural man, and which was favored by the ruling powers.

The Nestorian communities, established in Eastern Asia, which were favored by the Persians, and afterwards, for the same reason, by their Mohammedan rulers, were best qualified for laboring to promote the extension of Christianity in this quarter of the world; and in fact we observed, in the preceding period, that from Persia, Christian colonies had gone to different parts of India. Timotheus, the Patriarch of the Nestorians in Syria, who filled this post from 778 to 820,[2] took a special interest in the establishment of missions. He sent monks from the monastery of Beth-abe in Mesopotamia, as missionaries among the tribes dwelling in the districts of the Caspian sea, and beyond them to India and even to China. Among these were two active men, Cardag and Jabdallaha, whom he ordained bishops.[3] Jabdallaha drew up for the patriarch a report of the happy results of the mission; and the patriarch clothed them with full powers to ordain, where it should be found necessary, several of the monks as bishops. He expressly directed, that for the present, in order to conform to the rule requiring three bishops to assist at the ordination of another, a book of the gospels should take the place of the third. A certain David is named as the bishop ordained for China.[4] According to an inscription, published by the Jesuits, and purporting to belong to the year 782,[5] in the Chinese-Syrian tongue, Olopuen, a Nestorian priest, visited this empire, in the year 635, from the eastern provinces bordering on the west of China, and labored successfully as a missionary; and it is said that Christianity, amid many persecutions at first, but favored at length by the emperors, was still more widely diffused. But even if this inscription cannot be considered as genuine,[6] it still remains certain, from the

studied on the subject of Egypt. Historia Coptorum Christianorum, ed. Wetzer, 1828. pp. 88, 89. Renaudot Historia Patriarcharum Alexandrinorum. P. II.

[1] Particulars in Macrizi, Renaudot, and Theophanes.

[2] See Assemani bibliotheca oriental. T. III. P. I. f. 158. ff. III.

[3] L. c. f. 163.

[4] Ibn-Wahab, an Arabian who travelled to China in the ninth century, found at the emperor's court an image of Christ and images of the apostles, and he heard the emperor say, that Christ discharged the office of a teacher thirty months. See Travels of an Arabian of the ninth century, in Renaudot's Anciennes Relations des Indes et de la Chine, p. 68. Comp. Ritter's Asia, Vol. I. p. 286.

[5] Printed with others in Mosheim Hist. Eccles. Tartarorum, Appendix N. III.

[6] The controversy about the genuineness of this inscription is still undecided; and in the present condition of our knowledge of Chinese literature, so it must remain. A very important authority in this department of learning, though perhaps not perfectly free from all bias on the point in question, has already declared in favor of its genuineness. See Abel Rémusat Me-

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notices above stated, that in this period, attempts were made by the Nestorians to pave the way for the entrance of Christianity into Eastern Asia, and even into China.

Under the emperor Justinian, Christianity had found entrance from Egypt into Nubia.[1] In Nubia a Christian empire was founded, as in Abyssinia, and the churches of the two kingdoms recognized the Coptic patriarch in Egypt as their head, and had their bishops ordained by him.[2]

langes Asiatiques, T. I. p. 36. Professor Neumann, from whom we may expect a more full investigation of this subject, takes the other side.

[1] See the declaration of a Christian prince of Nubia touching the inscription; and remarks on the introduction of Christianity into Nubia, in Letronne matériaux pour l'hist. du Christianisme inEgypte, en Nubie et en Abyssinie. Paris, 1832.

[2] See Renaudot Hist. Patriarch. Alex. p. 178 and in other places. A fact worthy of notice is the connection of the Christians of India with the Coptic patriarchs. See Renaudot, p. 188. Makrizi, p. 93. It were singular, indeed, that these Christians should have preferred resorting to Egypt rather than to their mother church in Persia; and hence we might be led to conjecture that some Ethiopian tribe was really meant; but in this connection such a supposition has also its difficulties.

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SECTION SECOND.

HISTORY OF THE CHURCH CONSTITUTION.

I. Relation of the Church to the State.

It is true, that along with Christianity, the entire church fabric, with all its regulations, as it had thus far shaped itself, passed over to the newly converted nations. The whole appeared to them as one divine foundation; and at the stage of culture in which Christianity found them, they were but little capable of distinguishing and separating the divine from the human, the inward from the outward, the unchangeable from the changeable. But as a matter of course, the church fabric which had shaped itself under entirely different circumstances, must, in accommodating itself to these altogether new relations, undergo various changes. First, as regards the relation of the church to the state, it was, for the advancement of the church, and the attainment of its ends, in promoting the culture of the nations, a matter of great importance, that it should be preserved independent in its course of development, and protected against the destructive influences of a barbarous secular power. The encroachments of the arbitrary will of barbarous princes would be no less dangerous here, than the encroachments of the arbitrary will of the corrupt Byzantine court at the stage of over-civilization. The Frankish princes were often as slow as the Byzantine emperors to acknowledge the fact, that within their own states, there was a province to which their sovereign power did not extend, an authority wholly independent of their own.[1] But

[1] The Frankish monarch Chilperic, in the sixth century, who took it into his head to add several letters to the Latin alphabet, and to direct, that the boys in the schools of his empire should all be taught to read and write accordingly, and that all the old books should be rubbed over with pumice-stone, and re-copied according to this alphabet, would certainly be very likely to act over again the part of a Justinian in his conduct towards the church; and what would have followed, had not a monarch of this character been obliged to yield to the superior power of an independent church? He composed, in the year 580, a small tract, combatting the distinction of three persons in the Trinity, in which he maintained, that it was beneath the dignity of God to be called a person, like a mortal man. He seems to have framed for himself a Samosatenean or Sabellian doctrine of the Trinity. He appeals to the Old Testament as making mention of but one God, who appeared to the prophets and patriarchs, and who revealed the law. This tract he had read in his presence to Gregory, bishop of Tours, and then said to him: "It is my will that you, and the other teachers of the churches, should believe thus." He supposed he understood this doctrine better than the fathers of the church, whose authority was quoted against

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on the other hand, they were checked by the faith in a visible theocracy, represented by the church; which principle, closely connected, especially in the Western church, with the idea of the sacerdotal dignity, had long since been fully established, and was transmitted to these nations at the same time with Christianity. This principle was also better suited to their stage of culture, than the faith in an invisible church and its power working outwardly from within. The untutored mind, when struck with religious impressions, was inclined to see, to reverence and to fear God himself in the visible church, in the persons of the priests. This point of view, in which the church presented itself, would be favored by its whole relation to these races; for it appeared, in fact, as the one perfect organism of human society, and as the fountain-head of all culture for the untutored nations. It alone could, by the reverence which it inspired for a divine power, present a counterpoise to barbarous force and arbitrary will. But whilst on the one hand, the impression of reverence towards the church, as God's representative, was capable of exerting a mighty influence on the minds of rulers; so too, on the other hand, there was tremendous force in the consciousness of absolute authority, and in the violence of suddenly-excited passions, which in rude men was the less likely to be controlled. Many conflicting elements must therefore necessarily arise under these circumstances; and the theocratical church system, which alone, under such a state of things, could maintain the independence of the church, even in respect to its own internal development, had no other way to shape itself out but in conflict with a secular power which often resisted it.

The princes of the Frankish empire in particular, acquired the greatest influence over the church in a quarter where it would be precisely the most injurious to her interests, and most directly calculated to render her wholly dependent on the secular power, viz. in the nomination of bishops, who, according to the existing church polity, had the entire governance of the church in their hands; so that, if by the manner in which they obtained their places, they became subservient to the princes, the mischievous consequences of this their servility would affect the whole administration of church affairs. In the old Roman empire, the influence of the emperors had only extended, and that too chiefly in the East, to the filling up of the vacant bishoprics in the most important cities. But to the princes of whom we now speak, it appeared a strange matter, that such considerable posts within the circle of their own empire, and with which, sometimes, so large revenues and important political privileges were connected, should be conferred without consultation with them; and the clergy themselves, who sought to obtain bishoprics through the influence of the princes, contributed to increase this influence of the latter, and to confirm them in the belief that they were entitled to it. Thus in the Frankish empire, under the successors of Clovis, the ancient regulation

him. Yet the decided manner in which he was opposed by Gregory and other bishops, who rested on the authority of the church traditions, induced him to desist from his purpose. See Gregor. Turonens. Hist. Francor. l. V. c. 45.

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respecting ecclesiastical elections went entirely into disuse, or where it was preserved, the Frankish princes did not consider themselves bound by it, if they wished to supply vacancies in some other way. The old church laws with regard to the *interstitia*, the stages through which candidates must rise to the higher spiritual offices, and against the immediate elevation of a layman from secular employments to such offices, — these laws, which had maintained their force in the Western church still more than in the East, even though reënacted there by synods,[1] were yet in practice no longer regarded. The princes bestowed the bishoprics arbitrarily on their favorites, or sold them to the highest bidders, or to those, who, without so open a resort to simony, made them tempting presents.[2] Hence, naturally, it often happened, that unworthy persons were nominated to the bishoprics, while worthy ones were deposed.[3] The only good result was, that still in many cases, the character which an individual had acquired by his past life, the reputation in which he stood as a saint, had more influence with the princes, than the presents and the intrigues of the bad.

It is true, laws were, from the first, passed against these encroachments on the ecclesiastical elections;[4] but those in power did not allow themselves to be bound by them. The third council of Paris, in 557, endeavored once more to suppress these abuses; directing in

[1] See the third Council of Orleans, A. D. 538, c. VI.

[2] Gregory of Tours states, in his life of Gallus, bishop of Arverna (Clermont), vitae patrum c. VI. f. 1171, ed. Ruinart, that the clergy of Clermont came with *many presents*, before Theodoric, one of the sons and successors of Clovis, hoping to persuade him to confirm the choice made by themselves. And Gregory observes, with regard to this incident: jam tunc germen illud iniquum coeperat fructificare, ut sacerdotium aut venderetur a regibus aut compararetur a clericis. The king, however, did not allow himself in this case to be influenced by the presents, but bestowed the bishopric on Gallus, a deacon, highly respected and venerated on account of his previous life, and he caused a feast to be made in the city, at the public expense, in honor of the new bishop, that all might take joy in his appointment. And so common was the practice of simony, either of the grosser or of the more refined sort, that Gallus was in the habit of jocosely remarking, he had paid for his bishopric, but one trias (the third part of an as), his *bonne main* to the cook who waited at the table. So, too, (in l. IV. c. 35, hist. Francor.) it is mentioned as the common means of obtaining a bishopric: Offerre multa, plurima promittere.

[3] So it happened after the death of the Gallus abovementioned. A certain archdeacon Cratinus, an intemperate, avaricious man, obtained the office by help of the princes, while Crato, a presbyter, who though excessively given to spiritual pride, had been tried in every stage of the clerical office, and had distinguished himself by the faithful discharge of its duties, and a kindly regard for the welfare of the poor, and who had, moreover, the voice of the church, the clergy and the bishops in his favor, was set aside. He afterwards distinguished himself again by remaining in the city, when deserted by the bishop, and many of the other clergy, on account of a fatal sickness (the lues inguinaria), which raged in France about the middle of the sixth century. Here he attended to the burial of the dead, held masses for each and all, till at length falling himself a sacrifice to the plague, he died in the discharge of his duty. See Gregor. hist. l. IV. c. XI. etc.

[4] Thus, for example, Concil. Arvernense, A. D. 535, c. II. In order to the regularity of a choice, was required electio clericorum vel civium et consensus metropolitani, and of the candidate it is said: non patrocinia potentum adhibeat, non calliditate subdola ad conscribendum decretum alios hortetur praemiis, alios ti more compellat; and Concil. Aurelianense V. 549 c. 10, ut nulli episcopatum praemiis aut comparatione liceat adipisci, sed cum *voluntate regis* juxta electionem cleri ac plebis.

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their eighth canon, that the election of bishops should proceed from the communities and the clergy, with the concurrence of the provincial bishops and of the metropolitan; that whoever came to such office in a way not agreeing with these conditions, by a command of the king, should not be recognized as their colleague by the bishops of the province.[1] Conformably with this decree, a synod at Xaintes (Santones), convened in 564, under Leontius, archbishop of Bordeaux (Burdelaga), as metropolitan, pronounced sentence of deposition on Emeritus, the bishop of the former place, because he had obtained his office by a command of the deceased king Clotaire, without a regular church election; and they had the courage to elect another in his place. But Charibert, the then reigning king over this portion of the Frankish empire, was highly incensed at this decree, which the synod caused to be laid before him by a presbyter, as their delegate. "Thinkest thou — said he angrily to the delegate — that of Clotaire's sons none has been left behind, to take care that his father's will shall not be defeated?" He ordered the delegate to be conveyed out of the city on a wagon filled with thorns, and condemned him to banishment from the country; — he also fined the members of the synod in a sum proportioned to their several ranks, and replaced Emeritus in his post.[2] The Roman bishop, Gregory the Great, was indefatigable in exhorting the Frankish bishops and princes to remove this abuse, whose injurious effects on the church he explained to them in detail, and strenuously urged them to appoint a synod for this purpose.[3] "We are deeply grieved — he writes in one of these letters — when we find money having anything to do in the disposing of the offices of the church, and that which is holy, becoming secular. He who would purchase such places, desires not the office, but only the name, of a priest, to gratify his vanity. What is the consequence, except that no further regard is paid to life and manners, he only being considered the worthy candidate who has money to pay? He who merely, for the sake of the honor, is eager after an office meant for use, is but the more unworthy of it, because he seeks the honor." The fifth synod of Paris, in 615, actually renewed, in their first canon, the ordinance respecting free church elections, and king Clotaire II. confirmed this law; yet with such provisoes, as left abundant exceptions; for a power was reserved to the princes of examining into the worthiness of those elected, and of directing their ordination accordingly. The case was also supposed possible, that the monarch might choose a bishop directly from his court.[4] And although this synodal law had been unconditionally con-

[1] Nullus civibus invitis ordinetur episcopus, nisi quem populi et clericorum electio plenissima quaesierit voluntate, non principis imperio neque per quamlibet conditionem contra metropolis voluntatem vel episcoporum comprovincialium ingeratur. Quodsi per ordinationem regiam honoris istius culmen pervadere aliquis nimia temeritate praesumserit, a comprovincialibus loci ipsius episcopus recipi nullatenus mereatur, quem indebite ordinatum agnoscunt.

[2] See Gregor. Turon. Hist. Francor. l. IV. c. 26.

[3] See his Letters, lib. XI. ep. 58, and the following, lib. IX. ep. 106.

[4] Si persona condigna fuerit, per ordinationem principis ordinetur, vel certe si

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firmed by the king, yet it was still far from being the case, that the monarchs were determined by it in their conduct. Boniface found these abuses connected with the filling up of vacant offices still prevailing; and although he might, by his great personal influence, do something towards counteracting them, yet the relations could not in this way be permanently altered. Among the things done by Charlemagne for bettering the condition of the church, belongs the restoration of free church elections;[1] in which, however, the power of confirmation remained tacitly reserved to the monarch. Yet the succeeding history shows, that between the law and its fulfilment an immense interval still remained. In the English and in the Spanish church, the princes exercised, it is true, on the whole, no such direct influence on the filling up of vacant bishoprics, but even in these churches their acquiescence was held to be necessary.

Again, the state, under the new relations, obtained a certain share in ecclesiastical legislation. In the old Roman empire, the secular power had exercised an influence only on the general church assemblies — the provincial synods were left to themselves. But in the new states, men found it difficult to enter into the conception of a double legislation, and besides, the church required the civil power to carry a part of its own laws into execution; such, namely, as related to the suppression of pagan customs, penance, the observance of Sunday, etc. Hence it happened, that the synods, which should have guided the church legislation, were convened after consultation with the princes;[2] that the latter assisted at them, and their decrees were published under the royal authority. Finally the synods became confounded with the general assemblies, at which the princes with their noble vassals were used to draw up the civil laws, and ecclesiastical and civil laws were drawn up at one and the same time. Thus, in the Frankish kingdom, till far into the eighth century, the assemblies of the bishops, for purely ecclesiastical purposes, becoming continually less frequent, at length went into entire desuetude — a result to which the internal political contests and disorders, and the indifference of such multitudes of worldly minded bishops, no doubt, greatly contributed. Already the abbot Columban, in his letter to the bishops convened on account of their quarrel with him, complains, that synods were no longer held, though he admits, that in the turbulence of those times, they could not be convened so frequently as formerly.[3] Gre-

de palatio eligitur, per meritum personae et doctrinae ordinetur.

[1] The capitulary of the year 803. "Ut sancta ecclesia suo liberius potiretur honore, adsensum ordini ecclesiastico praebuimus, ut episcopi per electionem cleri et populi secundum statuta canonum de propria diocesi remota personarum et munerum acceptione ob vitae meritum et sapientiae donum eligantur, ut exemplo et verbo sibi subjectis usque quaque prodesse valeant."

[2] See the ordinance of the Frankish king Sigebert ad Desiderium episcopum Cadurcensem, bishop of Cahors, A. D. 650, ut sine nostra scientia synodale concilium in regno nostro non agatur. Baluz. Capitular. T. I. f. 143.

[3] In reference to the convocation then held: "utinam saepius hoc ageretis, et licet juxta canones semel aut bis in anno pro tumultuosis hujus aevi dissensionibus semper sic servare vos non vacat, quamvis rarius potissimum hoc debuit vobis inesse studium, quo negligentes quique timorem haberent et studiosi ad majorem provocarentur profectum."

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gory the Great[1] was obliged to apply to the Frankish princes and bishops, for the convening of a synod to devise measures for the removal of ecclesiastical abuses; and, as we have already remarked on a former page, Boniface found occasion to complain, that no synod had been held for so long a time. But even in the synods held by him, the most considerable men of the nation took a part, and along with the ecclesiastical laws, others also were passed by them, having no relation to ecclesiastical affairs. In like manner, under king Pipin, and the emperor Charlemagne, it continued to be the prevailing custom for ecclesiastical and civil laws to be drawn up at the same time, at their great national assemblies; though it was still the fact that, in particular cases, assemblies purely ecclesiastical were held, which however were convened by the princes. Now by this union the bishops, it is true, who took part in these general legislative assemblies, obtained some influence on civil legislation, and on the institutions of civil society. But this influence fell to their share not merely by accident, and by reason of the circumstances above described; but the whole form under which the Theocratic system was contemplated, carried along with it the necessity of their having such influence. As, on the one hand, the church needed the arm of the civil power to carry a part of their laws into effect, so on the other, the civil power needed that sanction from the church, and that commanding authority which the latter had to offer, in order to maintain itself against rude arbitrary will, and to place a check on barbarian insolence. The feeling of this want was, no doubt, a universal one; for it proceeded from the character of the social condition of the people, and the prevailing turn of their religious way of thinking. It was, however, an effect of peculiar circumstances, that, in the Visi-Gothic empire in Spain, this feeling asserted itself with peculiar force; for the successors of Reckared, the first Catholic king of Spain, were obliged to resort to the authority of the church, as a substitute for the sanction which they wanted, a right to the throne by the law of inheritance; and as a means of securing them against the spirit of revolt. Many of the Spanish synods in the seventh century made a point of conceding this to the royal authority. Thus, for example, the sixteenth council of Toledo, in 693, declared that every one was bound to preserve inviolate the fidelity they had vowed, next after God, to the king, as his vice-gerent;[2] and, appealing to passages from the old Testament, not very applicable, indeed, to a purely gospel economy,[3] they declared kings to be the inviolable anointed ones of God. Hence in this Spanish church, the regulation was also brought about, whereby all checks of the secular power on the church were to be avoided, and the latter only was to be secured in its efficient influence on the state, which needed its sanctifying

[1] See the letter above referred to.

[2] Post Deum regibus, utpote jure vicario ab eo praeĕlectis, fidem promissam quemque inviolabili cordis intentione servare.

[3] According to which, Jesus alone is the anointed of the Lord, or through him all believers alike are become the anointed of the Lord.

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power; for the seventeenth council of Toledo decreed, in 694, that in the first three days of each such meeting, only spiritual affairs should be transacted by the clergy alone, and afterwards civil. To the emperor Charles, who, with his more independent judgment, was more inclined to separate ecclesiastical affairs from political,[1] it seemed expedient, that the bishops, abbots, and comites should divide themselves, at these general assemblies, into three several chambers, and each attend to the affairs belonging to them, — the bishops to the affairs of the church; the abbots, to all that related more particularly to the monastic life; and the counts to the political affairs. So it was done at the council of Mentz, in 813. The ordinances of every kind, however, were published under the imperial authority.

As it regards the exemption of the church from state burdens, the older laws respecting this matter also passed over to the new state of things; they had to undergo however, of course, in these new circumstances, many changes in their application. The incompatibility of the spiritual office with military service, was indeed, universally acknowledged in the preceding period; yet it had been held necessary at the same time to adopt certain precautionary measures against the reception of such into the spiritual order as were liable to such service,[2] and even at the commencement of *this* period, the emperor Maurice involved himself in a quarrel with the Roman bishop Gregory the great, by the enactment of some such restrictive law. But in the new states, greater difficulty must be experienced in this quarter, because the obligation to do military service did not fall on particular classes of the citizens alone, but on all free-men. True, men felt how incompatible it was with the spiritual calling for the clergy to take any part in war; but it was sought to secure the interests of the state, by a law that no person should be allowed to enter into a spiritual or monastic order, without permission from the supreme authority.[3] The church now saw itself reduced to the necessity of selecting members for the spiritual order from *that* class, who were not affected by the obligation to do

[1] See the capitulary of the year 811 c. 4. Discutiendum est, in quantum se episcopus aut abbas rebus secularibus debeat inserere vel in quantum Comes vel alter laicus in ecclesiastica negotia His interrogandum est acutissime, quid sit, quod apostolus ait: "nemo militans Deo implicat se negotiis secularibus." 2 Tim. 2, vel ad quos sermo iste pertineat. See Baluz. Capitular. T. I. f. 478.

[2] Gregory considered it altogether just and proper, that no countenance should be given to the practice of passing immediately from civil and military, to spiritual, offices (which was still customary in the East,) because such a transition easily excited the suspicion of worldly motives, quia qui secularem habitum deserens, ad ecclesiastica officia venire festinat, mutare vult seculum, non relinquere. But it seemed to him contrary to the interests of piety, that the abandoning of these offices with a view to embrace the monastic life should likewise be forbidden; since in this case no such suspicion could arise. He refers to his own experience for examples of honest conversions of this kind: Ego scio, quanti his diebus meis in monasterio milites conversi miracula fecerunt, signa et virtutes operati sunt. l. III. ep. 65 et 66.

[3] Concil. Aurelianense I, under king Clovis, A. D. 511, c. 4. ut nullus secularium ad clericatus officium praesumatur, nisi aut cum regis jussione aut cum judicis voluntate. The capitulary of Charlemagne A. D. 805, c. 15, Baluz. T. I. f. 427. De liberis hominibus, qui ad servitium Dei se tradere volunt, ut prius hoc non faciant, quam a nobis licentiam postulent. In the latter law, the object is stated; that it is designed only against such as were desirous of this from impure motives, and not devotionis causa.

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military service, namely the *bond-men*. Besides, among these there was often less rudeness of manners; and bishops, who were disposed to exercise a despotic lordship over their clergy, could more easily secure their object when they had among this body a number of the bond-men who were held as the property of the church. This plan was so often resorted to, that it became necessary to check the wide extension of the practice by particular ordinances; yet without forbidding the thing itself. Thus the fourth council of Toledo, in the year 633, can. 74, decreed, that it was unquestionably allowable, to place in the parishes priests and deacons, created from the bond-men of the church; provided only, they were such as recommended themselves by their life and manners, and that they had been first restored to freedom. In the rule approved by the council of Aix in 816, and published by Chrodegang, Bishop of Metz, we find the following singular remark, from which also it is seen, that bond-men were often consecrated to the clerical office, without being enfranchised.[1] "Many select their clergy exclusively from the bond-men of the church, and they seem to adopt this course, because such persons, when injured by them, or deprived of the salary due to them, cannot complain, from fear of being subjected to corporeal punishment, or of being reduced again to servile labor.[2] Yet it was added, this is not said, because we think it wrong that men of reputable life should be taken from the class of bond-men, especially since with God there is no respect of persons; but we say it, that for the reason assigned, no prelate may take for his clergy persons of the lower class alone, to the exclusion of all of higher rank." Thus the bishops were led by their own interest, to help in promoting the object which Christianity had aimed at from the first, and to restore an excluded class to the enjoyment of their common rights as men, although for the most part, it was not, the *Christian spirit* that moved them to this, as it should have done of itself.

And here we may take occasion to glance backward upon what had been thus far done by Christianity in this regard. From the beginning and onward, Christianity — not indeed by any sudden outward change, but by its secret influences on the modes of thinking and feeling — had prepared a transformation of this relation which is so repugnant to the common worth and dignity of man.[3] It was the new ideas of the image of God in every human creature; of the redemption destined alike for all; of its higher fellowship of life, the fellowship of God's kingdom embracing all without any distinction of earthly relations of life, slaves as well as freemen; it was these ideas by which the prevailing mode of regarding the relation of this class of men, their rights, and the duties owed to them, was changed, and the way prepared for a milder treatment of them. The more respectable church-teachers

[1] See can. 119.

[2] Timentes scilicet, ne aut severissimis verberibus afficiantur aut humanae servituti denuo crudeliter addicantur.

[3] Church History Vol. I. p. 267, — my Denkwürdigkeiten Bd. II. p. 253 f. and my Chrysostom Bd. I. p. 376 f. Compare Dr. Möhler's essay in the Theologischen Quartal-Schrift, Jahrgang 1834, 1 H.

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of the fourth and fifth centuries speak with decision and emphasis on this subject. In the manumission of slaves, the church was especially called upon to lend her assistance; and thus it was acknowledged that such a proceeding was especially suited to the position of the church. Frequently, slaves were set free in order that they might become monks; and this was regarded as a pious work. At an early period too, many, especially of the oriental monks, declared themselves opposed to this whole relation, as repugnant to the dignity of the image of God in all men. Thus the abbot Isidore of Pelusium in writing to a person of rank, with whom he is interceding in behalf of one of his slaves,[1] said he could hardly credit it, that a friend of Christ, who had experienced that grace, which bestowed freedom on all, would still own slaves. It is related of Johannes Eleemosynarius, who from 606 to 616 was patriarch of Alexandria, that he called together those persons who treated their slaves with cruelty, and addressed them as follows: "God has not given us servants, that we may beat them, but that they may serve us; but perhaps even not for this purpose, but that they may receive out of the abundance which God has bestowed on us the means of sustenance; for tell me, what price can man pay to purchase him, who was created after the likeness of God, and thus honored by God? Hast thou, who art his master, a single member more to thy body; or hast thou a different soul? Is he not, in all things, thy equal? Do ye not hear, what the great light of the church, the Apostle Paul says: 'For as many of you as are baptised, they have put on Christ?' Here is neither bond nor free, for ye are all one in Christ. If then, before Christ we are all equal, let us also be equal among ourselves. For Christ took on him the form of a servant to teach us, that we ought not to be proud toward our servants; since we all have one master, even him who dwells in heaven and looks down on the lowly. Pray, what is the gold we pay for the right to subject to us as our servant him who, equally with ourselves, has been honored by our Lord, and with us redeemed by His blood? For his sake, heaven, earth and sea and all that therein is were created. It is true also, that angels minister to him; on his account Christ washed his disciple's feet. On his account, Christ was crucified, and for his sake did he suffer everything else. But thou abusest him, who has been thus honored of God, and treatest him with as little mercy, as if thou hadst not one and the same nature in common with him!" Next, if he learned, that this rebuke failed of its intended effect, and that the slave was still treated no better, he purchased him himself and set him at liberty.[2] The oriental monks were generally agreed in the principle, never to use the service of slaves; partly because they considered it as belonging to their calling to perform for each other those services, which were usually done by slaves; partly, because they believed themselves bound to respect the image of God in all men.[3] When, near the close of the eighth

[1] *οὐ γὰρ οἶμαι οἰκέτην ἔχειν τὸν φιλόχριστον εἰδότα τὴν χάριν τὴν πάντας ἐλευθερώσασαν.*

[2] See the life of Johannes Eleemosyn. by Leontius — translated by Anastasius in the Actis Sanctorum Januar. T. II. § 61, fol. 510.

[3] Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury

century, the famous Greek monk Plato, retired from the world, he manumitted his slaves,[1] and after that refused to permit any slave to wait on him in the monastery.[2] These principles were propagated by his disciple and friend, the famous Theodorus Studita, at Constantinople. The latter directs his disciple, the abbot Nicolaus,[3] not to employ men, created in the image of God, as slaves, either in his own service, or in that of the monastery under his care, or in the labor of the fields; for this was permitted to seculars alone. In his last will also, he gave directions to the same effect.[4] The Roman bishop Gregory the great in manumitting two slaves introduced the subject in a deed drawn up for this purpose, with the following words:[5] As our Saviour, the author of all created beings, was willing for this reason to take upon him the nature of man, that he might free us by his grace from the chains of bondage, in which we were enthralled, and restore us to our original freedom; so a good and salutary thing is done, when men whom nature from the beginning created free, and whom the law of nations has subjected to the yoke of servitude, are presented again with the freedom in which they were born.[6] Among the rude Franks, the slaves had much to suffer from cruel masters; but in the churches, as well as with the priests, they in some cases found relief.[7] The asylum of the churches was to serve especially for the protection of such slaves as fled from the cruelty of their masters. Such an one was restored to his owner only on condition the latter promised, on his oath, to spare him from bodily punishment. And if the master broke his promise, he was expelled from the communion of the church.[8] Among the works of pious charity were reckoned especially the redemption and manumission of slaves, whereby laymen and monks, who stood in high reputation for their piety, distinguished themselves. But at the present time, the bishops were led,

(see above) says, in his Capitulis c. 8 Graecorum monachi servos non habent, Romani habent.

[1] See the account of his life, composed by his scholar, the famous Theodorus Studita, in his works published by Sirmond, or in the Actis sanctorum April. T. I. appendix f. 47. § 8.

[2] § 23. l. c. *πῶς γὰρ ἂν μονάστης ἀλήθινος, ὁ δεσποτείας φόβον δούλοις ἐπανατεινόμενος*;

[3] L. I. ep. 10.

[4] See opp. Theodori in Sirmond. opp. T. V. f. 66.

[5] L. VI. ep. 12.

[6] The same Gregory writes, in reference to a woman, held as a slave, but who was discovered to be freeborn, and restored to her rights as such: Quod revelante *Deo libertatis auctore* approbata sit libera l. VII, ep. 1.

[7] Gregory of Tours, in his history (V. l. III.), cites the example of a servant and maid belonging to a cruel master, who had won each other's affections. They finally went to the priest, and were married. Their master, as soon as he was informed of this, hurried to the church, and required them to be given up. The priest, reminding him of the respect due to the church, refused to give them up except on condition he promised not to dissolve the connection just formed, and not to inflict upon them any personal harm. The cruel and cunning master promised equivocally that they should not be separated, and deceived the priest. He caused them, both together, to be buried alive. As soon as the priest heard of this, he hastened to the master, nor did he leave him till he consented that both should be dug up again; but the young man only was saved, the woman was suffocated.

[8] Concil. Epaonense, A. D. 517, c. 39: Servus reatu atrociore culpabilis si ad ecclesiam confugerit, a corporalibus tantum suppliciis excusetur. Concil. V. Aurelianense, A. D. 549, c. 22. Of the master who breaks his word, sit ab omnium communione suspensus.

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by an oftentimes selfish policy,[1] sometimes to liberate slaves in order to adopt them into the number of their clergy, sometimes to give them ordination without releasing them from their previous obligation. At all events, this class of men could not fail thereby to be placed in an advantageous light before the eyes of the people. When in the rule of Chrodegang, and at the church assembly of Aix, a resolution was made against the exclusive adoption of bondmen into the spiritual order, an express clause was inserted, as we have already remarked, to guard against the mistaken view, that these men were to be considered unworthy, on account of their descent, of being received into the spiritual order; as if the dignity of men and Christians were not to be recognized in all alike.

The possessions and wealth[2] of the church, especially in landed estates, increased greatly under the new relations. It was not a pious sympathy alone in the cause of the church, but superstition also which contributed to this increase. Men believed that by making gifts and legacies to the churches they did a work of peculiar merit, which would atone for their sins; as is shown by the oft-occurring phrases, pro remissione peccatorum, pro redemtione animarum.[3] But then again these possessions were thus rendered the more insecure,[4] being exposed to the covetous desires and forcible contributions of the nobles and princes, against whom the donors sought to protect themselves by terrible forms of execration inserted in the deeds of gift, and by stories and legends touching the punishment of sacrilege. The landed estates of the church in the Frankish empire were for the most part liable to be taxed in the same manner as all property belonging to the old land proprietors; perhaps, however, with the exception, from the beginning, of a smaller portion considered as an hereditary possession of the church[5] — as we find it in fact defined by law, from the time of Charlemagne.

[1] In the monasteries, also, many slaves were received as monks; — whence the law of the emperor Charles in the capitulary of the year 805, c. XI. Baluz. T. I. f. 423. De propriis servis vel ancillis non supra modum in monasteria sumantur, ne *desertentur* villae (that there might be no want of persons to cultivate the land).

[2] Among the new sources of wealth to the church, belonged also the obligation imposed on the laity to pay tythes. The confounding together of the state of things under the Old and under the New Testament, had already led the ecclesiastical authority, in occasional instances, to require of the laity, that they should consecrate, in the name of God, the tenth part of their goods to God and the priests. Thus, for example, the letter of the bishops of Tours in the year 567: "Illud vero instantissime commonemur, ut Abrahae documenta sequentes decimas ex omni facultate non pigeat Deo pro reliquis, quae possidetis, conservandis offerre, ne sibi ipsi inopiam generet, qui parva non tribuit, et plura retentet." But the emperor Charles was the first who, moved by this requisition, derived from the Old Testament, made the payment of tythes legally binding. In enacting this law, he still met with much opposition. We have seen above how Alcuin expressed himself on this subject. See p. 164 and the following.

[3] Chilperic, king of the Franks, often complained: Ecce pauper remansit fiscus noster, ecce divitiae nostrae ad ecclesias sunt translatae, nulli penitus, nisi soli episcopi regnant, periit honor noster et translatus est ad episcopos civitatum. Gregor. Turon. l. VI. c. 46.

[4] To protect the churches and defend them against wrongs, beadles or bailiffs, so called, were appointed, (Advocati, Vice domini) from the order of laymen (analogous to the defensores of the ancient church) because they were obliged to undertake many sorts of business with which ecclesiastics could not properly meddle.

[5] Of the mansus ecclesiae.

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The church had little reason to expect, that she would be enabled to obtain for her property any exemption from the law which required all property of Franks to send its contribution to the common fund for the support of the army (Heerbann). True, the bishops and abbots were declared free from the obligation of rendering personal service in war; but as we have already remarked in the history of Boniface, many Frankish bishops and clergymen still thought proper, in despite of their spiritual calling, to engage personally in warlike expeditions, and all the labors of Boniface to suppress this abuse of barbarism, had failed as yet of having the desired effect. But the sight of a large number of clergy wounded and killed in battle, having produced a very bad effect on the multitude,[1] the emperor Charles was solicited to take measures for the prevention of this evil for the future. He commanded, in a capitulary of the year 801,[2] that in future no priest should take part in a battle; but only two or three chosen bishops, with a few priests, should attend the army, for the purpose of preaching, bestowing their blessing, holding mass, hearing confessions, attending upon the sick, imparting the extreme unction, and especially of seeing that none should leave the world without the communion. What hope could there be of victory, where the priests, at one hour, presented Christians the body of the Lord, and in the next, with their own wicked hands killed the Christians to whom they had presented it, or the pagans to whom they should have preached Christ; especially, as Christ called them the salt of the earth. But at the same time, however, the emperor commanded, that the bishops who remained at home with their churches, should send their people well equipped to the army-bann. And so strong was the public opinion that exclusion from all participation in war was discreditable, that the emperor was obliged to affix to this ordinance forbidding the clergy to do personal military service, an express defence and justification of their honor.[3]

As already in the Roman empire, Christianity and the church representing it had exerted a special influence on the administration of justice, by introducing and diffusing new views respecting the sacredness of human life,[4] respecting human law as emanating from the

[1] In the petition addressed to the emperor for this purpose, it is said: Novit dominus, quando eos in talibus videmus, terror apprehendit nos, et quidam ex nostris timore perterriti, propter hoc fugere solent.

[2] Mansi Concil. T. XIII. f. 1054.

[3] Quia audivimus, quosdam nos suspectos habere, quod honores sacerdotum et res ecclesiarum auferre vel minorare eis voluissemus. Alcuin also complains that bishops were obliged to leave the duties of their spiritual calling to engage in the foreign employments of war. Thus to bishop Leutfrid (ep. 208), who must have expressed his own views on the subject, he writes to declare how very much opposed he was to this practice: Vere fateor, quod tua tribulatio torquet animum meum, dum audio te in periculo esse statutum, nec officii tui implere posse ministerium, sed bellator spiritualis bellator cogitur esse carnalis. Which letter, if the law of the emperor was immediately carried into execution, must have been written before its enactment.

[4] Christianity exerted a mighty influence on public opinion, also, through the decided expressions of the church on the subject of suicide, a crime not likely to be unfrequent among barbarous tribes. The second council of Orleans, in 533, decreed in its fifteenth canon, that oblations might be received when offered in behalf of those who *had been executed* for a crime, but not in behalf of those who (perhaps to escape execution) had taken their own lives. The synod at Auxerre (synodus Antisiodorensis), in 578, decreed, c. 17, that no oblation

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divine law, respecting the administration of justice, for which account must be rendered to God, and respecting a charity that ennobles justice, a mercy and compassion tempering the severity of law, so the same effect would be still more strongly manifested among these nations, contrasted with the existing barbarism, which was so destitute of all regular legal forms. This effect of Christianity, it may be allowed, was not the same as if it had proceeded out of the pure essence of the gospel; but it was modified by the form in which the gospel was presented among these nations, a form in which the respective points of view of the Old and New Testaments were constantly confounded. On the one hand, among nations where hitherto the majority of punishments consisted of pecuniary fines, and where, by the payment of a sum of money, every crime, even murder, could be expiated, the idea was first awakened by Christianity of a punitive justice and regular forms of law; and hence by Christianity still greater severity might be introduced than had existed before. To the rude people, whose feelings had not yet become pervaded and softened by Christianity, this increased severity might wear a coloring of cruel harshness, of revengeful retaliation. But on the other hand, there proceeded from the church ideas of grace and of compassion which strove to temper the exercise of rigid justice. Whilst on the one hand, Christianity taught men to behold in human life an inviolable sacredness, and hence the murderer must appear but the more worthy of punishment, so on the other hand, it taught them also to recognize in the transgressor the image of God obscured, the fallen man, who could still be an object of God's redeeming love, to whom therefore a space should be granted for repentance and reformation. For this reason, an Alcuin declared himself opposed to the punishment of death.[1] It is often mentioned with praise, as the work of pious monks and clergy, that they interceded with the judges to obtain a milder punishment for the guilty,—especially that they sought to procure

should be received from a person who had drowned or strangled himself, or taken his own life by throwing himself from a tree, or by the sword, or in any other way. In the capitulis of Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, it is laid down (c. 63) that mass was not to be performed for suicides, but only prayers offered and alms distributed. It was only when the act seemed to have proceeded from a sudden excess of passion or mental derangement, that some were disposed to make an exception.—As many persons, in moments of desperation, when condemned to church penance, had attempted to destroy themselves, the sixteenth council of Toledo (A. D. 693, c. 4), who defined this as animam suam per desperationem diabolo sociare conari, decreed, that whoever was rescued from such an attempt, should be excluded for the space of two months from the fellowship of the church.

[1] See Alcuin, ep. 176. This letter can hardly be understood otherwise than as relating to the supposed assassination of pope Leo III, and to the election of a successor (the reading, in this place, should doubtless be caput ecclesiarum orbis.) But as Leo was not murdered, but only shamefully mishandled, and Alcuin (see ep. 92) declared himself opposed to his deposition, it is most natural to suppose, that Alcuin wrote this letter on receiving the first exaggerated report of the pope's assassination. Now with regard to the murderers of the pope, Alcuin, after having demanded their punishment, proceeds to say: Non ego tamen mortem alicujus suadeo; dicente Deo Ezech. 33: "Nolo mortem peccatoris, sed ut convertatur et vivat," sed ut sapienti consilio vindicta fiat per alia poenarum genera vel perpetuum (perhaps to be supplied carcerem vel) exilii damnatione (m).

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pardon for criminals condemned to death; and in case they failed, still attempted to reanimate their bodies when taken down from the gallows. If such pious men sometimes failed of discerning the true limits of gentleness; and if, where the administration of justice yielded to their influence, civil order was liable to suffer injury;[1] yet of far greater importance was the antagonism thus created against the rude popular feeling, and the influence which thus went to soften the dispositions of men, and make them look upon human life as a sacred thing; while in some cases, perhaps, a convent might be converted into a house of reformation for such pardoned criminals.

The right already conferred on churches under the Roman empire, of forming an inviolable sanctuary for the unfortunate and the persecuted, would the more easily pass over to the new churches, because it undoubtedly found a point of attachment in an ancient custom, handed down from the pagan times. Especially important and salutary must such a privilege have become in these days of rude arbitrary will and barbarian cruelty. Thus persecuted individuals could for the moment evade the ferocity of their persecutors, and slaves the anger of their masters; and, in the meantime, ecclesiastics step in as their mediators. It sometimes happened, no doubt, that men in power, while under the influence of their passions, paid no regard to these sacred asylums; but if they were afterwards overtaken by misfortune, as they might sometimes be, as a natural consequence of the insolence which had emboldened them to invade the sanctuary, the common mind seldom failed to interpret this as a terrible example of warning for others.[2] The emperor Charles, in order to prevent these places of refuge for the persecuted from becoming a means of impunity for all transgressors, commanded, by an ordinance of the year 779, that to murderers, and others liable to capital punishment, no means of subsistence should be allowed in the asylum.[3] On the other hand, in the laws of the English king Ina, it was laid down, that whenever such persons took refuge in a church, their lives should

[1] There lived in the sixth century, near the town of Angouleme, a retired monk, by name Eparchius, to whom large sums of gold and silver were given by devout persons, all which he employed in maintaining the poor and in redeeming captives. The judges were unable to resist the influence of his kindly nature, and often allowed themselves to be persuaded to spare the guilty. Once, however, when a robber, who was accused also of several murders, was about to be executed, the judge, though inclined to spare the man's life, in compliance with the intercession of this monk, found himself compelled to yield to the indignation of the populace, who cried out, that if this person were suffered to live, not a man would be safe in the whole country. Gregor. Turon. l. VI. c. 8.

[2] Thus e. g. a duke had fled for refuge, from the persecutions of the Frankish prince Chramnus, to the church of St. Martin of Tours. This Chramnus then caused him to be so narrowly beset on all sides as to render it impossible for him to get even a draught of water, meaning to force him by hunger and thirst to leave the church. When the man was nearly dead, some one contrived to bring him a vessel of water. But the local judge of the district hastened to the spot, forced the vessel from his hands, and poured its contents on the ground. A great sensation was produced on the public mind by the circumstance, that on the same day this judge was attacked by a fever, and died on the following night. The consequence was, that food in abundance was brought to the unfortunate man from all quarters, and so he was saved. Chramnus himself perished miserably at a later period. Gregor. Turon. l. IV. c. 19. comp. l. V. c. 4.

[3] See Baluz. Capitular. I. 197.

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be spared, and they should only be subjected to a legal pecuniary fine (composition).[1] It was considered as a duty of the church to take under its protection the afflicted and oppressed, and to mitigate the sufferings of prisoners. Thus the fifth council of Orleans, in 549, decreed in its twentieth canon, that on every Sunday the prisons should be visited by the archdeacon or presiding officer of the church, in order that the wants of the prisoners might be mercifully provided for, according to the divine laws; and the bishop was to take care, that a sufficient supply of food was furnished them by the church. In Spain particularly — where, however, the sense of weakness in the state inclined men to lean more habitually on the protecting arm of the church, — every effort was made to increase this department of her influence. The fourth council of Toledo, in 633, decreed in its thirty-second canon, that the bishops should not neglect the sacred charge, intrusted to them by God, of protecting and defending the people. Whenever, therefore, they saw that the judges and magistrates were oppressors of the poor, they should first endeavor to set them right by priestly admonitions; and, if they would not amend, by complaining of them to the king. And it had already been ordained before, by a royal law,[2] that the judges and tax-gatherers should be present at the assemblies of the bishops, that they might learn from them how to treat the people with piety and justice. The bishops should also keep an eye on the conduct of the judges.[3] We learn from the picture of a devoted bishop, delineated by Gregory of Tours, what was then reckoned as belonging to such a calling. He obtains justice for the people and succor for the needy, imparts consolation to widows, and is the chief protection of minors.[4] Thus, owing to the peculiar point of view in which, by virtue of their spiritual character, they were regarded on the part of the people and the princes, and owing to what they gradually became as a secular order, the bishops could exercise a very great and salutary formative influence on every department of civil society; but this could only be done, when they understood their calling in a truly spiritual sense, and were enabled, in this sense, to direct and manage the heterogeneous mass of business which had become connected with their office. Yet great also was the temptation to which they were exposed, when drawn into the management of affairs so foreign from their holy calling, of overlooking spiritual things in the crowd of secular; nor by so doing, could they avoid making themselves dependent on the secular power, which they ought rather to have guided by the spirit of Christianity.[5]

[1] See Wilkins Concil. Angl. f. 59. Alcuin also thought it wrong for a person accused, a fugitivus ad Christi Dei nostri et Sanctorum ejus patrocinia de ecclesia ad eadem reddi vincula. See ep. 195 to Charles the Great.

[2] See Concil. Toblet. III. of the year 589, c. 18.

[3] Sunt enim prospectores episcopi secundum regiam admonitionem qualiter judices cum populis agant.

[4] Gregor. Turonens. l. IV. c. 35. We make no mention of a law of the emperor Charlemagne, extending the older judicatory power of the bishops beyond its limits, and when but one party applied to their tribunal, obliging the other to follow, willing or not willing; because more recent investigations have thrown doubt on the genuineness of this law, which indeed does not well accord with the character of the government of Charlemagne.

[5] Alcuin complains of this, ep. 112. Pastores curae turbant seculares, qui Deo

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II. The Internal Organization of the Church.

As it regards the internal constitution of the churches, many changes would unavoidably take place here also, owing to the manner in which Christianity had been first introduced among the people, and to the new social relations. A natural consequence of the former was the increasing respect entertained for the monks,[1] as compared with the clergy. For the most part, the monks were, in truth, the founders of the new churches, from which proceeded the civilization of the people and the improvement of the soil; and by the severity of their morals, and an activity of zeal which conquered every difficulty, they but distinguished themselves the more from the barbarized clergy; till the wealth, which the monasteries had acquired by the toilsome labors of the monks, brought in its train a deterioration of the primitive monastic virtue. Now as the degenerated condition of the clergy in the Frankish empire inspired a wish for their reformation, so the consideration and respect in which the monastic order was held, naturally led men to propose the latter as a model for imitation; and in fact many similar attempts had been made, ever since the canonical institute of Augustin, to incorporate the clergy into a body resembling the monastic societies. The most complete experiment of this sort was made after the middle of the eighth century, by Chrodegang of Metz, the founder of the so-called canonical order of the clergy. His plan for the union of the clergy into societies was modelled, for the most part, after the pattern of the Benedictine rule. The clergy scarcely differed from the monks, otherwise than by possessing a certain property of their own. They lived together in the same house, and ate at the same table; to each was assigned his portion of food and drink, according to a fixed rule; at appointed hours (the horae canonicae), they came together for prayer and singing; at an appointed time, assemblies were held of all the members, in which por-

vacare debuerunt, vagari per terras et milites Christi seculo militare coguntur et gladium verbi Dei inter oris claustra qualibet cogente necessitate recondunt. The same writer complains of the priests, who aspired only after worldly honors, and neglected the duties of their spiritual office, ep. 37: Quidam sacerdotes Christi, qui habent parochias, et honores seculi et gradus ministerii non (perhaps it should read una) volunt habere. In epistle 114, he writes to Arno, archbishop of Salzburg, who had complained that he was compelled to neglect the more important duty of the care of souls, to attend to secular business: Si apostolico exemplo vivamus et pauperem agamus vitam in terris, sicut illi fecerunt, seculi servitium juste abdicamus. Nunc vero seculi principes habent justam, ut videtur, causam, ecclesiam Christi servitio suo opprimere.

[1] From the monks, the practice of tonsure passed over to the clergy. In the fourth century, it became customary for the monks, at their entrance upon the monastic life, to get their hair shorn, as a token of renunciation of the world; perhaps with some allusion to the vow of the Nazarite. In fact, the monks were usually regarded in the Greek church as Christian Nazarites. In like manner, it was employed in the fifth century to denote consecration to the clerical office, for the clergy too must separate themselves from the world. In the case of the clergy, the distinguishing mark of the tonsure was next, that it should be in formam coronae. See Concil. Tolet. IV. 633, ●41, omnes clerici vel lectores sicut levitae et sacerdotes detonso superius toto capite inferius solam circuli coronam relinquant

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tions of the holy Scriptures, together with the rule,[1] were publicly read; and then, with reference to what had been read, reproofs administered to those who had been delinquent. This rule met with general acceptance; and was, with some alterations, made legal by the council of Aix, in 816, for the Frankish empire. This change in the life of the clergy was attended, in the outset, with a beneficial influence; in that it served to counteract, on the one hand, the barbarism of the clerical order, and on the other, their too servile dependence on the bishops, which had grown in part out of the increased authority of the bishops, who, under the new relations, were important even in their political character, and in part out of the practice of taking bondmen into the spiritual order.[2] Thus, too, a more collegiate mode of living together in common was introduced between the bishop and his clergy.

The wide territory over which the new dioceses often extended, and the many remnants of pagan barbarism and of pagan superstition which still lingered behind in them, rendered a careful supervision of them, on the part of the bishops, of the utmost importance. For this reason, what had been before a customary practice, and what conscientious bishops had been used to consider as their special duty, was now settled as an ecclesiastical law. Thus the second council of Braga, in Spain,[3] in 572, decreed in their first canon, that the bishops should visit every place in their diocese, and first inform themselves as to the condition of the clergy; whether they were well instructed in everything pertaining to the church ritual; and if they found them not so, they should instruct them. The next day they should call together the laity, and exhort them against the errors of idolatry, and the prevailing vices to which they were formerly addicted.[4] And the synod at Cloveshove decreed, in the year 747, canon third, that the bishops should annually hold a visitation in their communities, call together the men and women of all ranks and degrees in each place, preach to them the word of God, and forbid them the pagan customs.

With these visitations of the bishops was connected, in the Frankish churches, a regulation which was designed to facilitate the execution of this moral oversight, namely, the regulation[5] of the so-called *Sends*.[6] The bishops were, once a year, to hold a spiritual court in each place of their diocese. Every member of the community should be bound to give information of every wrong action known to him,

[1] Capitula; hence the name Dom-chapter; — chapter of the cathedral.

[2] So that they might be allowed to inflict bodily punishment on their clergy.

[3] Concilium Bracarense II.

[4] Doceant illos, ut errores fugiant idolorum vel diversa crimina, id est homicidium, adulterium, perjurium, falsum testimonium, et reliqua peccata mortifera, aut quod nolunt sibi fieri non faciant alteri et ut credant resurrectionem omnium hominum et diem judicii, in quo unusquisque secundum sua opera recepturus est.

[5] The emperor Charles commanded, in a capitulary of the year 801, ut episcopi circumeant parochias sibi commissas et ibi inquirendi studium habeant de incestu, de parricidiis, fratricidiis, adulteriis, cenodoxiis et aliis malis, quae contraria sunt Deo.

[6] Probably a corruption of the word synod, Diocesan-synod, — called at a later period, in allusion to the court here held by the bishops, placita episcoporum.

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that had been done by another. To seven of the most approved persons in each community, under the name of Deans (Decani), was committed the oversight over the rest. The archdeacons were to go several days beforehand, and announce the approaching visit of the bishop, so that all the preparations might be made for the court which was to be holden. The bishop, on his arrival, should first place the deans under oath, that they would not be moved, by any consideration whatever, to conceal any action which, to their knowledge, had been done contrary to the divine law. Next, he should proceed to question them in details: for example, concerning the observance of pagan customs; whether every father taught his son the creed and the Lord's Prayer; concerning the commission of such crimes, in particular, as were formerly prevalent among these people, and, owing to the reigning spirit of immorality, were not usually recognized as such. The punishments fixed by law, in part corporeal, were inflicted at once; and to carry this out, the civil authorities were bound, in case of necessity, to sustain the bishops with the force at their command.[1] These *Sends* might, no doubt, be attended with many advantages to the people, in that rude condition; but they were also attended with injurious effects. The tribunal of the church, which, according to its original destination, should be spiritual, and inflict only spiritual punishments, assumed the form of a civil court; and the church assumed a coercive power foreign to its peculiar province and calling; all which, in fact led afterwards to various forms of oppression, and tyranny over the conscience.

To preserve the ancient union among the dioceses, a powerful counteraction was needed against the manifold abuses creeping in under the new relations, — abuses which threatened the utter dissolution of that union. In the ancient church, there existed in fact a law, that no clergyman should be ordained at large, or otherwise than for a particular church.[2] The missions first made it a *matter of necessity* to depart from this principle, since it was impossible at once to appoint the monks and ecclesiastics who went out as missionaries, to any particular dioceses. But that which was necessarily occasioned at first, by particular circumstances, continued along afterward, when these circumstances had ceased to exist, and became a disorderly practice, which was the source of other disorders. Unworthy individuals contrived, sometimes by simony, to get themselves ordained; and then travelled about the country, making traffic of their spiritual functions. To counteract this abuse, the ancient laws against indeterminate ordinations (ordinationes absolutae)[3] were revived; but still with little effect. To this was added another abuse. According to the ancient principles of the church, monarchs, as well as all others, should publicly worship God, in the church where the whole community assembled. But the spirit of the Byzantine court first introduced an innovation which was

[1] Regino of Prüm has more exactly described, in his work De Disciplina, how these *Sends* were held.

[2] The law forbidding the ordinare absolute, χειροτονεῖν ἀπολύτως.

[3] See the capitularies of the emperor Charles, A. D. 789 and A. D. 794.

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opposed to the spirit of the ancient church, in allowing the emperor and the empress, to have within their palace a chapel of their own, and along with it an established court clergy.[1] Now whether it was the case, that the Frankish sovereigns simply followed this example, or were led to adopt the same course by the necessities of their roving camp-court, they selected their own clergy to go with them and administer the divine service, at whose head stood an arch-chaplain (archicapellanus, primicerius palatii); and these, on account of their continual and intimate connection with the princes, obtained great influence in ecclesiastical affairs. The example of the sovereign was now followed by the nobles and knights, who built private chapels in their castles, and established in them priests of their own, — an arrangement which began to be attended with many mischievous effects. These clergy relying on the protection of the nobles, threatened to make themselves independent of the diocesan oversight of the bishops.[2] Another consequence of this arrangement was, that the public worship of the parish ceased to command the same respect and observance, and might even come to that pass, as to be attended by the poor country-people alone — the rich and the poor, each had their worship by themselves. Moreover these knights often chose unworthy persons, such as the above described itinerant ecclesiastics, who could be hired at a bargain to perform the liturgical acts, and who could easily be used as tools for any work, or else their own bond-men, whom they employed at the same time in the lowest menial services, thus degrading the spiritual office and religion itself. To counteract these evils, many laws were enacted, having it for their object to preserve the parish worship in due respect.[3] Again, the diocesan power of the bishops was liable to be injured by the influence, which was conceded to the laity as founders of churches for themselves and their posterity. The emperor Justinian, by laws of the year 541 and 555, laid the first foundation for these so-called rights of patronage. He granted to those who founded churches with specific endowments for the salaries of the

[1] This custom is said to have been introduced already by Constantine the Great. Eusebius (de vita Constantini l. IV. c. 17,) strictly understood says only that he converted his palace into a church, being accustomed to hold in it meetings for prayer and the reading of the bible. But Sozomen (I. 8.) says, that he had caused a chapel (*εὐκτήριος οἶκος*) to be fitted up in his palace; while in time of war he used to take along with him a tent prepared expressly for the purposes of worship, for the performance of which a special class of ecclesiastics were appointed. It is clear also, that other persons of rank already followed the example of the emperor, and founded chapels in their houses; — hence the decree of the second Trullan council, that no clergyman should perform the rite of baptism, or celebrate the sacrament of the Lord's supper in such a chapel, without the bishop's permission c. 31. *τοὺς ἐν εὐκτηρίοις οἴκοις ἔνδον οἰκίας τυγχάνουσι λειτουργοῦντας ἢ βαπτίζοντας κληρικοὺς ὑπὸ γνώμης τοῦτο πράττειν τοῦ κατὰ τόπον ἐπισκόπου.*

[2] The council of Chalons sur Saone, concilium Cabilonense, of the year 650, c. 14, cites the complaint of the bishops, quod oratoria per villas potentum jam longo constructa tempore et facultates ibidem collatas ipsi, quorum villae sunt, episcopis contradicant et jam nec ipsos clericos, qui ad ipsa oratoria deserviunt, ab archidiacono coërceri permittant.

[3] The council of Clermont A. D. 535 c. 15, and in the capitulary of the year 789 c. 9 decreed, ut in diebus festis vel dominicis omnes ad ecclesiam veniant et non invitent presbyteros ad domos suas ad missas faciendas.

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clergy, a right for their posterity to propose worthy candidates to the bishops for these spiritual offices; so however, that the determination of the choice should depend on the bishop's examination.[1] As under the new relations, many churches were founded by individual landholders on their estates, and endowed by them out of their own resources, so this relation had to be more clearly defined. On the one hand, it was considered just, to give the founders of such churches a guarantee, that the church property which they had sequestered for this holy purpose, should not be dissipated by the negligence or greediness of bishops. A right of oversight was therefore conceded to them in this respect; and they were also allowed the privilege of proposing to the bishop suitable men to be placed over such churches founded by themselves, as we find it determined by the ninth council of Toledo, in 655.[2] Moreover their descendants were entitled to the same right of oversight; and in case they found from the bishops and Metropolitans no hearing of their complaints concerning the abuse of the property bequeathed to the church by their ancestors, they were allowed the right of appealing to the king. But on the other hand, it must at a very early period have been remarked as an abuse, that these patrons made an arbitrary use of the church property, as if it were their own; that they were as ready to practise simony in disposing of these parish offices, as the sovereigns in disposing of the bishoprics, and that they considered the clergy as *their retainers*, and strove to make them independent of the diocesan power of the bishops. Hence, from the middle of the sixth century to the beginning of the ninth, many laws were devised by the synods against these abuses.[3] The sixth council of Arles, in 813, complained,[4] that unsuitable men were often recommended to the priestly vocation by the laity, commonly for the purpose of gain. It was forbidden them for the future, to exact presents for their recommendations.[5]

Amidst so many influences, which threatened to dissolve the bond of the diocesan constitution, the bishops would naturally look about them for some means of securing themselves, and of facilitating the supervision of their extensive dioceses. They began dividing them up into several districts (capitula ruralia); placing over each an arch presbyter, to superintend the other parish clergy and priests. But the

[1] The novels of Justinian, Εἰ τις εὐκτήριον οἰκοῦ κατασκευάσει, καὶ βουληθείη ἐν αὐτῷ κληρικοὺς προβάλλεσθαι, ἢ αὐτοί ἢ οἱ τούτου κληρονόμοι, εἰ τάς διαπάνας αὐτοὶ τοῖς κληρικοῖς χορηγήσουσι, καὶ ἀξίους ὀνομάσουσι, τοὺς ὀνομασθέντας χειροτονεῖσθαι.

[2] C. 2 ut quamdiu ecclesiarum fundatores in hac vita superstites exstiterint, pro eisdem locis curam permittantur habere sollicitam atque rectores idoneos iisdem ipsi offerant episcopis ordinandos.

[3] The fourth council of Orleans 541. c. 7, ut in oratoriis domini praediorum minime contra votum episcopi peregrinos clericos intromittant, c 26 Si quae parochiae in potentum domibus constitutae sunt, ubi observantes clerici ab archidiacono civitatis admoniti, fortasse quod ecclesiae debent, sub specie domini domus implere neglexerint, corrigantur secundum ecclesiasticam disciplinam. Comp. the third council of Toledo 589 can. 19. So Boniface ordered: "ut laici presbyteros non ejiciant de ecclesiis nec mittere praesumant sine consensu episcoporum suorum, ut omnino non audeant munera exigere a presbyterio propter commendationem ecclesiae cuique presbytero." Bonifac. epistolae ed. Würdtwein f 140.

[4] C. 5.

[5] Ut laici omnino a presbyterio non audeant munera exigere propter commendationem ecclesiae.

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case was, that the deacons and particularly the archdeacons, by reason of the close connection in which they stood with the bishops, and of their being frequently employed by the latter to transact special business as their delegates and plenipotentiaries, had by degrees obtained an authority transcending the original intention of their office.[1] Hence it happened, that the bishops of the eighth and ninth centuries would appoint arch-deacons, as their plenipotentiaries, for the superintendence of the several great divisions of their dioceses; and to these, as such, even the parish clergy who were priests became subordinate.[2] Hence arose the great power of the archdeacons, designed at first to counteract abuses in the administration of the dioceses; but which being abused began already to introduce the same oppressions and thus to become mischievous itself.[3]

As it respects the general forms of ecclesiastical union, the metropolitan constitution passed over, it is true, to the new churches; and many laws were enacted by the synods for the purpose of establishing it. But as this stood originally in the closest connection with the political constitution of the Roman empire, it therefore could not, under circumstances so different, where there were no cities exactly corresponding to the Roman metropolitan towns, be made by the dead letter of these laws so vital an institution, as it had been in the ancient church. The paramount authority, and the paramount influence of a bishop depended far more, under the new relations, on the capacity and position of the individual, than on the political standing of the city embraced in his bishopric. The Frankish bishops, therefore, had no interest in subjecting themselves to a dependence of this sort; and the Frankish love of freedom was averse to it. This disinclination of the bishops to the recognition of any such form of dependence in their neighborhood, contributed to make them more ready to acknowledge the dependence, less burdensome to themselves, on a more distant head of the whole church, as in this they might find a means of protection against the detested power of the metropolitans; and accordingly this had an important influence on the shaping of that form of ecclesiastical constitution which became a thing of so *great moment* to the *entire* system of the church, namely the *papacy*.

In the gradual unfolding of the theocratical system, everything depended on the complete form of the papacy; for so long as the bishops stood singly opposed to the sovereigns at the same time that they were

[1] Against this Concil Toletan. IV. A.D. 633 c. 39. nonnulli diacones in tantam erumpunt superbiam, ut se presbyteris anteponant, and the council of Merida in Spain, concilium Emeritense A. D. 666 c. 5, that the bishop should send an arch-presbyter, not a deacon as his plenipotentiary to a council.

[2] Thus the arch-deacon appears as a plenipotentiary of the bishop in the council of Chalons, A. D. 650. c. 7. The power of the arch-diaconate, and the revenues of the office caused it already to be sought after by laymen; hence the decree of the emperor Charles, A. D. 805 c. 2. Ne archidiaconi sint laici. But the same thing was decreed also with regard to the appointment of arch-presbyters by a council of Rheims 630 c. 19, ut in parochiis nullus laicorum archi-presbyter praeponatur.

[3] A proof of this is the ordinance of a synod held by Boniface in the year 745: praevideant episcopi, ne cupiditas archidiaconorum suorum culpas nutriat, quia multis modis mentitur iniquitas sibi. Bonifac. epp. f. 161.

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dependent on them, the church as a whole could not easily come off triumphant out of the contest with the secular power. But everything would have to assume a different shape, when a man, independent of the sovereigns by his position, stood at the head of the entire church, — a man who pursued a consistent plan, and knew how to avail himself of every circumstance for its execution. Now we saw in the preceding period, how the ideal of such a papacy had in fact already been formed in the minds of the Roman bishops, and how they had already taken advantage of various circumstances for the support of their claims. In an age which had been rent from all historical connection with the earlier centuries, many things of this sort, however, might, when contemplated from a distance, seem invested with greater importance than, in themselves considered, they really possessed.

We commence this period with a man who, penetrated with the conviction that to him, as the successor of St. Peter, was divinely committed the oversight of the entire church, and its supreme guidance, showed by the vigilant eye which he directed to every part of the church, far and near, and by his no less constant activity, what a single individual, in the midst of disorders breaking in on all sides, could effect when placed at the head of the whole. This man was Gregory the First, called the Great. Taken from his retreat in a monastery[1] consecrated to silent meditation, Gregory was suddenly thrown into an active situation, where he found himself surrounded by business of the most complicated and heterogeneous character. When he would have gladly devoted himself with all his energies to the duties of a spiritual shepherd, he found himself compelled, by a regard for the good of his communities, for his duties to his church and to the Greek empire, whose vassal he was, to undertake the management of a multitude of affairs, toilsome in themselves, and altogether foreign from his spiritual office. While beholding with his own eyes the desolations spread far and wide by wasting pestilences, and by the sword of merciless barbarians,[2] while prostrated himself, for months, by bodily sufferings on the bed of sickness, he must still bear the heavy and manifold burdens of his office.[3] He had to watch for the security of the imperial provinces in Italy, which were continually encroached upon by the Longobards, and to conduct the negotiations with this people; and when, to

[1] Gregory says of himself: Quasi prospero flatu navigabam, cum tranquillam vitam in monasterio ducerem, sed procellosis subito motibus tempestas exorta in sua perturbatione me rapuit, lib. IX. ep. 121.

[2] He himself gives the following description of the state of his times: Destructae urbes, eversa sunt castra, depopulati agri, in solitudinem terra redacta est, nullus in agris incola, paene nullus in urbibus habitator remansit et tamen ipsae parvae generis humani reliquiae adhuc quotidie et sine cessatione feriuntur. Alios in captivitatem duci, alios detruncari, alios interfici videmus. Ipsa autem, quae aliquando mundi domina esse videbatur, qualis remanserit, conspicimus. Immensis doloribus multipliciter attrita, desolatione civium, impressione hostium, frequentia ruinarum. In Ezechiel, l. II. H. VI. § 21. The devastation caused by pestilence seemed nothing compared to that by the sword. He thus drew comfort from death by the pestilence: Quantas detruncationes, quantas crudelitates vidimus, quibus mors sola remedium et erat vita tormentum. epp. l. X. ep. 63.

[3] He himself says: Quam grave sit confusis temporibus locis majoribus esse praepositum, ex nostro prorsus dolore sentimus. epp. l. X. ep. 37.

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preserve the quiet and peace of his own communities, he yielded anything to *them*, he exposed himself to be accused by the emperors, of having given up too much which was rightly theirs. He spared no pains to alleviate the distress of the inhabitants of Italy impoverished by the wars, and to relieve the sufferers who, from all the wasted districts, took refuge with him. He kept a vigilant eye on the bishops of his own particular patriarchal diocese, and dealt severely with the negligent, who hoped to take advantage of the general disorder to escape with impunity. He had to maintain a strict watch over the administration of the property belonging to the Roman church in Africa, in Gaul, in Sicily, Sardinia and Corsica, and in several provinces of the East. To these latter he sent for this purpose defensores chosen from among his own clergy; and by their means he was moreover enabled to contract ecclesiastical and political alliances[1] in all those countries, to inform himself of their ecclesiastical condition, and to bring his influence to bear upon it.

Gregory was governed by the conviction that on him, as the successor of St. Peter, devolved the care of the whole church, and its sovereign guidance; which, therefore, he believed himself authorized to extend over the Greek church.[2] He held it to be his duty to preserve inviolate this authority of the Roman church, which seemed to him to have been conferred on her for the welfare of the church universal. But he himself repelled all those marks of honor, which subserved no higher end, and by which the bishops might be turned aside from fulfilling the duties of their pastoral office. It being a prevailing custom in Sicily, for the bishops to observe a festival on the anniversary of the ordination of the Roman bishop, Gregory put a stop to it, as a foolish, vain and superfluous mark of respect.[3] If they must come together, he said, they ought much rather to choose for this purpose the festival of St. Peter, that they might thank him, from whom they had received the pastoral office.[4] A bishop of Messina having

[1] Gregory could not, indeed, judge with impartiality respecting the conduct of monarchs who ruled over the East-Roman and Frankish empires, especially when viewed at a distance, but was blinded by a regard for the interests of the church. He was moreover so far misled as to speak in his letters, for example, to the emperor Phocas, and to Brunehild, rather in the language of the court and of the politician, than in that of simple Christian truthfulness. Thus it brought great reproach upon him, that he should be so far led astray, as to approve, in a congratulatory letter to the emperor Phocas (l. XIII. ep. 31) his accession to the throne, which, though it was brought about by crime, he called a glorious work of God. Yet he gives the emperor, on this occasion, excellent advice, delivering himself here not like a courtier, but as the Christian bishop: "Reformetur jam singulis sub jugo imperii pii libertas sua. Hoc namque inter reges gentium et reipublicae imperatores distat, quod reges gentium domini servorum sunt, imperatores vero reipublicae, domini liberorum." Surely suitable advice to a Byzantine emperor.

[2] De Constantinopolitana ecclesia quis eam dubitet, apostolicae sedi esse subjectam? Quod et piissimus imperator et frater noster ejusdem civitatis episcopus assidue profitentur. l. IX. ep. 12. Which to be sure was refuted by the quarrel between Gregory and the patriarch of Constantinople, hereafter to be mentioned. He already lays down the principle in reference to the transactions of the church assembly at Constantinople (l. IX. ep. 68): Sine apostolicae sedis auctoritate atque consensu nullas quaeque acta fuerint vires habeant.

[3] Quia stulta et vana superfluitas non delectat.

[4] Ex cujus largitate pastores sint. As the power to bind and to loose committed to St. Peter, was the fountain-head of all

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sent him, as an honorable present, a magnificent dress, he caused it to be sold, and sent back the avails to the bishop, telling him[1] it was behooving to abolish those customs which tended to oppress the church; that presents never should be sent to a quarter whence they should rather be received;[2] and he forbade them for the future. When the same bishop proposed to visit Rome, Gregory begged him to spare himself that trouble, and to pray rather, that the more distantly they were separated from each other, the more cordially they might, by the help of Christ, be united in the fellowship of a mutual charity. We have already said,[3] that it was far from his wish to make the Roman church the sole model for all liturgical regulations. Accordingly on another occasion he avowed the principle, that the good, wherever found, even though it might be in churches of inferior name, should be copied and retained.[4] He reproved his agent and plenipotentiary in Sicily,[5] because he encroached on the rights of others in defending those of the Roman church; no man, he said, could be a faithful servant of St. Peter, who did not, even in his own affairs, fearlessly maintain the rights of truth.

The wise manner in which Gregory exercised his authority over negligent bishops, uniting gentleness and forbearance with a due degree of severity, is illustrated by a remarkable example, in the case of Natalis, bishop of Salona in Dalmatia,—a case which shows at the same time how much the bishops of this age stood in need of such oversight. Bishop Natalis of Salona neglected his spiritual vocation as a pastor, spending his time and money in festive entertainments. He made presents to his relations of the vessels and hangings of the churches; and being annoyed by the honesty of a certain archdeacon Honoratus, who protested against such unlawful proceedings, he removed him from this office, under the pretext that he intended to promote him.[6] Gregory commanded the bishop to restore the archdeacon to his office; he pointedly rebuked his unspiritual conduct, and threatened to subject him to a rigid trial.[7] But the impudent sophistry with which Natalis defended his habits of life, redounded to his greater shame. In defence of his banquets, he said that Abraham had been honored by entertaining angels; that such hospitality was a charitable work;[8]

episcopal power, so all the bishops were instruments of the apostle Peter—which idea gradually passed over into the other, according to which all episcopal power, and the nomination of all bishops, ought to proceed from the Roman church. See lib. I. ep. 36.

[1] L. I. ep. 66. Non delectamur xeniis.

[2] Ne illuc aliqua cogantur inferre, unde sibi inferenda debent potius expectare.

[3] L. IX. ep. 12. Ego et minores meos, quos ab illicitis prohibeo, in bono imitari paratus sum. Stultus est enim, qui in eo se primum existimat, ut bona, quae viderit, discere contemnat.

[4] See lib. I. ad Petrum Subdiaconum, ep. 36.

[5] Tunc vere Petri apostoli miles eris, si in causis ejus veritatis custodiam etiam sine ejus acceptione tenueris. And gave him these instructions besides, which no doubt were seriously meant: Laici nobiles pro humilitate te diligant, non pro superbia perhorrescant. Et tamen quum eos fortasse contra quoslibet inopes injustitiam aliquam agere cognoscis, humilitatem protinus in erectionem verte, ut eis semper et bene agentibus subditus et male agentibus adversarius existas.

[6] Whoever was raised from the office of an arch-deacon to the rank of a presbyter, seemed by this elevation to lose more than he gained. See above p. 111.

[7] See Lib. II. ep. 18.

[8] Gregory gave the bishop, who seems to have used sarcastic language towards him

that Christ had been called a glutton and wine bibber, Matt. 11; that he who eateth not should not judge him that eateth, Rom. 14.[1] When admonished to study the Holy Scriptures, bishop Natalis had excused himself partly on account of bodily infirmities which would not allow him to read, and partly on the ground of Christ's promise to grant the illumination of the Spirit, Matt. 10: 19. In reference to the first difficulty, Gregory replied, that as the Holy Scriptures were given for our comfort, therefore the more we are bowed down by suffering, the more they ought to be read. As to the second, he said it would follow from it, that divine revelation had been given us to no purpose;—he who is filled by the Spirit, needs not the outward word. But that which we might confidently rely upon in times of trouble and persecution, was one thing; that which we are bound to do in the peaceful times of the church, was quite another.[2]

Though Gregory claimed for the Roman church an authority of supreme jurisdiction over all the others; which authority he expressly maintained in its relation to the church of Constantinople;[3] yet he was far from denying, or from wishing to disparage the independent episcopal rank of any other. Eulogius, patriarch of Alexandria, who as a Greek was not careful to weigh phrases when dealing in the language of compliment, having in a letter to him used the words "as you commanded," Gregory begged him always to avoid expressions of that sort; "for—said he—I know who *I* am and who you are—in dignity and rank you are my brother; in piety, my father. I did not *command* you, but only endeavored to point out to you what seemed to me to be expedient." Again, he had addressed him as Papa universalis,—a title which the Greek bishops of the principal cities, accustomed in their fulsome style to take words for less than they meant, were often used to apply to each other; but Gregory, who more nicely weighed the import of words, found it offensive. He was ashamed of a title which seemed to disparage the dignity of his colleagues.[4] Away, said he, with expressions which nurture vanity and wound love. On the same principle, Gregory found fault with Johannes the faster (νηστευτής), patriarch of Constantinople, when he assumed to himself the title of ecumenical bishop—which was not

as a friend of fasting, the suitable reply: Convivia, quae ex intentione impendendae caritatis fiunt, recte sanctitas vestra in suis epistolis laudat. Sed tamen sciendum est, quia tunc ex caritate veraciter prodeunt, quum in eis nulla absentium vita mordetur, nullus ex irrisione reprehenditur, et nec inanes in eis secularium negotiorum fabulae; sed verba sacrae lectionis audiuntur, quum non plus quam necesse est servitur corpori, sed sola ejus infirmitas reficitur, ut ad usum exercendae virtutis habeatur. Haec itaque si vos in vestris conviviis agitis, abstinentium fateor magistri estis.

[1] On this point, too, Gregory aptly remarks: Quia neque ego non comedo neque ad hoc a Paulo dictum est, ut membra Christi, quae in ejus corpore id est in ecclesia invicem sibi caritatis compage connexa sunt, nullam de se ullo modo curam gerant.

[2] Aliud est, frater carissime, quod angustati persequutionis tempore absque dubitatione confidere, aliud quod in tranquillitate ecclesiae agere debemus. Oportet enim nos per hunc spiritum modo legendo percipere quae possimus, si contigerit causa in nobis, etiam patiendo demonstrare.

[3] So that an appeal could also be made from the decision of the patriarch of Constantinople to Rome. Gregor. epp. lib. VI. ep. 24.

[4] Nec honorem esse deputo, in quo fratres meos honorem suum perdere cognosco. Meus namque honor est honor universalis ecclesiae. l. VIII. ep. 30.

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uncommon with the bishops of the chief cities in the East. But to Gregory there was a dangerous import in this not badly intended epithet of Oriental vanity. True, he was so blinded by his passionate zeal for what he supposed to be the injured honor of the Roman church, as to make an important matter of a thing which, in this connection, was utterly insignificant;[1] and by no explanations of the patriarch, and of others who wished in some way or other to settle the difficulty, would he allow himself to be satisfied;—being determined to look simply at what the word *might signify*, not at what it *ought to signify*, according to the intention of those who used it.[2] Nor did he strictly conform, in his conduct towards the patriarch John, to the rule of Christian integrity, when he rebuked him on account of his pretensions in mild, but earnest language, not because he was prompted so to do by the temper of Christian love, but simply because he wished to spare the feelings of the emperor; for so he wrote to his plenipotentiary in Constantinople.[3] Yet the Christian spirit of the man expresses itself remarkably in his language, when he so earnestly insists, that as this epithet belongs to our Saviour alone, the common though invisible head over all, it should be applied to no merely human being. "Verily, when Paul heard that some said, I am of Paul; others, I am of Apollos; others, I am of Cephas, he exclaimed — with the strongest abhorrence of this rending asunder of the body of Christ, by which his members were, so to speak, attached to other heads — Was Paul crucified for you, or were ye baptized in the name of Paul? If, then, he could not tolerate that the members of the Lord's body should be arranged in parcels, as it were, and become attached to other heads than Christ, even though these heads were apostles, what wilt thou say, who, by assuming the title of 'universal,' seekest to subject all Christ's members to thyself? What wilt thou say to Him, the head of the universal church, at the final judgment? In truth, what is Peter, the first of the apostles, other than a member of the holy and universal church?—what are Paul, Andrew, and John, other than heads of single communities? And yet all subsist as members under the one only head."[4]

[1] Thus he could say, as though *one* individual could made the faith of the entire church dependent on *his* person: In isto scelesto vocabulo consentire, nihil est aliud quam fidem perdere. l. V. ep. 19.

[2] The patriarch Anastasius of Antioch had, not without reason, admonished him, that he ought not, by this dispute, to belie his own character, nor to make room in his soul for the evil spirit; that he ought not, for so trivial a cause, to disturb the unity and peace of the church. But Gregory, who stuck firmly to that which the word might signify in itself, was therefore unwilling to admit this; and said, on the other hand: Si hanc causam aequanimiter portamus, universae ecclesiae fidem corrumpimus. Scitis enim, quanti non solum haeretici, sed etiam haeresiarchae de Constantinopolitana sunt egressi. l. VII. ep. 27.

[3] L. V. ep. 19. It was not his wish to write two letters; he had, therefore, written but one, quae utrumque videtur habere admixtum, id est et rectitudinem et amaritudinem. Tua itaque dilectio eam epistolam, quam nunc direxi, propter voluntatem imperatoris dare studeat. Nam de subsequenti talis alia transmittetur, de qua ejus superbia non laetetur.

[4] Certe Petrus apostolorum primus membrum sanctae et universalis ecclesiae, Paulus, Andreas, Johannes, quid aliud quam singularium sunt plebium capita? et tamen sub uno capite omnes membra. l. V. ep. 18.

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Gregory, however,[1] was not able to carry his point, and later Roman bishops did not scruple to apply this epithet to themselves.

As to the relation of the popes to the Roman emperors in the East, these latter, their ancient masters, would, no doubt, be peculiarly indulgent to them, as their wealthiest and most powerful vassals, who had the greatest influence with the people; particularly while the situation of their Western provinces, which were threatened more and more by the encroachments of the Longobards, continued to be so dubious. For the same reason, they would be inclined to allow them many privileges. Yet the Roman bishops ever acknowledged their dependence on the Roman empire. From their entrance into office until their end, they maintained, by plenipotentiaries chosen from among their clergy, a constant connection with the emperors;[2] and at Constantinople, the confirmation of their election made by the Roman clergy and the notables of the communities, was applied for, before they could be ordained.[3] It sometimes happened, as appeared in our history of doctrines, that individual popes were obliged to suffer from the Greek emperors very severe ill-usage, from refusing to accommodate themselves to their will; yet, as the power of the emperors in Italy was drawing to an end, this dependent relation of the popes on the Greek empire also relaxed, and hence so much the more was depending on the question, respecting the shape which their new relation would take to the states and churches formed out of the ruins of the Roman empire.

The popes stood in the most unfavorable relation, both in an ecclesiastical and in a political point of view, to the people who had established themselves nearest to them, viz. the Longobards; for these were hostile to the East Roman empire and devoted to Arianism. This last cause of misunderstanding ceased, it is true, when, in 587, queen Theodolinde came over to the Catholic church; but the former still continued to operate; though occasional examples may be noticed, in the eighth century, of an impression of respect produced even on Longobardian princes, by those who claimed to be successors of the apostle Peter. The Spanish church had, from the earliest times, maintained a close connection with the Roman. This connection may now, indeed, have been interrupted by the Visigothic dominion in Spain, in which Arianism predominated; but the older Spanish communities kept it up, even under the foreign domination, which in fact

[1] That Gregory was led to assume, in his own letters, the epithet Servus servorum Dei, in opposing the arrogance of the patriarch, is not so certain; — nor is it necessarily implied in the words of Johannes Diaconus, vita Gregorii l. II. c. 1. Primus omnium se in principio epistolarum suarum servum servorum Dei scribi satis humiliter definivit. For the rest, this epithet well accords with the manner in which he administered his office. l. XI. ep. 44. Ego per episcopatus onera servus sum omnium factus

[2] Responsales. Apocrisiarii.

[3] In the Diary of the popes of the eighth century, — the liber diurnus Romanorum pontificum, — is to be found the form of such an application, addressed to the emperor, wherein it is said: Lacrimabiliter cuncti famuli supplicamus, ut dominorum pietas servorum suorum obsecrationes dignanter exaudiat et concessa pietatis suae jussione petentium desideria ad effectum de ordinatione ipsius praecipiat pervenire.

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rendered it of so much the more importance to them. Accordingly, when in the year 589, Reckared, king of the Visigoths, embraced the church doctrine of the Trinity, the whole Spanish church now entered into the same relation to the Roman, as had been maintained before by the minority; and the most eminent individual among the Spanish bishops, Leander, bishop of Seville, solicited and obtained, from pope Gregory the Great, *the pall*, as the token of his primacy. This was the beginning of a long-continued, an active and living intercourse. The indefatigable Gregory the Great took advantage of this, to establish his authority as supreme judge, in the case of two bishops deposed by the arbitrary will of a nobleman. This he carried through to a successful issue. True, the Spanish king Witiza attempted, in the year 701, to restore the independence of the Spanish church; and, on occasion of an appeal by certain Spanish bishops, forbade all such appeals, refusing to allow any legal force to ordinances made by a foreign bishop for the churches belonging to his states. Yet as Spain was soon afterwards severed from all connection with the rest of Christendom by the conquest of the Arabians, this act lost by that event all its influence on the further development of the church.

The English church, from the very form and manner of its foundation, would, as we have already remarked, be brought into a peculiar relation of dependence on the church of Rome; and the same relation continued to exist, and to be still further developed. English monks and nuns, bishops, nobles, and princes, often made pilgrimages to Rome, for the purpose of visiting the tomb of St. Peter; and these frequent pilgrimages served to knit closer that original connection. Although these pilgrimages in the eighth century often exercised an injurious influence on morals, yet it should not be overlooked, that by these travels, and the correspondence which they occasioned with countries where, from ancient times, a higher state of culture existed, something was contributed to the work of transplanting that culture among a yet uncivilized people; while a store of bibles, and other books, as well as the elements of many of the arts, were thus conveyed to England.[1] The acts of individual princes, who, under the influence of passion, revolted against the papal authority, could effect no important alteration in the hitherto prevailing rule.

The relations of the church of Rome to that of the Franks in Gaul were not of so favorable a nature; the latter having, in fact, sprung up more independently of Rome, in a country where examples

[1] Of the English abbot Benedictus Biscopius, who lived near the close of the seventh century, Bede says: Toties mare transiit, nunquam vacuus et inutilis rediit; sed nunc librorum copiam sanctorum, nunc architectos ecclesiae fabricandae, nunc vitrifactores ad fenestras ejus decorandas ac muniendas, nunc picturas sanctarum historiarum, quae non ad ornatum solummodo ecclesiae, verum etiam ad instructionem proponerentur, advexit, videlicet ut qui literarum lectione non possent, opera Domini et salvatoris nostri per ipsarum contuitum discerent imaginum. See Bolland. Acta sanctorum. Mens. Januar. T. I. f. 746. Of the same person Bede says: Oceano transmisso Gallias petens caementarios, qui lapideam sibi ecclesiam juxta Romanorum, quem semper amabat, morem facerent, postulavit, accepit, attulit. See Mabillon. Acta sanct. ord. Benedict saec. II. f. 1004.

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were already, at a much earlier period, to be found, of a spirit of ecclesiastical independence, and among a people who, in general, were not inclined to become subject to any foreign yoke, and whose sovereigns could not easily accustom themselves to the idea of a foreign power interfering in the institutions of their state. Hence in the times of the new Frankish church, as far down as to the age of Gregory the Great, but few examples are to be found of papal interference.[1]

Gregory, who was so active in extending his supervisory care over the whole church, contrived to enter into various alliances with the princes, nobles, and bishops of the Franks. He took a lively interest in the affairs of the Frankish church. He considered it subject to his superintendence, and treated it accordingly. But amid the political disorders of the Frankish kingdom in the next succeeding times, the connection with Rome became continually more lax. We noticed, indeed, in our account of the missions, how many tendencies, repugnant to the system of the Roman hierarchy, were threatening to make good their entrance into the Frankish kingdom; till Boniface, by his far-reaching activity, laid the foundation for an entirely new relation of the churches to the papacy, under his direction, as papal legate.[2] The influence of this change was soon manifested in the fact, that Pipin could hope, by securing the pope's approval, to sanction his illegal act in seizing the royal dignity; and this weight of influence attributed to the voice of the pope, could not fail to react again upon the popular opinion entertained of the papacy. Yet at the bottom of all this lay a tacit recognition of the pope's authority to decide in the last instance, on matters pertaining to civil relations. From king Pipin, pope Stephen II. afterwards obtained in his difficulties with the Longobards, then threatening Rome and the possessions of the Roman church, that assistance which he had sought in vain from the feeble government of the East Roman emperors. When, in the year 755, Pipin reconquered from the Longobards the

[1] An example, however, which shows to what extent the supreme judicial authority of the popes was recognized in the empire of the Franks, is this: Two bishops, Salonius of Embrun (Ebredunensis) and Sagittarius of Gap (Vapingensis), had been deposed, on account of certain violent proceedings, altogether inconsistent with their vocation, in which they had indulged. They afterwards appealed, however, to pope John III., and obtained permission from king Guntramm, whose favor they enjoyed, to proceed for this purpose to Rome. The French bishops probably paid no attention to this appeal, and therefore sent no prosecutors to Rome. Yet the pope allowed himself to be determined by the false reports of these appellants alone, and in a letter to the king, demanded that they should be restored again to their places; with which requisition their protector, the king. immediately complied, since it was in accordance with his own inclination; and by the power of the king, who lent himself to the pope, because he was much more inclined to serve the humor of the moment than the real interests of the church, they got possession again of the offices of which they had been justly deprived, and continued also to show them selves unworthy of them. Gregor. Turon hist. l. V. c. 21.

[2] By means of Boniface it was also made a custom, that the robe of honor (made of white linen [pallium], bysso candente contextum. Joh. Diacon. vita Gregor. IV. 80), conferred at first by the popes on their special representatives among the bishops (the apostolicis vicariis), or on the primates, should be conferred by the popes on all metropolitans, as a mark of their spiritual rank,—by which means also a relation of dependence on the Roman church was established.

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territories they had acquired, he declared that he fought in defence of the patrimony of St. Peter, and declined giving back what he had won to the Greek empire. On the contrary, he ordered the deed of gift, whereby the possessions were bestowed on the Roman church, to be placed by his chaplain on the tomb of St. Peter. By degrees, the connection between the popes and the East Roman empire grew continually more feeble, and in place of this antiquated relation came in the new one to the empire of the Franks.

This new relation was more firmly established, when Charlemagne destroyed the kingdom of the Longobards in Italy, and founded there, in its stead, the dominion of the Franks. He often, in company with the most eminent of his nobles and bishops, visited Rome; and on all such occasions showed the greatest respect for the memory of St. Peter. On one of these occasions, the Christmas of the year 800, pope Leo III., amid the joyful shouts of the people, placed on his head, in the church of St. Peter, the imperial crown. This act, though it may not have proceeded with any distinct consciousness from the theocratical point of view in which the popes regarded their relation to the new states and churches, and though it may not have been distinctly looked upon in this light by those present, was easily capable, however, of being referred by the later popes to this point of view, and appealed to, as laying the foundation of a right which had resulted from that relation, and which had been practically acknowledged.

There was much that still remained vague and unsettled in this new relation which had arisen between the popes and the emperor of the West; much that could not be clearly and satifactorily decided till a later period. The popes, in their letters to the emperor Charles, avowed it as a principle which admitted of no question, that they, as the successors of St. Peter, were heads of the entire church; that to them belonged spiritual jurisdiction over all; and that they themselves could be judged by no man; that all other spiritual power was derived from them; and in particular, that the several dioceses had received from them the determination of their boundaries.[1] Already the popes began to bring other matters before their theocratical courts than those purely spiritual. Pope Stephen II. peremptorily forbade king Charles to take a wife from the unclean nation of the Longobards,[2] whom, by a singular confounding together of things spiritual and temporal, he unchristianly denounces, on account of their hostility to the Roman states, as outcasts from the divine favor. He wrote to

[1] Pope Hadrian I. says: Sedes apostolica caput totius mundi et omnium Dei ecclesiarum. Cod. Carolin. ed. Cenni T. I. p. 389. Cujus sollicitudo delegata divinitus cunctis debetur ecclesiis. — A qua si quis se abscidit, fit Christianae religionis extoris p. 443. Quae de omnibus ecclesiis fas habet judicandi neque cuiquam licet de ejus judicare judicio, quorum libet sententiis ligata pontificum jus habebit solvendi, per quos ad unam Petri sedem universalis ecclesiae cura confluit p. 519. Dum unusquisque episcopus per instituta sanctorum canonum atque praedecessorum nostrorum pontificum privilegiorum et sanctionum jura receperint p. 510.

[2] To be sure, he required also, at the same time — a matter which more properly belonged to his tribunal — that the emperor should not thrust away his lawful wife; yet he would have insisted on the same thing, independently of this latter.

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the Frankish princes, that, in general, they were not to presume to contract any marriage alliance contrary to the will of him who represented the first of the apostles. To do so, would be showing contempt, not to himself personally, but to St. Peter, in whose place he stood, and concerning whom Christ had said, He that receiveth you, receiveth me, and he that despiseth you, despiseth me, Matt. x.[1] Nor should a princess of the Franks be allowed to marry any person descended from the royal family of the Longobards. And the pope threatened, in the most appalling language, the anathema of the church, against any who should disregard this papal ordinance; as if it rested wholly with the pope to open or to shut the kingdom of heaven.[2]

As this view of the spiritual power belonging to the papacy was intimately connected with the whole theocratic idea, which had its foundation in the peculiar development of the church in that period, hence it was that even the most distinguished men of the age, such, for instance, as Alcuin, were under the influence of the same mode of thinking.[3] This view of the matter would enter, therefore, no less into the mind of the emperor Charles; but, on the other hand, there are indications that other influences were brought to bear on him, which aimed to produce a rupture between him and the pope, and to work him up to a dispute of the papal authority. There was no lack of those, who filled his ears with evil reports about the pope and the Roman church.[4] But such isolated instances of reaction against the dominant spirit of the church, whether proceeding from personal enemies of the popes, or from freer dogmatic tendencies in Ireland or Spain, could avail nothing. The emperor, in all ecclesiastical matters, sought to act in a common understanding with the Roman church. In doubtful cases, he frequently solicited advice from the popes; yet he by no means allowed himself to be governed alone and always by their decision, but acted freely also, according to his own independent convictions; and, in many cases, followed the better wisdom of his enlightened theologians, even though at variance with

[1] See l. c. pag. 285.

[2] Sciat se auctoritate domini mei St. Petri apostolorum principis anathematis vinculo esse innodatum et a regno Dei alienum atque cum diabolo et ejus atrocissimis pompis aeternis incendiis concremandum pag. 288.

[3] In his ep. 20, to pope Leo III., he calls him princeps ecclesiae, unius immaculatae columbae nutritor, and he says, vere dignum esse fateor, omnem illius gregis multitudinem suo pastori licet in diversis terrarum pascuis commorantem una caritatis fide subjectam esse.

[4] Thus, for example, bad reports had come to the ears of the emperor respecting the incontinence of the Roman clergy, so that he thought it necessary to represent the matter to pope Hadrian. The latter vindicated himself, and warned him against believing the false charges of those who wished to destroy the friendly relations subsisting between them: nunc vero quaerunt aemuli nostri qui semper zizania seminaverunt, aliquam inter partes malitiam seminare, pag. 371. Thus, the report had been spread, (perhaps also a forged letter of the English king to the emperor), that the English king Offa had invited the emperor to depose pope Hadrian, and nominate another pope of Frankish descent. l. c. 506. He felt constrained to warn him of the influence of the heretics, who sought to draw him off from the doctrines and ordinances of the Romish church: procaces ac haereticos homines, qui tuam subvertere nituntur orthodoxam fidem et undique te coarctantes, angustias et varias tempestates seminant, pag. 390.

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the then prevailing tendency of the Roman church and with the judgment of the pope; of which we shall see examples under the history of doctrines.

In respect to the landed property of the Roman church, Charles added new territories to those already bestowed by his father; and to stimulate him to further benefactions, the bequests to the Roman church by Constantine the Great were often appealed to — deeds which were either forged for this very purpose, or which had been already forged at an earlier period for similar purposes.[1] Yet the pope was by no means sovereign master over this kind of property, but subject to the superior lordship of the emperor, who exercised his control here, as over the lands of his other vassals, by means of messengers (Missi.) When, in the year 800, pope Leo III was roughly treated by conspirators, who plotted to take his life, and who afterwards sought to extenuate their conduct by accusing the pope, the emperor convened at Rome a synod, which he attended in person, for the purpose of investigating the affair; but the bishops[2] chosen for this purpose declared, it belonged to the pope to judge them, and not to them to judge the pope. The latter could be judged by no man; and so also thought Alcuin.[3]

[1] Worthy of notice in this respect are the words of pope Hadrian I. A. D. 777, to the emperor Charles: Et sicut temporibus St. Silvestri a piissimo Constantino M. imperatore per ejus largitatem Romana ecclesia elevata atque exaltata est et potestatem in his Hesperiae partibus largiri dignatus est *caet.* ecce novus Christianissimus Constantinus imperator his temporibus surrexit, per quem omnia Deus sanctae suae ecclesiae apostolorum principis Petri largiri dignatus est. Sed et cuncta alia, quae per diversos imperatores, Patricios etiam et alios Deum timentes pro eorum animae mercede et venia delictorum in partibus Turciae, Spoleto seu Benevento atque Corsica simul et Savinensi (Sabinensi) patrimonio Petro apostolo concessa sunt *caet.* vestris temporibus restituantur. He appeals to the donationes in scrinio Lateranensi reconditas, which he sent to the emperor as evidence of the fact, p. 352.

[2] See Anastas. Life of Leo III, in the vitis pontificum.

[3] See ep. 92 to Arno archbishop of Salzburg. He appeals to the apocryphal fragments of ecclesiastical law, which were subsequently adopted into the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals.

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SECTION THIRD.

CHRISTIAN LIFE, AND CHRISTIAN WORSHIP.

OWING to the vast extent of the territory over which Christianity spread, among the races which planted themselves on the ruins of the Roman empire, it was of course only by slow degrees, that it could so operate as to exert its true influence on the minds of men, — only by gradual steps that it could penetrate the masses. In proportion to the facility with which the earlier superstition might reappear under a Christian dress, finding as it did so convenient a foothold in the foreign elements which had already attached themselves to the Christian faith, as in the doctrines of the magical effects of the sacraments and of the worship of saints; in proportion to the tendency of the earlier sinful habits of the nations to lay hold of these superstitions as a prop; in the same proportion was the need of an uninterrupted course of religious instruction in order that, upon the basis of the external church, an impulse might be given to the further internal development of the kingdom of God. This need was strongly affirmed also by the synods which were occupied in devising measures for improving the condition of the church. The council of Cloveshove, as we have already noticed,[1] made it the special duty of bishops, in visiting their churches, to preach the word of God to the inhabitants of every place; which at the same time however, implied that these persons otherwise seldom had opportunity of hearing such preaching.[2] In the rule of bishop Chrodegang of Metz,[3] it was laid down, that the word of salvation should be preached twice a month though it would be still better, if it could be heard on all Sundays and feast-days, and so as to be understood by the people. Charlemagne was fully impressed with the conviction, that the well-being of the church depended on the right performance of the duty of preaching; and to this he exhorted the clergy on every suitable occasion.[4] The persons also, with whom he was accustomed to consult on ecclesiastical affairs, confirmed him in this opinion. Alcuin is especially to be named among those who understood the importance of preaching as a

[1] Page 107.

[2] Utpote eos, qui raro audiunt verbum Dei c. 3.

[3] C. 44. D'Achery spicileg. I. 574.

[4] An example of his exhortation to the bishops: Ut magis ac magis in sancta Dei ecclesia studiose ac vigilanti cura laborare studeas in praedicatione ac doctrina salutari, quatenus per tuam devotissimam sollertiam verbum vitae aeternae crescat et currat et multiplicetur numerus populi Christiani in laudem et gloriam salvatoris nostri Dei. See Mabillon Analector. Tom. I. page 22.

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means of promoting the Christian life, and who sought to interest the bishops in the performance of this duty, as constituting the most important branch of their vocation.[1] And in order that they might be qualified for this, he exhorted them to a diligent study of the bible.[2] In a letter of exhortation addressed to the people of Canterbury,[3] he says "Without the Holy Scriptures, it is impossible to come to the right knowledge of God; and if the blind lead the blind, both fall into the ditch. On the other hand, the multitude of the wise is the safety of the people. Provide yourselves with teachers of the Holy Scriptures, that there may be no lack among you of the word of God; that you may never fail to have among you such as are able to guide the people; that the fountain of truth among you may not be dried up." In a letter to the emperor Charles, he earnestly insists, that not only bishops, but priests and deacons should preach; and if it were actually the case that the bishops hindered them from so doing,—if the priests and deacons did not use this as a mere pretext to exculpate themselves, he calls upon the emperor to provide some remedy for the evil.[4] To show the propriety of this, he refers to Revelation 22: 17. "Whoever thirsts, let him come: and whosoever will, let him take of the water of life freely," where he supposes it therefore to be implied, that the water of life should be offered to all by the clergy, preaching the word. He also quotes the Apostle Paul, who says (1 Cor. 14: 30,) that all should prophesy, that is teach, in their turn; and 1. Tim. 5: 17. "Let them only inform themselves—says—he of the many and wonderful preachers, from different classes of the clergy, that have appeared in the history of the world; and let them but cease considering that as belonging only to a few, which, to the great advantage of souls, may be common to a great many. Why are homilies[5] publicly read in the churches by clergymen of all grades? It were strange if all were allowed to *read* these, but might not explain them to the common understanding. What would this signify, but that the hearers must remain without fruit?[6] " We may here observe, how important it seemed to this great man, that Christian knowledge should be diffused among the laity, and that they should participate understandingly in the public worship of God. He was firmly persuaded, also, that the formation of God's kingdom was a concern which by no means belonged

[1] E. g. ep. 193, his letter of congratulation to Theodulf archbishop of Orleans, when the latter had received the pallium from Rome: Sicut regium diadema fulgor gemmarum ornat, ita fiducia praedicationis pallii ornare debet honorem. In hoc enim honorem suum habet, si portitor veritatis praedicator existit. Memor esto, sacerdotalis dignitatis linguam coelestis esse clavem imperii et clarissimam castrorum Christi tubam; quapropter ne sileas, ne taceas, ne formides loqui, habens ubique operis tui itinerisque Christum socium et adjutorem. Messis quidem multa est, operarii autem pauci, eo instantiores qui sunt, esse necesse est

[2] Ep. IX, to an English archbishop: Lectio scripturae saepius tuis reperiatur in manibus, ut ex illa te saturare et alios pascere valeas.

[3] Ep. 59.

[4] See ep. 124 audio per ecclesias Christi quandam consuetudinem non satis laudabilem, quam vestra auctoritas facile emendare potest, si tamen vera est opinio et non magis falsa excusatio, ut quod facere non volunt presbyteri, suis injiciant episcopis.

[5] The homilies of the church-fathers, arranged with reference to Sundays and feast-days, see below.

[6] Et impleatur Virgilianum illud: Dat sine mente sonos.

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exclusively to the clergy, but one which ought to be shared by all Christians. Far was he from wishing to confine the study of the divine word to ecclesiastics as their exclusive province; on the contrary, he expresses gratification whenever he finds the laity also engaged in such studies. He wished the emperor Charles might have many such diligent searchers of the scriptures among his ministers of state.[1]

While the emperor, following the advice of such men, earnestly recommended to the bishops[2] the duty of providing for the religious instruction of the people, the synods held under his reign made the same thing an object of special attention. The council of Mentz, in 813 (can. 25,) decreed, that, in case the bishop were absent, or sick, or otherwise hindered, still there should not fail to be some one present, on Sundays and feast-days, who could preach the word of God so as to be understood by the people;[3] and in the same year the sixth council of Arles directed, that the priests should preach not only in all the cities, but also in all country parishes.[4] Among those who labored earnestly in the work of religious instruction, Theodulf, archbishop of Orleans, particularly distinguished himself. His instructions to his parochial priests (Capitulare ad parochiae suae sacerdotes) furnish a living testimony to the zeal and wisdom with which he administered his pastoral office.[5] He admonishes his clergy, in these instructions, to be always prepared for the instruction of their flocks. Whoever understood the holy Scriptures, should explain them; whoever did not, should hold forth to the flock what he knew best, that they should eschew evil and do good. No one could excuse himself on the ground that he wanted a tongue to edify others. The moment they saw one in a wrong way, they should do their utmost to reclaim him. And when they met their bishop at a synod, each should report what success had attended his labors; and they would find him ready to lend them a cheerful assistance, according to his ability, wherever they needed it.

It is plain from these slight requisitions, which were all that Theodulf found it in his power to demand of his clergy, how exceedingly deficient the majority of ecclesiastics were in that culture, and knowledge of the scriptures which were needed for the successful discharge

[1] In his ep. 124 to the emperor Charlemagne, in allusion to Matth. 25: 21, nec enim hoc solis sacerdotibus vel clericis audiendum ibi arbitreris, sed etiam bonis laicis et bene in opere Dei laborantibus dicendum esse credas et maxime his, qui in sublimioribus positi sunt dignitatibus, quorum conversatio bona et vitae sanctitas et admonitoria aeternae salutis verba suis subjectis praedicatio poterit esse. And in the same letter, referring to a layman, who had proposed to him a query respecting the interpretation of a passage of scripture: vere et valde gratum habeo, laicos quandoque ad evangelicas effloruisse quaestiones, dum quendam audivi virum prudentem aliquando dicere, clericorum esse evangelium discere, non laicorum. Tamen iste laicus quisquis fuit, sapiens est corde, et si manibus miles, quales vestram auctoritatem plurimos habere decet.

[2] Gheerbald bishop of Liege says himself of the emperor in his pastoral letter to his flock: Excitat pigritiam nostram, ut non dormiamus et praedicationis officium unusquisque consideret. Mansi Concil. T. XIII. f. 1084.

[3] Qui verbum Dei praedicet, juxta quod intelligere vulgus possit.

[4] C. 10. ut non solum in civitatibus, sed etiam in omnibus parochiis presbyteri ad populum verbum faciant.

[5] C. 28. Harduin. Concil. T. III. f. 918

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of the duties of their calling; and this is confirmed, when we compare them with other requisitions laid down by the synods; as for example, when it is supposed as a possible case, that the priests, in public worship, might do no more than mechanically repeat the liturgical forms in Latin, without understanding them. In reference to this, the synod at Cloveshove directed, in their tenth canon, that the priests should be able to translate and expound, in the language of the country, the creed, the Lord's prayer, and the liturgical forms used at the celebration of mass and in baptism; they should thus endeavor to understand the spiritual sense of the offices they performed, so as not to be dumb and ignorant instruments.[1]

There could be no improvement, therefore, in the religious instruction of the people, until more care was bestowed on the education of the clergy. And this was to be aimed at in the schools established by the bishops and parochial clergy, as well as in the monasteries. Hence the establishment of schools was another object which commanded great attention in the times of Charlemagne. Thus, the second council of Chalons in 813, decreed in their third canon, that the bishops should found schools for giving instruction in the other sciences and also in the expounding of scripture, and where persons might be so educated, that our Saviour could truly say of them, "ye are the salt of the earth."[2] But, for the present there was a great want of ecclesiastics capable of directing the religious instruction of the communities, according to the ordinances of those synods. To supply the wants of such as were unable to compose sermons of their own, collections of discourses, by the older church-teachers, had been formed already at an earlier period, which were to be publicly read in the churches during the time of divine service. But as these collections (Homiliaria) had suffered various corruptions through the ignorance of these centuries, the emperor Charles ordered an improved collection to be prepared by one of his clergy, Paul Warnefrid, or Paulus Diaconus, from the abbey of Monte Cassino. This work, he published himself for the use of the churches, with a preface, in which he admonished the clergy, by his own example, to a diligent study of the sacred scriptures; stating that he had endeavored by his own labors on the text, to provide himself with a correct copy of the bible.[3] Now as in this Homilarium, the sermons were arranged in the order of Sundays and feast-days, and as that arrangement of biblical texts was laid at the foundation, which had been gradually formed in the church of Rome, since the time of Gregory the Great, it thus came about, that the textual arrangement of this church was more widely diffused, and

[1] Ne vel in ipsis intercessionibus, quibus pro populi delictis Deum exorare poscuntur vel ministerii sui officiis inveniantur quasi muti et ignavi, si non intelligunt nec verborum suorum sensum nec sacramenta; quibus per eos alii ad aeternam proficiunt salutem

[2] Et qui condimentum plebibus esse valeant et quorum doctrina non solum diversis haeresibus, verum etiam antichristi monitis et ipsi antichristo resistatur.

[3] Ad pernoscenda etiam sacrorum librorum studia nostro etiam quos possumus invitamus exemplo. Inter quae jampridem universos veteris ac novi testamenti libros librariorum imperitia depravatos Deo nos in omnibus adjuvante examussim correximus. See Mabillon Analectorum T. I pag. 26.

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greater uniformity in this respect secured. For the rest, with regard to this collection, which relieved the clergy from the necessity of exertion, and furnished them with an encouragement to indolence, it was no doubt calculated upon, that the sermons, when read to the congregations, would be translated into the vernacular tongue; a thing which was expressly directed by several councils of this period.[1]

We see from what has thus far been said, that in the Carolingian age, there was certainly no wish to banish from public worship in the Frankish church the use of the popular tongue; but rather a desire to encourage it. But by the force of custom the Latin had already been a long time established as the predominant liturgical language. In the countries belonging to the Roman empire, the Roman was, indeed, the language generally current and understood; and hence there could be no necessity of translating the church hymns and the liturgical forms into the old popular tongues, the use of which had been long suppressed or restricted by the language of Rome. But now, wherever races of German origin had settled in Roman provinces, the seats of Roman culture, there the Roman language still held its ground, as the language of refinement and of courts, and also as the liturgical language; and it was only by slow degrees that a particular dialect sprang out of the mixture of the Roman language with the new popular tongue. The missionaries that went from the church of Rome followed also the ancient custom, and could not prevail on themselves to make use of the barbarous tongues of the people to whom they brought Christianity, for the purpose of translating into them the divine word and the liturgical formulas: until, by degrees, from the practice of the church it grew to be a principle in theory, that the Roman language should be considered preëminently the language of the church. The striving after conformity with the church of Rome naturally promoted an attachment to the liturgy as expressed in the Roman language and form; while the latter again would react upon the former. King Pipin no doubt found a Latin church psalmody already existing in the Frankish church, which had been transmitted downward from the ancient Gallic church. But as this differed originally from the Roman church psalmody, especially since Gregory the Great had done so much to improve the music of the church, and as it had moreover been corrupted by the barbarism of the intervening time, Pipin endeavored to restore it after the model of the church music at Rome; wishing here as elsewhere to make Frankish barbarism give way to superior refinement, and to bring the Frankish church into agreement with the Roman,[2] after the example of Boniface; wherein he was zealously

[1] As for example, by the second council of Rheims, in the year 813, in the 15th canon, ut episcopi sermones et homilias St. Patrum, prout omnes intelligere possint, secundum proprietatem linguae praedicare studeant, and by the third council of Tours, in the same year, c. 17, ut easdem homilias quisque aperte transferre studeat in rusticam Romanam linguam aut Theotiscam, quo facilius cuncti possint intelligere, quae dicuntur.

[2] In the capitulary of the emperor Charles of the year 789, which was issued at Aix la Chapelle, it is said of Pipin (c. 78): Gallicanum cantum tulit ob unanimitatem apostolicae sedis et ecclesiae pacificam concordiam; and in the preface to the homilies: totas Galliarum ecclesias suo studio Romanae traditionis cantibus decoravit.

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sustained by that warm friend of decency and order in church regulations, Chrodegang, bishop of Metz.[1] Roman psalmody, however, was soon altered again by the peculiarity of the French pronunciation; while, at the same time, it was found impossible to suppress entirely the old Gallic form of church music by the new regulations of Pipin; and hence the emperor Charles, when attending the high festivals at Rome, could not but notice the great difference between the Franco-Gallic and the Gregorian church music of Rome. Hence he was led to desire that the Frankish psalmody might be altered and improved wholly after the pattern of the Roman.[2] His friend pope Hadrian, to enable him to accomplish what he desired, gave him, as assistants in remodelling the Frankish church music, the two most skilful singers in his own church, Theodore and Benedict; and presented him with a number of Roman chants (Antiphonarii).[3] By means of two musical schools, one established at Soissons, the other at Metz, the last of which was the most distinguished, the entire music of the French church was remodelled after the Roman form.[4]

Thus it is true, that under the reign of Charlemagne the use of the Latin language in the worship of the Frankish church, although not first introduced, was yet, by a closer connection with the church of Rome, more firmly established; but at the same time, the notion was expressly contradicted, that certain languages only could be employed for religious purposes. "Let no man believe, that God may be prayed to only in three languages; for in every language God may be adored, and man will be heard, if he prays aright."[5] Now while it is true, that if the missiona-

[1] Paul Warnefrid, or Paul the Deacon, says, in the gestis episcoporum Mettensium, respecting bishop Chrodegang: Ipsum clerum abundanter lege divina Romanaque imbutum cantilena morem atque ordinem Romanae ecclesiae servare praecepit, quod usque ad id tempus in Mettensi ecclesia *factum minime fuit.* Monumenta Germaniae historica ed. Pertz, T. II. f. 268.

[2] Thus, in the annales Einhardi, in an appendix, at the year 786, it is related, that on the Easter festival in Rome a contest arose between the Roman church-singers and the Franks brought along with him by the emperor, the former calling the latter rusticos et indoctos velut bruta animalia. The emperor decided the quarrel by saying that men ought to go back to the fountain-head, rather than to follow the brooks that flow from it. Revertimini vos ad fontem S. Gregorii, quia manifeste corrupistis cantilenam ecclesiasticam. The anecdotes told after his own style by the monk of St. Gall, are less deserving of credit.

[3] In the passage referred to it is said: Correcti sunt ergo antiphonarii Francorum, quos unusquisque pro arbitrio suo vitiaverat, addens vel minuens et omnes Franciae cantores didicerunt notam Romanam, quam nunc vocant notam Franciscam; excepto quod tremulas vel vinnulas (h. e. lenes et molles) sive collisibiles et secabiles voces in cantu non poterant perfecte exprimere. Franci, naturali voce barbarica frangentes in gutture voces potius quam exprimentes.

[4] From the French church proceeded the use of the organ, the first musical instrument employed in the church. A present of the Emperor Constantine Copronymus to King Pipin gave occasion to its use, Annal. Einhard, a. 757, hence the Greek name organum. But what is said in these Annals (l. c. at the year 786) seems to presuppose, that the art of playing on the organ, and of using it in divine service, was first brought to perfection in the church of Rome: Similiter erudierunt Romani cantores supradicti, see above, cantores Francorum in arte organandi. And if it seems to be inconsistent with this, that a century later, pope John VIII. obtained from the church at Freysingen, a good organ, and a skilful organist (Vid. Baluz. Miscellan. T. V.) we must suppose that afterwards the Frankish church excelled the Roman in this art. This may be explained as owing to the declension of the church of Rome in the next following times.

[5] In the capitulary issued at Frankfort on the Maine, of the year 796, c. 50: Ut nullus credat, quod nonnisi in tribus linguis Deus orandus sit, quia in omni lingua Deus adoratur, et homo exauditur, si justa petierit.

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ries of this time, following the example of Ulphilas, had given the people the Bible in their own language, and introduced it into the public worship, much would have been done to promote the worship of God in spirit and in truth; so on the other hand, the employment of a language which was not generally understood, actually served to promote a worship consisting in mechanical forms or in vague and undefined feelings, and to open an easier way for the entrance of superstition.

Special care was necessary not only to counteract the various superstitions of paganism, which still kept their hold on the rude multitude, — such as resorting to amulets for the cure of diseases, and for the prevention of unlucky accidents,[1] — but also to hinder the old superstition from reappearing under some Christian form, by attaching itself to Christian practices not rightly understood. In this way had arisen such abuses, for example, as the following. The Scriptures, instead of being searched for the purpose of finding the way of everlasting salvation, were turned over for an oracular response to some question of moment relating to the immediate temporal future. He who was about to engage in an important or hazardous undertaking, would open the Bible, and interpret the first passage that met his eye as an oracle addressed to him. Or the same use was made of such words of Scripture as one happened to hear read or sung as he entered a church.[2] A very common custom was, to place on the tomb of some saint, as that in the famous church of St. Martin of Tours, a volume of the gospels or some other book of Scripture, and after due preparation by prayer and fasting, to turn open a page, when the first passage that occurred was considered as a response given by the saint (sortes sanctorum).[3] But although this practice seemed to be hallowed by a certain air of Christianity, yet the voice of the ecclesiastical synods was opposed to it from the beginning. The first council of Orleans decreed,[4] in the year 511, that clergymen and monks, who consented to be employed as instruments in obtaining such responses,[5] as well as those who believed in them, should be excommunicated from the church; and this prohibition was repeated by the council of Auxerre, in 578.[6] But a branch of superstition so intimately connected with the whole religious mode of thinking, could not be extirpated by such single ordinances; the emperor Charles was obliged to issue a new law against it.[7]

[1] Against these, the council of Auxerre (Antissiodorense) of the year 578, c 5: Quaecunque homo facere vult, omnia in nomine Domini faciat. In a capitulary of the emperor Charles of the year 814, c. 10: Ut inquirantur sortilegi et aruspices et qui menses et tempora observant et qui omina observant, et ita phylacteria circa collum portant nescimus quibus verbis scriptis, and in the third capitulary of the year 789, c. 18: Ne chartas per perticas appendant propter grandinem.

[2] When Clovis was about to make war on the West Goths in Spain, he prayed God that he would reveal to him, as he entered the church of St. Martin, a fortunate issue of the war; and as at that moment the words of Ps. 18: 40, 41, were chanted, the king regarded this as an infallible oracle, by which he was assured of the victory. He in fact obtained the victory, which confirmed him in his belief. Gregor. Turon. Hist. l. II. c. 37.

[3] An example in Gregor. Turon. l. V. c. 14.

[4] Aurelianense I.

[5] C. 30, sortes, quas mentiuntur esse sanctorum.

[6] C. 4.

[7] In the third capitulary of the year 789, c. 4: Ut nullus in psalterio vel in evangelio vel in aliis rebus sortire praesumat.

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Another mode of appealing to the judgment of God, which found its way into the administration of justice, was still more intimately blended with the manners and opinions of these races. We find it a prevailing sentiment among nations of opposite quarters of the earth, — nations of German descent, as well as in China, Japan[1] India,[2] and among the ancient Greeks,[3] — that nature itself, in contested questions, was ready to appear as a witness in behalf of justice and of innocence. At the bottom of this, lay the belief in a moral government of the world, to which nature itself was subservient; and the more unskilled and unpractised the understanding in bringing the truth to light by investigation, the more inclined were men to summon to their aid an immediate judgment from heaven. Thus it came about particularly among these races of German origin, that the revelation of guilt or of innocence was expected in contested questions, from the issue of a combat, or from the effects of the elements of fire and water. In the form under which the theocratical principle, which Christianity introduced, was understood by these races, this *judgment of God* might easily find a point of attachment. Yet Avitus, bishop of Vienne, protested in the strongest terms against the practice, when introduced by king Gundobad into the Burgundian legislation. This monarch contended, that in war the judgment of God decided between nations, and gave the victory to the party which had the right. Avitus answered him: If sovereigns and their people respected the judgment of God, they would tremble first at the words in the 68th Psalm (v. 30), "He scattereth the people that delight in war;" and they would act according to what is written in Romans 12: 19, "Vengeance is mine; I will repay, saith the Lord." Had not divine justice power to decide, without resorting to javelins and swords? Whereas in war the party in the wrong had often been known to obtain the victory, by superior force or cunning.[4] But such isolated voices sounded feebly, in opposition to ancient customs and the prevailing spirit of the times. The judgments of God were received into the systems of jurisprudence; and even Charlemagne, who combatted superstitious opinions of a kindred nature, yielded in this case to the spirit of his age, and gave these judgments of God the sanction of his approbation.[5]

Men were inclined to seek justification in outward works, — in gifts to churches, especially those dedicated to the memory of saints, in adorning them with costly ornaments, in the distribution of alms; thus relaxing the strictness of Christianity in requiring an entire change of inward disposition. Still, instances were not wanting of a

[1] See Kämpfer Amoenitates exoticae.

[2] Compare Rosenmüller's altes und neues Morgenland, B. II. p. 226.

[3] See Sophocles Antigone.

[4] The words of Avitus, in the book of Agobard of Lyons, adversus legem Gundobadi.

[5] In a law of the year 809: ut omnes judicio Dei credant absque dubitatione. Baluz. Capitular. T. I. f. 466. The proof of innocence in case of a murder, in the capitulary of the year 803: ad novem vomeres ignitos judicio Dei examinandus accedat. l. c. f. 389. That a vassal of the bishop submitted to a judgment of God to prove his innocence against the charge of high treason. See in the capitulary of the year 794. l. c. f. 265.

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reaction of the Christian spirit against delusions, which served so directly to encourage security in sin. Thus the emperor Charles, in a capitulary of the year 811, addressed to the bishops and abbots,[1] says: "In seeking to have fine churches, we should not overlook the genuine ornament of the church, which consists in correctness of manners; for great pains bestowed on the erection of churches belongs, in a certain sense, to the times of the Old Testament; but the emendation of manners belongs peculiarly to the New Testament and to Christian discipline."[2] Theodulf of Orleans says, in his "Instructions to the Parochial Clergy," "It is our duty, indeed, to feed the hungry, to clothe the naked, to visit the sick and those in prison, and to show hospitality to strangers, Matt. 25; but of little avail towards securing everlasting life will all this be to him who gives himself up to gluttony, to pride, and other vices, and who neglects other good works. It is needful to remind the people, that true charity is seen only in this, that a man loves God more than himself, and his neighbor as himself — in this, that he does not conduct towards others as he would not wish that others should conduct towards himself; for they who make charity consist in merely bestowing food, drink, and other outward gifts, are in no slight error; for the apostle says, 'The kingdom of God consists not in meat and drink.' All this, too, is then only good when done out of love." The second council of Chalons, in 813, denounced[3] the false confidence placed in the opus operatum of pilgrimages to Rome and to the church of St. Martin at Tours. "There were ecclesiastics of a careless life, who imagined themselves cleansed from sin, and qualified to perform the duties of their station — laymen, who supposed they could sin, or had sinned, with impunity, because they undertook such pilgrimages; nobles, who, under the same pretext, practised extortion on their subjects; poor men, who did it to secure a better chance of begging; as for example, those that roamed the country, falsely pretending that they were about to set out on a pilgrimage, or who were so foolish as to believe that by the mere sight of a holy place they should be cleansed from their sins, not thinking of those words of St. Jerome, that it was no praise to have seen Jerusalem, but to have led a good life there." Those pilgrimages alone were here accounted commendable, which had originated in motives of sincere piety, and aimed at the emendation of the whole life.[4] Thus Alcuin wrote to a nun whose conscience troubled her, because she had been unable to perform the pilgrimage on which she had started: "This was no great harm; for God had chosen some better thing for her;

[1] Mansi. T. XIII. f. 1073.

[2] Quamvis bonum sit, ut ecclesiae pulchra sint aedificia, praeferendus tamen est aedificiis bonorum morum ornatus et culmen, quia, in quantum nobis videtur, structio basilicarum veteris legis quandam trahit consuetudinem, morum autem emendatio proprie ad novum testamentum et Christianam pertinet disciplinam.

[3] C. 45.

[4] Qui vero peccata sua sacerdotibus, in quorum sunt parochiis, confessi sunt, et ab his agendae poenitentiae consilium acceperunt, si orationibus insistendo, eleemosynas largiendo, vitam emendando, mores componendo apostolorum limina vel quorumlibet sanctorum invisere desiderant, horum est devotio modis omnibus collaudanda.

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she had now only to expend in supporting the poor, what she had appropriated to so long a journey."[1] Theodulf of Orleans wrote against this over-valuation of pilgrimages to Rome in one of his minor poems, where he says: It is only by a pious life a man can find his way to heaven, no matter whether he lives at Rome or elsewhere.[2]

The exaggerated veneration paid to saints and to the Virgin Mary, concerning the origin of which we spoke in the preceding period, presented, by the deifying of human beings in their individual capacity, the readiest channel for the admission of those elements of pagan ideas, which had not been vanquished by Christianity. Although the veneration of saints was determined and limited in the church system of doctrine, by its connection with the whole Christian consciousness of God and Christian worship of God,— for it was only the grace of God, exhibited in the saints as his instruments, which was to be adored, and only the mediating sympathy of the just made perfect which was to be sought after in them;— yet in common life, the saints who were peculiarly venerated became a sort of guardian deities, to whom men were wont to resort in all times of danger and sickness, and in all weighty undertakings; and the reference of the whole self-conscious man to God revealed in Christ, the sense of fellowship with God obtained by Christ for every believer, was thereby greatly hindered. Furthermore, as the feeling of the need of redemption, in its religious and moral significance, ceased to form the ground-tone of the inward life, the great object of prayer, with invocation of the saints, was rather to seek deliverance from physical evils, than salvation from sin and from moral wretchedness. The pagan element discovered itself in both ways; in the deification of human attributes, and in the sensuous direction given to the religious need. Bishop Gregory of Tours thanks God for the gift of such a physician as Martin, in expressions sometimes like those of a Christian who thanks God for a Saviour, sometimes like those of a pagan speaking of Esculapius.[3] He affirms that the bare touch of his tomb stopped hemorrhages, gave the cripple strength to stand erect, restored sight to the blind, and even banished away sorrow from the heart. In all bodily complaints of his own he repaired thither, and applied the suffering part to St. Martin's tomb, or to the hangings by which it was inclosed. To be sure he requires, as the necessary condition of obtaining relief, the true devotion of a penitent spirit;[4] and no doubt, the impression made on the feelings by the spot, with which

[1] See ep. 147.

[2] Non tantum isse juvat Romam, bene vivere quantum
Vel Romae vel ubi vita agitur hominis,
Non via credo pedum; sed moram ducit ad astra
Quis quid ubique gerit, spectat ab arce Deus.

[3] Gregory, in the beginning of the third book on the miracles of St. Martin: gratias agimus omnipotenti Deo, qui nobis talem medicum tribuere dignatus est, qui infirmitates, nostras purgaret, vulnera diluere ac salubria medicamenta conferret.

[4] Si ad ejus beatum tumulum humilietur animus et oratio sublimetur, si defluant lacrimae et compunctio vera succedat, si ab imo corde emittantur suspiria, invenit ploratus laetitiam, culpa veniam, dolor pectoris pervenit ad medelam

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were associated in the minds of the men of this age, by all they had been told from childhood, so many sacred recollections, might sometimes produce a salutary thrill of emotion; and hence, perhaps, it may be explained how criminals might here be brought to confess their guilt, or how the suddenly awakened anguish of remorse might reveal itself to them in menacing visions, or a powerful shock of the nervous system predispose them to sudden attacks of illness. Yet we also meet with cases, where St. Martin is invoked precisely after the manner of a pagan deity; as, when he is addressed in the following style: "If thou dost not perform what I request of thee, we will here burn for thee no more lamps, nor pay thee any honors at all;"[1] and the objects taken off from the places about the holy tomb, were applied to the same uses as any amulet of pagan superstition.[2] Such being the tendency of the popular mind,[3] it would now follow, as a very natural consequence, that deception in the use of pretended relics would be common,[4] or that those least entitled to the name would be honored, after their death, as saints. To put a stop to such abuses, the Emperor Charles, in a capitulary issued at Frankfort on the Maine,[5] in 794, directed, that no new saints should be worshipped, and no chapels erected to their memory on the public highways; but those only should be worshipped in the church, who had been raised to this honor by virtue of their sufferings or the worthiness of their lives.

The number of festivals, additional to the high festivals of the ancient church, had increased, up to the end of this period, in the Western church, (as we find from a list drawn up by a council at Mentz in 813[6]) to the following extent. First, there were *two festivals of Mary*. As Christmas was naturally followed by the celebration of many other festivals relating to the infancy of Christ, so there arose, in the Greek church, the festival of Christ's presentation in the temple, Luke 2: 25; referring to the recognition of the child Jesus as the Mes-

[1] See Gregor. Turon. de miraculis Martini, l. III. c. 8.

[2] Gregory of Tours having observed that one of his vineyards was ruined every year by hail-storms, fastened a piece of wax, taken from the vicinity of the tomb, on one of the tallest trees, and from that time the place was spared, de miraculis Martini l. I. c. 34. Oil was used as an amulet, to cure a disease among cattle, de miraculis Martini l. III. c. 18.

[3] A monk, who had already in his lifetime acquired the character of a miracle-worker, requested that he might not be buried in his cloister, foreseeing that after his death multitudes of the people would be continually flocking to his grave, in order to be cured of their diseases. Gregor. Turon. vitae patrum c. I. Vain-minded bishops now aspired to the honor of having it said, that miracles were wrought in their name. A characteristic anecdote on this point is related by the monk of St. Gall. One who had failed of gaining the favor of his bishop and feudal lord, finally resorted with success to the following expedient. Having entrapped a fox without injuring the animal, he brought it as a present to bishop Recho. As the bishop was wondering how he managed to catch the fox with so little harm to the creature, the man said: When the fox was in full chase, I cried out to it, In the name of my lord Recho, stop and keep still! So the fox stood immovable till I seized him. The bishop was well pleased to find that his sanctity had so plainly revealed itself, and the man had won his favor forever. Even if the story were not true, it may none the less be considered as a characteristic satire, taken from the life of the times. Monachi Sangallensis gesta Caroli M. l. I. c. 20.

[4] See Gregor. Turon. hist. l. IX. c. 6

[5] C. 40.

[6] C. 35.

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siah, by Simeon and Anna — hence called in the Greek church the ἑορτὴ ὑπαντῆς (τοῦ κυρίου). But in the Western church, the worship of Mary caused it to be changed into a festival of Mary; under which name this feast is noticed by the council of Mentz — as the festum purificationis Mariae. The habit of comparing Mary with Christ led men gradually to believe, that something of a miraculous nature must have been connected both with the beginning and the end of her earthly life; and the silence of the gospels on the subject of her death left here ample room for legendary tradition.[1] This led to the festival of the assumption (assumtio Mariae). Next followed, as *octave* to *the festival of Christmas*, *the festival of Christ's circumcision*, which was set over against the pagan celebration of New year's day. Furthermore, there was *the feast of St. Michael*, the occasion of which was as follows. The Apocalypse had set to work the imaginations of men to invent fictions about the archangel Michael; and many were the stories about visions in which he was described as having appeared. With the story of such an appearance was finally connected in the Roman church the feast of St. Michael, dedicatio sancti Michaëlis, as it was called by the council of Mentz, in reference to the dedication of a church in Rome, where an appearance of this sort was said to have occurred. The idea of this feast is, the communion of believers on earth with the higher world of perfected spirits — the memory of the church triumphant. Furthermore, there was the *simultaneous festival*, *which originated in the fifth century*, *in honor of the martyrdom of St. Peter and of St. Paul*, Dies natalis apostolorum Petri et Pauli. The *nativity of John the Baptist*, the only one which, besides the nativity of Christ, was celebrated in the church, and that on account of its connection with the latter. Next are particularly mentioned, the *natales* of Andrew, of Remigius (of Rheims) and of Martin; and for each several diocese the particular festivals of the saints, which were buried in them; and festivals commemorating the dedication of particular churches. In this age, arose also another festival, not named by this council, which afterwards obtained general validity. In the Greek church, was first introduced a feast in memory of all the saints which, inasmuch as the whole number of saints represents the collective sum of the effects of the Holy Spirit, was properly observed as an octave to the festival of Pentecost. But in the Western church, the founding of the same festival grew out of a particular occasion. Boniface IV, who became pope in the year 610, having at his own request been presented, by the Greek emperor Phocas, with the Pantheon in Rome, following out the pagan idea, converted this temple into a church dedicated to Mary and all the saints, which now suggested the idea of founding a festival of this import. Alcuin particularly designates this festival, as the feast of the glorification of human nature by Christ, in the consciousness that men were now endowed with so much power as instruments of the Holy

[1] The legends finally reduced to form in Gregory of Tours de gloria martyrum l. I. c. 4. When Mary was near the point of death, all the apostles assembled around her bed, and watched with her. Then appeared Christ with his angels, and committed her soul to the archangel Gabriel; but her body was taken away in a cloud.

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Spirit — the feast of spiritual communion with the perfected members of the church.[1]

We observed, in the preceding period, how the idea of the Lord's supper as a sacrifice, which had proceeded from a purely Christian element, became gradually transformed from the symbolical into a magical import. In this respect, Gregory the Great appears especially to represent the Christian spirit of the age, ever inclining more and more to the magical. The idea, that the holy supper should represent, in a lively form, to the believing heart, the redemptive sufferings of Christ, whereby mankind became reconciled to God — and the communion between Heaven and earth was restored, — this idea took, for him, the meaning: that whenever the priest presents this offering, heaven opens at his voice; the choirs of angels appear; the high and the low, the earthly and the heavenly unite; the visible and the invisible become one.[2] Who may not recognize here a heart deeply penetrated with the consciousness of what had been done by the redemption; though the truth at bottom, from being connected with the false view of the priesthood, and the false notion, grounded therein, of the sacrificial act of the priest, from being transferred to this isolated, outward act, received an erroneous application? Now Gregory, by looking at the sacrifice of the supper in this connection, could say: What must be the efficacy of this sacrifice, which continually imitates and repeats for us the redemptive passion of Christ?[3] But still Gregory did not apprehend this idea of a sacrifice in a barely outward manner, but in connection with the whole bent and tendency of the inward life, as did Augustin; for he reckoned, as belonging to the living appropriation of this sacrifice, the spiritual offering of one's self, the surrendry of the whole life to the Redeemer, in an absolute self-renunciation.[4] But although he could apprehend, after this manner, the doctrine of the holy supper in its true religious and moral significance, as denoting the living appropriation of fellowship with the Redeemer, yet as a consequence resulting from that magical element, he connected with this the idea of an objective, magical efficacy of that sacrifice, capable of operating both on the living and on the dead.[5]

As to its effect on departed souls, this was connected with that other notion, which also had come down from the previous period,[6] of a pur-

[1] Alcuin (ep. 76) to Arno, archbishop of Salzburg: quoniam si Elias unus ex illis in veteri testamento oratione sua dum voluit claudere coelum potuit praevaricatoribus et aperire conversis, quanto magis omnes sancti in novo testamento, ubi eis specialiter et patenter claves regni coelestis commissae sunt et claudere coelum possunt incredulis et aperire credentibus, si intima dilectione honorificantur, a fidelibus et honorificantur glorificatione eis condigna.

[2] See Gregor. Dial. l. IV. c. 58.

[3] Quae illam nobis mortem per mysterium reparat, pro absolutione nostra passionem unigeniti semper imitatur. Christus iterum in hoc mysterio sacrae oblationis immolatur.

[4] Sed necesse est, ut cum haec agimus nosmetipsos Deo in cordis contritione mactemus, quia qui passionis dominicae mysteria celebramus, debemus imitari quod agimus. Tunc ergo vere pro nobis hostia erit Deo, cum nos ipsos hostiam fecerimus.

[5] The presentation of this offering caused the chains to be removed from a distant captive, in whose behalf his faithful wife had offered it. In the same way, a seaman, tossed about by a storm in a small boat at sea was supported by bread from heaven, and saved from foundering.

[6] See Vol. II.

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gatorial fire destined for those Christians who, though on the whole in a state of saving faith (that is, of faith working by love), were still burdened with many clogs of sin, for which they must suffer, and from which they must be purified, and who had died in this state. Now the sacrifice offered for such, since the efficacy of Christ's passion was thereby appropriated to them, was to serve as a means of delivering them sooner from those purifying fires, and of enabling them to get to heaven. The stories which Gregory cites in his Dialogues in confirmation of these ideas, were peculiarly adapted, if we consider the prevailing bent of the age, to obtain currency for his views in the minds of men, whose religious feelings partook so strongly of the sensuous element, and who were governed more by an excited imagination, than by the prudent dictates of the understanding. While then, in connection with the predominant Old Testament mode of considering the priesthood, this view of the Lord's Supper became the prevailing one, the dangerous error now arose among the people, of laying the greatest stress on the sacrificial act of the priest in behalf of the living and the dead. The priest was solicited with valuable presents, to say masses for the repose of departed souls; while the laity were more seldom disposed to participate in the communion. The thing was carried to such an extreme, that priests presented the offering of the mass alone and by themselves, without any participation of the congregation (the so-called missae privatae). Efforts were made in the Carolingian period to remove this abuse also, which was so directly opposed to the design of the institution of the Lord's Supper; and many voices of the church alleged against it the ancient liturgical forms of celebrating the eucharist. Thus the council of Mentz, in 813, says, how can the priest pronounce the words: Sursum corda, or dominus vobiscum (Raise your hearts — The Lord be with you), where none are present?[1] Theodulf of Orleans brings up the same subject in his Instructions to the parochial clergy;[2] and objects to private masses, that our Lord said, Where two or three are assembled in my name, I will be in the midst of them. Hence too, it was found necessary to exhort the laity to a more frequent participation in the communion. This was done by the synod at Cloveshove, and by Theodulf of Orleans, who insists however upon the necessity of due preparation in order to participate worthily in the holy ordinance.[3]

The ancient rules of church penance were transmitted also to this period. Yet some regard was paid, in the administration of church discipline, to the new relations which had sprung up among a barbarous people. Thus to those, who *personally* confessed their sins to the priest,[4] it was granted as a favor, that they should not be subjected to

[1] C. 23.

[2] C. 7. It could not be celebrated sine salutatione sacerdotis, responsione nihilominus plebis.

[3] C. 44. admonendus est populus, ut nequaquam indifferenter accedat, nec ab hoc nimium abstineat, sed cum omni diligentia eligat tempus, quando aliquamdiu ab opere conjugali abstineat et vitiis se purget, virtutibus exornet, eleemosynis et orationibus insistat.

[4] The distinction of peccata occulta from peccatis publicis, which latter came to the knowledge of the bishops by other witnesses, and were publicly punished according to their decisions at public tribunals, (see what has been said above concerning the Sends).

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any *public* church penance, but only to penitential exercises which were to be performed in private. There was a deviation from the ancient laws of the church also in this, that to those who confessed their sins and declared their readiness to engage in the penitential exercises imposed on them, the priest might grant absolution at once, although they could not as yet be allowed to partake of the communion.[1] And since in general, there were now many things in the laws relating to church penance which could not be adapted to the new relations, or, amidst such relations, could not be applied without encountering a violent opposition; this circumstance led to changes which, oftentimes, were undertaken to be carried through in so arbitrary a manner, as threatened to enfeeble the severity of church discipline, so wholesome for those rude times, and to encourage security in crimes. Whenever a real interest was felt to improve the condition of the church, as was the case in the Carolingian period, men endeavored to banish the libelli poenitentiales (penitential certificates), which sprang into use in so abusive a manner; and to restore again the severity of the ecclesiastical laws.[2] The directions for administering church penance, drawn up by Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, by Egbert of York in the eighth century, and by Halitgar, bishop of Cambray, at the opening of the ninth century, were designed for the purpose of rendering the ancient laws of the church, relating to penance, applicable to the new relations and manners. Now these races of people were much accustomed to pecuniary mulcts, which had been adopted also into the systems of jurisprudence; so that by paying a certain specified fine, those who had been guilty of theft or of murder, could purchase exemption from the punishment due to those crimes; and by a *composition*, could come to an understanding with those whom they had injured, or with the relations of those whom they had murdered. The regulations of church penance were now accommodated to these customs,[3] and a *composition* of this sort was received among the num-

[1] Among the ordinances of Boniface,—where also it is spoken of as a compliance introduced by the circumstances of the times. Et quia varia necessitate praepedimur, canonum statuta de conciliandis poenitentibus pleniter observare, propterea omnino non dimittatur (it should not be wholly omitted, everything should be done that was possible). Curet unusquisque presbyter statim post acceptam confessionem poenitentium singulos data oratione reconciliari. Würdtwein, f. 142.

[2] So the second council of Chalons c. 38. repudiatis penitus libellis, quos poenitentiales vocant, quorum sunt certi errores, incerti auctores. Qui dum pro peccatis gravibus leves quosdam et inusitatos imponunt poenitentiae modos, consuunt pulvillos secundum propheticum sermonem Ezech. 13. sub omni cubito manus et faciunt cervicalia sub capite universae aetatis ad capiendas animas.

[3] Even a church-father of the fifth century, perhaps Maximus of Turin, felt constrained to speak earnestly against the abuse of indulgences practised by Arian ecclesiastics among the barbarian tribes, and which had sprung out of accommodation to these prevailing customs. See the passage already referred to in connection with another subject: Praepositi eorum, quos presbyteros vocant, dicuntur tale habere mandatum, ut si quis laicorum fassus fuerit crimen admissum, non dicat illi: age poenitentiam; defle peccata; sed dicat: pro hoc crimine da tantum mihi et indulgetur tibi. Vanus plane et insipiens presbyter, qui cum ille praedam accipiat, putat, quod peccatum Christus indulgeat. Nescit, quia salvator solet peccata donare et pro delicto quaerere pretiosas lacrimas, non pecunias numerosas. Denique Petrus, cum ter negando Dominum deliquisset, veniam non muneribus meruit, sed lacrimis impetravit. Apud hujusmodi praeceptores semper divites innocentes, semper

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ber of ecclesiastical punishments; or those who could not be induced to undertake certain kinds of church penance to which they should have been subjected according to the old laws of the church, were allowed to substitute for these a pecuniary fine proportionately estimated, and the money thus contributed was either to be given as alms to the poor, or paid for the ransom of captives, or for defraying the expenses of public worship.[1] This was the first, in itself considered, innocent, occasion of indulgences. They were accordingly nothing else at first, than a substitution for the church punishments hitherto customary, of others better suited to the manners of these races. But as it generally happened that some fatal misapprehension, whereby the barbarous people were made to feel secure in their sins, became easily attached not only to this, but to every kind of church penance, when the ecclesiastical tribunal was not duly distinguished from the divine, and the church absolution, from the divine forgiveness of sins, and when penitence was not contemplated in its connection with the whole economy of Christian salvation,[2] so it happened here, that the practice of granting absolution for money soon gave birth to the fatal error, that it was possible in this way to purchase exemption from the punishment of sin and to obtain its forgiveness. The false confidence in the merit of almsgiving was in fact nothing new. Against this delusion and the abuse resulting from it, many of the reforming synods of this period earnestly contended. Thus the synod at Cloveshove, so often mentioned before, declared in the year 747, can. 26, that alms were, by no means, to be given under the impression of being able thereby to indulge more freely in certain sins, of however trifling a nature. Nor should alms be given except out of property that had been lawfully acquired. When, on the contrary, alms were given out of property unlawfully obtained, the divine justice was thereby rather offended than appeased. Neither might any give alms to the hungry for the purpose of surrendering himself to gluttony and drunkenness; lest perchance, in making the divine justice venal, he might draw down on himself the heavier condemnation. They who so acted or judged, seemed to give their property to God; but beyond a doubt they much rather by their vices gave themselves to the devil.[3] This synod denounced also the dangerous, arbitrary, and novel custom, by which men imagined (an error occasioned no doubt by the above-mentioned introduction of *compositions* into the practice of the church), that by the giving of alms, they were released from all the other more difficult kinds of church penance —when, on the contrary, the ordinary church penance ought only to be strengthened thereby.[4] So too the second council of Chalons, A. D.

pauperes criminosi. s. Mabillon Museum Italicum T. I. P. II. p. 28.

[1] Halitgar. liber poenitentialis, that whoever could not submit to the prescribed fasts, should pay a sum of money, proportionate to his means, for the determinate period of fasting remitted to him. Sed unusquisque attendat, cui dare debet, sive pro redemptione captivorum, sive super sanctum altare, sive pro pauperibus Christianis erogandum.

[2] See respecting the germ of these errors, the section relating to church-life. Vol. I. p. 219, and Vol. II. p. 256.

[3] Hoc enim modo facientes sive aestimantes sua Deo dare videntur, seipsos diabolo per flagitia dare non dubitantur.

[4] Postremo sicuti nova adinventio nunc

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813,[1] declared against such as expected to purchase immunity from punishment by the giving of alms.[2] A false confidence of the same kind was placed also in the mechanical repetition of forms of prayer, of psalms, and even upon those so-called good works, which men procured others to do for them. The council of Cloveshove declared on the contrary,[3] that the singing of psalms was without meaning, except as an expression of the feelings of the heart.[4] This council was led to declare itself so strongly and explicitly against these erroneous tendencies, because they had exhibited themselves in the grossest forms. A rich man, who applied for absolution on account of a heavy crime, had stated in his letter, that he had distributed so many alms, and procured such a number of persons to sing psalms and to fast for him, that even if he lived a hundred years longer, he would have furnished a sufficient compensation. If the divine justice could be so propitiated, say the council on the other side, Christ would not have said, How hardly shall a rich man enter into the kingdom of heaven.

In the regulations touching church penance, which belong to the Carolingian period, allusion is constantly made to the fact, that the penance should be measured, not by the length of the time, but by the change of disposition.[5] Attention was directed also to the difference between the divine forgiveness of sin and priestly absolution. Alluding to the opinion of those who held that confession of sins before God was alone necessary, and maintaining on the contrary, that both should be united, this council says: We should confess our sins to God, who is the forgiver of all sins according to Psalm 31, and mutually pray for each other's salvation. By confession before God, we obtain the forgiveness of sins, by confession to the priest we learn from him the means, by which sin may be purged away. For God, the author and giver of salvation and of health, bestows these blessings, sometimes by the invisible agency of his power, sometimes by employing the agency of the physician.[6] It is here allowed, that the divine forgiveness of sins could be bestowed, even without the priestly absolution; but that the priest acted only as an instrument of divine grace, for the purpose of leading men to the appropriation of the divine pardon.[7]

plurimis periculosa consuetudo est, non eleemosyna porrecta ad minuendam vel ad mutandam satisfactionem per jejunium et reliqua expiationis opera, a sacerdote jure canonica indicta, sed magis ad augmentandam emendationem.

[1] C. 36.

[2] C. 36. Qui hoc perpetrarunt, videntur Deum mercede conducere, ut eis impune peccare liceat.

[3] C. 37.

[4] The intima intentio cordis.

[5] Thus the second council of Chalons 813 c. 34: neque enim pensanda est poenitentia quantitate temporis, sed ardore mentis et mortificatione corporis. Cor autem contritum et humiliatum Deus non spernit.

[5] Confessio itaque, quae Deo fit, purgat peccata, ea vero, quae sacerdoti fit, docet, qualiter ipsa purgentur peccata. Deus namque salutis et sanitatis auctor et largitor plerumque hanc praebet suae potentiae invisibili administratione, plerumque medicorum operatione.

[7] Also Theodulf of Orleans supposes the forgiveness of sins conditioned solely on the inward confession of sins before God, quia quanto nos memores sumus peccatorum nostrorum, tanto horum Dominus obliviscitur. But he considers it to be the end of auricular confession, that penitents by following the counsel of the priest, and applying the remedies by him prescribed, and through the mediation of his prayers, might be cleansed from the stain of sin, quia accepto a sacerdotibus salutari consilio, saluberrimis poenitentiae observatio-

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So too Halitgar says:[1] "When a man has committed any sin, whereby he is excluded from the body of Christ, a great deal more certainly depends on contrition of heart than on the measure of time; but as no one can look into the heart of another, particular times have been rightly fixed upon by the heads of the church, in order that satisfaction may also be given to the church, in which the sins are forgiven.[2]" It is evident, how much better it would have been for the religious and moral condition of the communities, if there had not been so great a lack of priests capable of administering the system of church penance according to the principles here expressed.

Besides the changes in the system of penance, which proceeded from too lax a tendency, we have still to mention the new and severer kinds of penance, which, although more rarely, were imposed in extraordinary cases, such as murder, — where the delinquent was compelled to go about with a heavy weight of iron chains and rings, made fast to different members of his body; or, thus loaded, to make a pilgrimage to some distant holy place, as the tomb of St. Peter, where, according to the nature of his case, he was to obtain absolution.[3] Against the vagrancy of such peninents, more resembling the spirit of oriental self-castigation, than the moral culture of a Christian, and imitated no doubt by enthusiasts and deceivers in other cases besides those described, the emperor Charles finally passed, in the year 789, a special law.[4]

nibus sive mutuis orationibus, peccatorum maculas diluimus, c. 30. To be sure, according to the church theory of satisfaction, it might be considered necessary, after the forgiveness of sin had been obtained, to obtain also exemption from its punishment by means of church penances voluntarily undertaken, so as to avoid the necessity of being subjected to the fires of purgatory.

[1] In his preface de poenitentiae utilitate.

[2] Ut satisfiat etiam ecclesiae, in qua remittantur peccata.

[3] The description of such an one: Pauperculus quidam presbyter propter homicidii centum circulis ferreis tam in collo quam in utroque constrictus brachio, quam gravibus quotidie suppliciis afficeretur, per sulcos, quos ferrum carnibus ejus inflixerat, videntibus fidem fecit. Vita S. Galli, l. II. c. 34.

[4] Nec isti nudi cum ferro (sinantur vagari), qui dicunt se data sibi poenitentia ire vagantes. Melius videtur, ut, si aliquid inconsuetum et capitale crimen commiserint, in loco permaneant laborantes et servientes et poenitentiam agentes secundum quod sibi canonice impositum sit. Baluz. capitular. I. 239.

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SECTION FOURTH.

HISTORY OF CHRISTIANITY, APPREHENDED AND DEVELOPED AS A SYSTEM OF DOCTRINES.

I. In the Latin Church.

Gregory the Great, with whom we begin this period, concludes the series of classical church-teachers of the West. By him, that form of the development of church doctrine which had obtained in the Christianized Roman world, was carried over into the succeeding centu ries; and he represents the very important middle point between the Christian creation under the Roman form of culture, now in the process of decline, and the new Christian creation, destined to spring forth out of the stock of the German races. Born in Rome, between the years 540 and 550, of a noble, patrician family, he was educated in a style corresponding to his rank, and possessed a good knowledge of Roman literature. Of the Greek language he always remained ignorant. He filled for some time the office of praetor at Rome, till, in his fortieth year, he retired from active duties and embraced the monastic life. He founded six monasteries; and in one of these, which he had established in the vicinity of Rome, he entered as a monk himself, and was afterwards made its abbot. The Roman bishop, Pelagius II, drew him into the active service of the church, making him one of the seven deacons in the church of Rome. Availing himself of that knowledge of the world and skill in the management of affairs, which Gregory had acquired in his former civil capacity, the pope sent him as his agent[1] to Constantinople. On the death of Pelagius, in 589, Gregory was chosen his successor. Although he considered it his duty, to devote himself with vigilant and unsparing activity to the manifold external business then connected with his official station,[2] — a course which appeared to him in the light of a necessary condescension of love to the necessities of the weak, after the example of Christ, who for the salvation of men took upon him the form of a servant,[3] — yet

[1] Ἀποκρισιάριος, responsalis.

[2] He himself describes the vast amount of foreign business which fell upon his hands, l. I in Ezechiel, H. XI. § 6. Cogor namque modo ecclesiarum, modo monasteriorum causas discutere, saepe singulorum vitas actusque pensare, modo quaedam civium negotia sustinere, modo de irruentibus Barbarorum gladiis gemere et commisso gregi insidiantes lupos timere, modo rerum curam sumere, ne desint subsidio eis ipsis, quibus disciplinae regula tenetur.

[3] Nec taedere animum debet, si sensus ejus contemplationi spiritalium semper in-

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the immediate, spiritual duties of his vocation ever seemed to him the most weighty and interesting. And, in fact, he devoted the energies of his mind even to the improvement of the ecclesiastical music,[1] and of the liturgical element in worship generally. He exerted a great influence on the peculiar shaping given to the whole mode of worship in the following centuries. Yet he by no means neglected the appropriate duties of his office as a preacher; but rather accounted them among the most essential duties of the priestly calling.[2] He held it to be an essential duty of his priestly vocation to admonish and exhort the collective body of the flock in public discourses, and the individual members of the flock by private conversations.[3] He complained that the bishops of his time neglected, by attending so much to outward affairs, the business of preaching, which belonged to their vocation, and to their own reproach, called themselves bishops without actually performing the duties indicated by this name;[4] and he acknowledged that in so doing he accused himself, although he was compelled by the exigencies of the times and in spite of his wishes, to become immersed in these external things.[5] Difficult as it often was for him to compose, by reason of his frequent illness, and the multitude of affairs of all kinds which claimed and distracted his thoughts, as he himself complains,[6] yet he was a diligent preacher, and the majority of his writings grew out of sermons which he had delivered. He exerted himself also to stimulate the diligence of others in sermonizing; while it was ever on his lips, that in order to a successful discharge of the preacher's office, life and doctrine must go together. "Words — he said — that came from a cold heart, could never light up in hearers the fervor of heavenly desires; for that which burned not itself could kindle nothing else."[7] In order to lead the clergy of his times to a sense of the dignity of their office, he drew up for their use a "Pastoral Rule," (regula pastoralis), in which a great deal was brought together that lies scattered in different parts of his writings. In this work, he endeavored to show in what temper of mind and in what way

tentus, aliquando dispensandis rebus minimis quasi minoratus inflectitur, quando illud verbum, per quod constant omnia creata, ut prodesset hominibus, assumta humanitate voluit paulo minus ab angelis minorari, l. 19. in Job. § 45.

[1] As late as the beginning of the ninth century, the chair was still pointed out on which Gregory was wont to sit when he led the church psalmody of the boys received into the schola cantorum. Joh. Diaconi vita, l. II. c. 1.

[2] Praeconis officium suscipit, quisquis ad sacerdotiam accedit. Sacerdos vero si praedicationis est nescius, quam clamoris vocem daturus est praeco mutus? l. I. ep. 25.

[3] Et qui una eademque exhortationis voce non sufficit simul cunctos admonere, debet singulos, in quantum valet, instruere, privatis locutionibus aedificare, exhortatione simplici fructum in filiorum suorum cordibus quaerere. L. I. Hom. XVII. in Evangelia, § 9.

[4] Ad exteriora negotia delapsi sumus, ministerium praedicationis relinquimus et ad poenam nostram, ut video, episcopi vocamur, l. c. § 14.

[5] Me quoque pariter accuso, quamvis Barbarici temporis necessitate compulsus valde in his jaceo invitus.

[6] Quum itaque ad tot et tanta cogitanda scissa ac dilaniata mens ducitur, quando ad semetipsam redeat, ut totam se in praedicatione colligat? In Ezechiel. l. I. H. XI. § 6.

[7] Ad supernum desiderium inflammare auditores suos nequeunt verba, quae frigido corde proferuntur, neque enim res, quae in se ipsa non arserit, aliud accendit. Moralia, L. l. VIII. in Cap. VIII. Job. § 72. So also l. I. in Ezechiel. H. XI. § 7. The preacher, he said, could inspire in the hearts of his hearers a love of their heavenly home

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the spiritual shepherd should come to his office; how he should live in it; how he should vary his mode of address according to different circumstances, and according to the different character of his hearers, and how he should guard against self-exaltation in perceiving the happy results of his official labors. This work had an important influence during the next succeeding centuries, in exciting a better spirit among the clergy, and in leading to efforts for improving the condition of the church. The reforming synods under Charlemagne made it their text-book in devising measures for the improvement of the spiritual order.[1] Very soon after its appearance, the question was proposed to the author by a bishop, What was to be done, in case that such men as, in this work, were required to fill the offices of the church, could nowhere be found:[2] whether perhaps it was not enough to know Jesus Christ and him crucified (scire Jesum Christum et hunc crucifixum), — where it is quite evident, that he who proposed the question, was hardly aware, how much is implied in *really knowing and understanding* this, according to the sense of St. Paul. With regard to the peculiar theological character, the doctrinal and ethical bent of Gregory, upon all this, the study of Augustin, for whom he had a peculiar veneration,[3] had exercised the greatest influence. By him, the Augustinian doctrines in their milder form, and directed rather to the interests of practical Christianity than to those of speculation, were handed over to the succeeding centuries. The practical interest was with him everywhere predominant; it led him to adopt the Augustinian scheme of doctrine only on the side on which it seemed to him peculiarly necessary to receive it in order to the cultivation of a Christian habit of feeling, so as to beget true humility and self-renunciation, without leading to the investigation of speculative questions; as, in fact, he was wont to trace heretical tendencies to the circumstance that men had not searched the Scriptures to find that for which they were given to mankind, and which belonged to the discipline necessary for salvation, but prying after what was hidden and incomprehensible, neglected to apply what was revealed to immediate profit.[4] Men boldly speculated on the essence of the divine nature, while they remained ignorant of their own wretched selves.[5]

only quum lingua ejus ex vita arserit. Nam lucerna, quae in semetipsa non ardet, eam rem, cui supponitur, non accendit. To this he applies the words of John the Baptist (John 5: 35): Lucerna ardens et lucens, ardens videlicet per coeleste desiderium, lucens per verbum.

[1] See the preface to the council of Mentz, 813, the second council of Rheims in the same year; the third council of Tours directs in its third canon, that no bishop should, if it could possibly be avoided, be ignorant of the canons of the councils, and of the liber pastoralis, in quibus se debet unusquisque quasi in quodam speculo assiduе considerare.

[2] See Lib. II. ep. 54.

[3] A praefect of Africa having solicited a copy of his Moralia for his own instruction, Gregory wrote to him, l. 10. ep. 38. Sed si delicioso cupitis pabulo saginari, beati Augustini patriotae vestri opuscula legite et ad comparationem siliginis illius nostrum furfurem non quaeratis.

[4] Omnes haeretici, dum in sacro eloquio plus secreta Dei student perscrutari, quam capiunt, fame sua steriles fint. Dum ad hoc tendunt, quod comprehendere nequeunt, ea cognoscere negligunt, ex quibus erudiri potuerunt.

[5] Plerumque audacter de natura divinitatis tractant, cum semetipsos miseri nesciant. L. 20 in cap. 30 Job. § 18.

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Knowledge in God, Gregory contemplated as a causative, creative and eternal knowledge; whereby the doctrine that predestination is conditioned on a foreknowledge of given events, seems by him to be excluded. It is only by a necessary anthropopathism, that it is possible to speak of a divine foreknowledge; since the relations of time do not admit of being applied to God, and we can attribute to him properly only an eternal knowledge.[1] Yet in the application of this maxim, he was prevented, by his practical spirit, from extending it to such length, as to make the causality of evil revert back on God; though he nowhere enters into any close investigation of this relation. Where it is said that God creates good and evil, Isaiah 45: 7, the latter he says refers only to the evil which God ordains for good. The creative agency of God cannot be referred[2] to evil, as being in itself a negative thing.[3] Thus, too, he explains the expression, God hardens mens' hearts, as meaning simply that he does not, when they have involved themselves in guilt, bestow on them the grace whereby their hearts might be softened.[4] By reason of the prevailing notion respecting infant baptism, concerning the origin of which we have spoken already in the preceding period, the question must have occurred to him, why should one child, if it dies after receiving baptism be saved, and another if it dies before receiving the same, be lost? which he answers, rejecting all other modes of explanation, simply by referring to the incomprehensibleness of the divine judgments, which men ought humbly to adore.[5] In another place,[6] where he dwells in like manner, on the incomprehensible character of God's providential dealings, he makes the following practical application of this truth: "Let man, then, come to the consciousness of his ignorance, that he may fear.[7] Let him fear, that he may humble himself; let him humble himself, that he may place no confidence in himself. Let him place no confidence in himself, that he may learn to seek help of his Creator, and when he has come to know, that in self-confidence nothing is to be found but death, he may by appropriating the help of his Creator, attain to life."[8] With Gregory, the important point touching the relation of free-will to grace is this — that every motion to good, proceeds from divine grace; but that the free-will coöperates, while grace works within it in a manner conformed to its nature, following the call of grace with free self-determination; all which too may be very easily reconciled with Augustin's doctrine of the gratia indeclinabilis; — and in this sense alone

[1] Scimus, quia Deo futurum nihil est, ante cujus oculos praeterita nulla sunt, praesentia non transeunt, futura non veniunt, quia omne quod nobis fuit et erit, in ejus conspectu praesto est. et omne quod praesens est, scire potest potius quam praescire, quia quae nobis futura sunt videt, quae tamen ipsi semper praesto sunt, praescius dicitur, quamvis nequaquam futurum praevideat, quod praesens videt. nam et quaeque sunt, non in aeternitate ejus ideo videntur, quia sunt, sed ideo sunt, quia videntur. L. 20 in cap. 30 Job. § 63.

[2] Quae nulla sua natura subsistunt.

[3] L. III. in cap. 2 Job. § 15.

[4] See L. 31 in cap. 39 Job. § 26, and in Ezechiel. L. I. H. XI. § 25.

[5] Quanto obscuritate nequeunt conspici, tanto debent humilitate venerari l. 27 in cap. 36. Job. § 7.

[6] See 29 in cap. 38 Job. § 77.

[7] In reference to the question respecting himself, whether he belonged to the number of the elect, a point about which no person could be certain.

[8] Et qui in se fidens mortuus est, auctoris sui adjutorium appetens vivat.

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does he ascribe any merit to free-will.[1] By this connection of ideas, Gregory can reconcile with the assertion of a free-will, the assertion also of a grace attracting and transforming man's corrupt will with a power which is essentially irresistible. "O what a consummate artist is that Spirit, says he. Without the tardy process of learning, the man is impelled onward to all that this Spirit wills. No sooner does he touch the soul than he teaches, and his touch is itself a teaching; for at one and the same time he enlightens and converts the human heart. It suddenly turns stranger to what it was, and becomes what it was not."[2] He considers goodness the work of God, and man's work, at the same time; in as much as it is to be traced to the causality of divine grace, while the free-will, as an instrument of the agency of grace, freely surrenders itself, that is, without being conscious of any constraining necessity. Hence we can speak of a reward — although indeed without this determinate agency of grace, which God bestows on none but the elect, this act of the free-will would not have been exerted. And had Gregory been disposed to follow this train of ideas still further, he must have come to the result, that this was a necessary agency of grace, though exerted in the form of the subject's own self-determination.[3] Now as Gregory made the salvation of the individual depend on the question, whether or no he belonged to the number of the elect, and yet according to his opinion no man could penetrate into this hidden counsel of the divine mind without a special revelation, it followed, that no man, in the present life, can have any certainty with regard to his salvation; and this uncertainty appeared to him a most salutary thing for man, serving to keep him ever humble, and in a watchful care over himself. On one occasion, a lady in waiting, of the emperor's household (cubicularia) at Constantinople, by name Gregoria, wrote to him, that she could have no peace, till Gregory could assure her, it was revealed to him from God, that her sins were forgiven. To this he replied,[4] that she had required of him a thing which was at once difficult and unprofitable — difficult, because he was unworthy of such a revelation; unprofitable because it was not till the last day of her life, when no more time was left to weep over her sins, she ought have the assurance that they were forgiven. Till then, distrustful of herself, trembling for herself, she should always fear on account of her sins, and seek to

[1] Quia praeveniente divina gratia in operatione bona, nostrum liberum arbitrium sequitur, nosmetipsos liberare dicimur, qui liberanti nos Domino consentimus. He explains the phraseology of St. Paul 1 Cor. 15: 10 as follows: Quia enim praevenientem Dei gratiam per liberum arbitrium fuerat subsequutus, apte subjungit: mecum, ut et divino muneri non esset ingratus, et tamen a merito liberi arbitrii non remaneret extraneus. L. 24 in cap. 33 Job. § 24.

[2] Gregor. l. II. Hom. in Evangel. 30, § 8. O qualis est artifex iste spiritus! Nulla ad discendum mora agitur in omne quod voluerit. Mox ut tetigerit mentem docet solumque tetigisse docuisse est, nam humanum animum subito ut illustrat immutat, abnegat hoc repente quod erat, exhibet repente quod non erat.

[3] Bonum, quod agimus, et Dei est et nostrum, Dei per praevenientem gratiam, nostrum per obsequentem liberam voluntatem. Quia non immerito gratias agimus, scimus, quod ejus munere praevenimur, et rursum, quia non immerito retributionem quaerimus, scimus, quod obsequente libero arbitrio bona elegimus, quae ageremus. L 33 in cap. 41 Job. § 40.

[4] L. VII. ep. 25.

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cleanse herself from them by daily tears. This was the state of mind which Paul found himself to be in, 1 Cor. 9: 27, notwithstanding he could boast of such high revelations. This mode of viewing the matter, which in the following centuries continued to be entertained in the Western church, gave occasion, it is true, to a tormenting species of asceticism, to dark and melancholy views of life, and to various kinds of holiness by works or superstitious observances, which were started into existence by the oppressive feeling of this uncertainty; but Gregory still directed the anxious soul to trust in the objective promise of divine grace in Christ. Thus, for instance, he concludes one of his sermons:[1] "relying on the compassion of our Creator, mindful of his justice, be concerned for your sins; recollecting his grace, despair not; the God-man gives man trust in God."

If we remark in the doctrinal system of Augustin two elements; the purely Christian, which proceeded from a profound apprehension of the ideas of "*grace*" and of "*justification*" as essentially spiritual ideas; and the sensual Catholic, which he had received from the church tradition, and which had become mixed up with the former in his inward life, so too we meet with the same elements in Gregory; and they were transmitted by him down to the succeeding centuries. From the latter, proceeded the development of Catholicism in the middle ages, in its sensual Jewish form; from the former, the seeds of a vital and inward Christianity, which is to be found also under the envelope of Catholicism, and which, sometimes, even excited and produced a reaction against the sensual Catholic principle. The antagonism between these two elements discovered itself in him in various ways.

Though, on the one hand, he was easily inclined to believe the stories about miracles wrought in his own time, and especially to ascribe such miraculous operations to the sacraments; and though, by collections of this sort in his Dialogues,[2] he nourished the passion for miracles in the times which succeeded him; yet on the other, his intuitive perception coming from the depths of the Christian consciousness of the essence of Christianity, and of the new creation grounded in the redemption, together with the inward miracle of the communication of a divine life,[3] led him to appreciate more correctly the external miracle, as an isolated and temporal thing, compared to the one and universal fact which was thereby to be introduced and marked, and to form a counter-influence to the fleshly passion for miracles. He considered external miracles as having been once necessary, in order to pave the way for the introduction among men of the new creation, to elevate the mind from the visible to the invisible, from the mir-

[1] In Evangelia l. II. H. 34.

[2] In which, by the way, several remarkable phenomena are related, belonging to the higher province of psychology, where the energy of a divine life, breaking through mere earthly limits, may perhaps have been revealed.

[3] Thus, concerning the relation of the diffusion of the Holy Ghost to the incarnation of the Son of God, he says: In illa Deus in se permanens suscepit hominem, in ista vero homines venientem desuper susceperunt Deum. in illa Deus naturaliter factus est homo, in ista homines facti sunt per adoptionem Dii. In Evangelia lib. II. Hom. 30. § 9.

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acle without, to the far greater miracle within. They who had something new to announce, must procure credence for themselves by these new facts, accompanying the new annunciation.[1] Wherever that highest of all miracles and end of them all, the divine life, has once entered humanity, it no longer needs the external sign. Paul on an island full of unbelievers, healed the sick by his prayers; but to his sick companion Timothy, he only recommended the natural remedies, 1 Tim. 5: 23, for the former needed first to be made susceptible for the inward power of the divine life; but the sick friend who was already sound and healthy within,[2] had no need of the outward miracle.[3] The true miracle ever continues to operate in the church; since the church daily accomplishes, after a spiritual manner, such works as the apostles accomplished after a sensible manner — a thought which he finely carries out with reference to the gift of tongues, the gift of healing, etc., spiritually interpreted — and he then goes on to say, — these wonders are the greater, because they are of a spiritual kind — the greater, because by their means not the bodies, but the souls of men are revived. Such wonders — he adds in the sermon from which these remarks are taken[4] — you may work, if you will, by the power of God. Those physical miracles are sometimes *evidences* of holiness, but they do not constitute it; but these spiritual miracles which are wrought in the soul, are not *evidence* of the virtue of the life, but they *constitute* that virtue. The former, even the wicked may have, Matth. 7: 22; the latter, none but the good enjoy. Labor not then after miracles which one may have in common with the reprobate, but after the miracles of love and piety, which are the more sure, in proportion, as they are the more hidden. After citing the words of Christ above referred to, Gregory says in another place:[5] "It is plain from this, that humility, love should be honored in men, not the power of working of miracles. The proof of holiness is not the working of miracles, but the loving all as we do ourselves."[6] The gift of brotherly love, he means, is the only token of discipleship, as described by Christ himself. He finely unfolds the idea of a *moral* power proceeding from faith, which would get the victory even over the power of Anti-Christ, accompanied though it might be, with seeming miracles.[7]

Though Gregory spoke highly of the operations of divine grace in the miraculous cures effected at the tombs of saints, yet he denounced that direction of prayer at these holy places which sought help chiefly in matters relating to the body. "Behold — says he in a sermon

[1] Ut nova fecerent, qui nova praedicarent. Ad hoc quippe visibilia miracula coruscant, ut corda videntium ad fidem invisibilium pertrahant, ut per hoc, quod mirum foris agitur, hoc quod intus est, longe mirabilius esse sentiatur. In Evang. l. I. H. IV. § 3.

[2] Qui salubriter intus vivebat.

[3] Compare also l. 27 in cap. 37 Job. § 36. ed. Benedictin. T. I. f. 869.

[4] L. II. in Evangel. H. 29. § 3.

[5] L. 20 in cap. 20 Job. cap. VII. § 17.

[6] He adds: De Deo vera, de proximo vero meliora quam de semetipso sentire.

[7] Ante enim a fidelibus miraculorum divitiae subtrahuntur et tunc contra eos antiquus ille hostis per aperta prodigia ostenditur, ut quo ipse per signa extollitur, eo a fidelibus sine signis robustius laudabiliusque vincatur. Quorum nimirum virtus omnibus signis fit potior, quum omne, quod ab illo terribiliter fieri conspicit, per internae constantiae calcem premit. L. 34. in Job. c. III. § 7.

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preached at the festival of a martyr[1] — how many have come up to the feast, bowing the knee, beating your hearts, uttering words of prayer and confession of sins, moistening your cheeks with tears. But ponder, I beseech you, the character of your prayers, consider whether you pray in the name of Jesus, that is, whether you pray for the joys of eternal bliss; for you seek not Jesus in the dwelling of Jesus, if, in the temple of eternity, you pray in an impatient manner for temporal things. Behold, one seeks in his prayer a wife; another longs for an estate; another for clothing; another for the means of subsistence. And very true, even for these things, if they be lacking, men must ask the Almighty God. But in so doing, we should ever be mindful of that which we have learned from the precept of our Saviour, 'Seek first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you.' It is no error, then, to pray to Christ even for these things, if we do not seek them *too earnestly*. But he who seeks by prayer the death of an enemy, he who persecutes with prayer one whom he cannot persecute with the sword, incurs the guilt of a murderer; — he fights, while he prays, against the will of his Creator; — his very prayer is sin."

From what has now been said concerning the doctrinal principles of Gregory, we may infer the intimate connection in which, in his case as in that of Augustin, the ethical element would stand to the doctrinal, and the peculiar direction his mind would take in the discussion of ethical[2] questions. It was the peculiar direction adopted and carried out by Augustin, in opposition to that Pelagianism which severed Christian morality from its intimate connection with the doctrines of faith. It was the tendency which seeks to refer everything back to the central point of the Christian life, the divine principle of a life growing out of faith, the essential temper of love; — and the opposition, thence resulting, to the isolated and outward mode of estimating morality by the standard of quantity. "It is from the root of holiness within — says Gregory — from which the single branches of holy conduct must proceed, if that conduct is expected to pass as an acceptable offering, an oblatio verae rectitudinis, before God;[3] and the essence of this inward holiness consists in love, which spontaneously gives birth to all that is good. As many branches spring from a single tree and a single root, so many virtues spring from love, which is one. The branch of good works is without verdure, except it abide in connection with the root of love. Hence the precepts of our Lord are many, while yet there is but one; — many, as it respects the manifoldness of the works, — one, in the root, which is love."[4] He therefore recognizes the necessary inward connection subsisting between all the virtues, particularly of the so-called cardinal virtues; since one cannot subsist in absolute separation from the rest.[5] He

[1] In Evangelia l. II. Hom. 27.

[2] A subject on which he had particularly employed his thoughts, especially in his Moralia, in his practical allegorizing interpretation of Job, which grew out of homilies on this book.

[3] Lib. XIX. in Job. c. 23. § 38.

[4] Lib. II. in Evangelia H. 27. § 1.

[5] Una virtus sine aliis aut omnino nulla est aut imperfecta. lib. XXII. Moral. c. 1. L. II. in Ezechiel H. 10. § 18.

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enters into the following exposition, among others, to illustrate the necessary connection subsisting between the cardinal virtues. *Prudence*, which has respect to the knowledge of what is to be done, can avail nothing without *fortitude*, which supplies the power for the actual performance of that which is known to be right. Such knowledge would be a punishment rather than a virtue. He, then, who by *prudence* knows what he has to do, and by *fortitude* actually does it, is just indeed; but the zeal of justice ceases to be a right zeal, unless it is accompanied with *moderation*.[1] On this principle, he combatted several individual forms of that fundamental error in morals, of estimating works of piety in a separate and outward manner, *opera operata;* as, for instance, very frequently in the case of almsgiving, in the case of the monastic life, which, in other respects, was so highly valued by him. "It is often observed — says he — that individuals, under the urgent feeling of a momentary contrition, become monks; — but in changing the outward garb, they are not found to be changed also in inward disposition.[2] Such persons might be addressed in the language of Paul to those who observed the externals of the law: That with Christ, neither circumcision availeth anything nor uncircumcision, but a new creature. To despise the present world; to cease loving the transient and perishable; to be thoroughly humble before God and towards our neighbors; to bear with patience the insults to which we may be exposed, and with patience to banish every feeling of revenge from the heart; not to covet the goods of others, and to communicate of our substance to the needy; to love our friends in God, and for the sake of God to love even our enemies; to be grieved when our neighbors suffer, and not to rejoice over the death of an enemy — this is the new creation.[3] So he often speaks slightingly of those ascetic austerities, which had not grown out of true love and self-renunciation, and which served as a foothold for pride and vanity;[4] and of that mock humility which, beneath an appearance of outward self-debasement, concealed the greater pride, making use of the one to nourish the other;[5] and of the humility that consisted in the opus operatum of confessing one's sinfulness or particular sins, and betraying, at the same time, the insincerity of this confession, by the manner in which reproofs were received from another.[6] Moreover, Gregory transmitted the funda-

[1] In Ezekiel lib. I. Hom. III. § 8.

[2] Ad vocem praedicationis quasi ex conversione compunctos habitum, non animum mutasse, ita ut religiosam vestem sumerent, sed ante acta vitia non calcarent et de solo exterius habitu, quem sumserunt sanctitatis fiduciam habere.

[3] In Ezechiel l. I. H. 10. § 9.

[4] See, e. g. l. II. in Evangelia hom. 32. Fortasse laboriosum non est homini relinquere sua, sed valde laboriosum est, relinquere semetipsum.

[5] Sunt nonnulli, qui viles videri ab hominibus appetunt atque omne, quod sunt, dejectos se exhibendo contemnunt; sed tamen apud se introrsus quasi ex ipso merito ostensae vilitatis intumescunt et tanto magis in corde elati sunt, quanto amplius in specie elationem premunt. l. XXVII. Moral. § 78.

[6] Saepe contingit, ut passim se homines iniquos esse fateantur; sed quum peccata sua veraciter aliis arguentibus audiunt, defendunt se summopere, atque innocentes videri conantur. Iste de confessione peccati ornari voluit, non humiliari, per accusationem suam humilis appetiit videri, non esse. l. XXIV. Moral. § 22.

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mental principle of the Augustinian ethics,[1] by expounding, in the same strict sense, the obligation to truthfulness, and by utterly condemning every species of falsehood.[2]

Gregory by no means inculcated a blind faith, excluding all rational investigation; but on this point also followed the principle of Augustin on the relation of reason to faith, though by virtue of his peculiar bent of mind he ventured less deeply into doctrinal speculations. "The church — says he — requires faith only on rational grounds of conviction; and even when she presents matters which could not be comprehended by reason, she rationally advises that human reason should not be too earnest to fathom what is incomprehensible."[3] The influence of Gregory in hastening the decline of the study of ancient literature, has often been greatly exaggerated. In this respect, he simply followed out the views which had become predominant in the *Western church.* We remarked on a former page, how much he insisted on study as a duty of the clergy; but we must allow, he required such studies of them as were suited to their calling — spiritual studies;[4] and he severely reproved a certain bishop, Desiderius of Vienne,[5] because, while a bishop, he gave instruction in grammar, and explained the ancient poets.[6] We ought to be exactly informed respecting the motives which influenced the bishop, and of the manner in which he contrived to unite these labors with the duties of his vocation, which, no doubt, under the existing circumstances in France, demanded great attention, to be able to judge how far Gregory was right in passing on him so severe a censure. At all events, we cannot possibly infer, from the fact that he considered this employment unbeseeming a bishop, that he considered the study of ancient literature generally an unsuitable employment for a Christian. But when he says, that it is unbecoming even in a pious layman, to recite poems that have anything to do with the pagan doctrine of the gods, it would seem to follow from this, that he considered it unbecoming a pious Christian to teach the ancient literature. Yet in the vehemence of his feelings towards a bishop who thus employed his time, he may perhaps have expressed himself more strongly than he would otherwise have done.[7]

[1] See Vol. II. p. 718.

[2] He would not approve of telling a falsehood, even to save life, ut nec vita cujuslibet per fallaciam defendatur, ne suae animae noceant, dum praestare vitam carni nituntur alienae, quanquam hoc ipsum peccati genus facillime credimus relaxari. Moral. l. XVIII. § 5. So also against falsehood springing from a mistaken notion of humility, qui necessitate cogente vera de se bona loquitur, tanto magis humilitati jungitur, quanto et veritati sociatur. Moral. XXVI. § 5.

[3] Ecclesia recta, quae errantibus dicit, non quasi ex auctoritate praecipit, sed ex ratione persuadet. He makes the church say: ea, quae assero, nequaquam mihi ex auctoritate credita, sed an vera sint, ex ratione pensate. Moral. l. VIII. § 3.

[4] The studies of the clergy extended more rarely, however, to the older Greek fathers; partly on account of their ignorance of the language, partly because the doctrinal opinions of those fathers were less agreeable to the prevailing bent of mind in many. Thus we may explain how it should happen, that in the Roman libraries not a single book of the writings of Irenaeus was to be found. l. XI. ep. 56.

[5] L. XI. ep. 54.

[6] Quia in uno se ore cum Jovis laudibus Christi laudes non capiunt et quam grave nefandumque sit episcopis canere, quod nec laico religioso conveniat, ipse considera.

[7] If the commentary on the books of Kings, which is ascribed to Gregory, might

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The death of Gregory the Great, in 604, was followed by the political movements and revolutions among the nations of the West, amid which, the culture transmitted from ancient times was more and more exposed to utter extinction. Although in Rome and Italy[1] libraries were kept up, from whose stores the new churches in England and Germany were afterwards made fruitful, yet the degree of scientific interest was still insufficient in those countries, to make any use of them amid the storms and convulsions by which Italy especially was agitated in the next succeeding centuries. The great interval, in theological cultivation and evangelical knowledge, between Gregory the Great and the popes of the eighth century, is strikingly apparent. During this wild torrent of destruction, Providence was preparing a few places of security in isolated districts, where the remains of the older culture were preserved, as materials to be used and appropriated, in the new Christian creation among the nations.

In Spain, at the close of the sixth century and the opening of the seventh, labored Isidorus, bishop of Hispalis or Seville, who embraced within his knowledge all that in his own age was to be obtained from scientific culture. As a theological writer, he exerted some influence by a liturgical work on the duties of ecclesiastics (De officiis ecclesiasticis libri duo); and by another, which contains, in three books, a collection of thoughts arranged in the order of the more important subjects, relating to the doctrines of Christian faith and practice (sententiarum libri tres). In this he follows, sometimes word for word, Augustin and Gregory the Great; and thereby contributed to spread and propagate their principles in the following centuries; as, for example, the doctrines concerning grace and predestination[2] — Augustin's stricter principles on the subject of truthful-

be taken as evidence of his mode of thinking, it would be clear from this, that he was much rather a defender of the study of ancient literature, in the same sense as Augustin was. He held the study of the liberal arts (artes liberales) to be necessary, in order to learn how to understand rightly the sacred Scriptures. He looks upon it as a device of the evil spirit, to dissuade Christians from these studies, ut et secularia nesciant et ad sublimitatem spiritalium non pertingant. Moses, in order to be prepared for the right setting forth of divine things, was first instructed in all the wisdom of the Egyptians. Isaiah was more eloquent than all the other prophets, because he was not, like Jeremiah, an armentarius, but nobiliter instructus. So too St. Paul was preëminent among the apostles per doctrinam, quia futurus in coelestibus terrena prius studiosus didicit. l. V. in I. Reg. IV. § 30. At all events, from whomsoever this work may have proceeded, it was a remarkable reaction against the tendency to despise ancient literature. But although this language is too strong to have been used by Gregory himself, yet it is plain from his writings, that while he considered it unbecoming in a Christian to employ his thoughts a long time on many of the works of antiquity, he certainly must have supposed an acquaintance with ancient literature necessary, as a general thing, in order to theological culture, — at least if he was consistent with himself. The story about the burning up of the Bibliotheca Palatina, by Gregory's command, cannot be considered as sufficiently attested — the sole foundation for it are the traditions of the twelfth century. John of Salisbury II. 26. Policratic.

[1] Where the famous Cassiodore, after retiring from public life to a cloister, collected together rich treasures of literature; and, by his institutio divinarum literarum, inspired the monks with a love of study, and stimulated them to the copying of books.

[2] The form of expression deserves notice, l. II. c. 6. *Gemina* est praedestinatio sive electorum ad requiem sive reproborum ad mortem.

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ness.[1] In his Chronicle of the Goths, also, he disapproves the violent measures resorted to for the conversion of the Jews in Spain, and follows the principles of Gregory.[2] The seeds of scientific and theological culture, scattered by Isidorus, long continued to operate in Spain, even after the conquest of this country by the Saracens in the eighth century; and the separation of Spain from its connection with the rest of the Christian world, may have been the very reason why many things were more freely developed there now, than at an earlier period, the clergy being no longer so cramped and restricted by the system of the Romish church. Hence the signs of the reaction of a freer spirit against the traditional, Roman tendency (see above, p. 150).

We said on a former page, that the monasteries of Ireland became asylums and centres for collecting the elements of theological and learned culture. Far renowned were the masters from Scotland (magistri e Scotia) who travelled not only to England, but to France and Germany, and taught various branches of knowledge. From Ireland, as we have seen, England was enriched with books and science; and the enthusiasm which was first excited in that country, led English clergymen and monks to procure books from Rome and Gaul.[3]

In the seventh century, Theodore archbishop of Canterbury, and the abbot Hadrian who had accompanied him from Rome, gained for themselves deserved credit by their efforts to further the progress of culture in England. They traversed the country in company with each other, and made arrangements for the establishment of schools. They left behind them many disciples; and among these, as Bede reports,[4] were men able to speak Latin and Greek as their mother tongue. Under these influences, grew up a man, who deserves to be called emphatically the teacher of England, the venerable Bede. Born in the year 673 in the village of Yarrow in Northumberland, he received his education, from the time he was seven years old, in the monastery of Wearmouth, and this monastery was also, until his death, the seat of his great, though unobtrusive activity as a teacher. By him many other church-teachers, who became eminent also as instructors in other countries, were educated. Of himself he says,[5] that he had bestowed every pains upon the study of the Scriptures, and amid the devotional exercises and liturgical duties, which devolved on him as a monk and

[1] L. II. c. 30. Hoc quoque mendacii genus perfecti viri summopere fugiunt, ut nec vita cujuslibet per eorum fallaciam defendatur, ne suae animae noceant, dum praestare vitam alienae carni nituntur, quamquam hoc ipsum peccati genus facillime credimus relaxari.

[2] He says, concerning such measures of king Sisabut: Aemulationem quidem Dei habuit, sed non secundum scientiam. Potestate enim compulit, quos provocare fidei ratione oportuit. He then, to be sure, adds: Sed sicut scriptum est Phil. 1, sive per occasionem sive per veritatem, Christus adnunciatur, in hoc gaudeo et gaudebo.

[3] In the account of the life of the abbot, and afterwards bishop Aldhelm, composed by William of Malmsbury, who wrote, it is true, in the twelfth century, but made use of earlier sources, it is mentioned, that the merchant vessels from France often brought with the rest of their merchandize, bibles and other books. See cap. 3. Acta Sanctorum Bolland. mens. Maj. T. VI. f. 82.

[4] Hist. eccles. 4. 2.

[5] In the report on his life and writings, in his history of the English church; also Acta S. Maj. T. VI. f. 721, and Mabillon Acta S. ord. Benedicti saec. III. P. I.

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priest, it had been his delight, to be ever learning, teaching or writing.[1] The manner of his death corresponded with such a life, consecrated in noiseless activity to God. In the last fourteen days of it, he calmly and cheerfully contemplated his approaching departure, surrounded by his disciples, thankful for all the good he had received in this life, and even for his final sufferings, which he looked upon as a means of sanctification.[2] His last hours were consecrated to the work of his life, the instruction of youth, and he died in the midst of his beloved pupils, on the 26th of May, A. D. 735.[3]

In the spirit of Bede, the same work was carried forward by Egbert, one of his scholars and particular friends, who superintended a school at York, where instruction was given in all the then existing branches of knowledge and where especially the study of the Bible, and of the writings of ancient church-teachers that served to expound them, were diligently pursued; and even after Egbert became archbishop of York, he still devoted much time to the direction of this school, which he placed under the immediate care of his disciple Albert.[4] From this school proceeded Alcuin, the great teacher of his times; born in York, the very same year, in which the eminent master, whose place he was to fill in a still wider field of action, the vene-

[1] Semper aut discere aut docere aut scribere dulce habui.

[2] His scholar Cuthbert says of him: Vere fateor, quia neminem unquam oculis meis vidi nec auribus audivi tam diligenter gratias Deo vivo referre.

[3] In those last fourteen days of his sickness, he was employed in translating the gospel of John into the Anglo-Saxon tongue, and in correcting the collection of Isidore's Abbreviatures for the benefit of his scholars; for said he — My scholars ought not to read a false text, and after my death labor to no purpose. When his disease grew more violent, and it was only with difficulty he could breathe, he still continued to teach during the whole day; and on the day before his death, he cheerfully dictated to his amanuensis, and remarked to one of his scholars, "make haste to learn, — I know not how long I shall still remain with you, and whether my Creator may not soon take me to himself." Thus he employed the last days of his life in dictating to his scholars, in correcting what they had written, and in answering their questions. Having thus occupied himself till after the third hour past noon, he begged one of his scholars to summon quickly the priests of the convent. "The rich of this world, said he, can make presents of gold, and silver, and other precious things; these I have not, but with much love and joy will I give my brethren, what God has given me." — It was a little pepper, frankincense, and some articles of church apparel. — When they arrived, he begged each of them to read the mass diligently, and pray for him. "It is time, said he, if it so please my Maker, that I should return back to him, who created me from nothing. I have lived long; the time of my dissolution approaches; I long to depart, and to be with Christ, for my soul earnestly desires to see my king Christ, in his beauty." These and like things he said, till it was evening. Then one of his scholars, whom he had given something to write, begging him to make haste and finish it, came, and told him he had but one sentence to write. Write it quickly then, said he. Soon afterwards, the young man reported: "The sentence is now finished." "Yea, answered Bede, thou hast spoken rightly; it is finished. Take my head in thy hands, for it is a great joy to me, to sit over against the consecrated spots, where I have been wont to pray, in order that I may quietly call upon my Father." Thus supported by his scholar, on whose hands he had laid his head, he kneeled down on the floor of his cell, and sang the words of the doxology: "Gloria Patri et Filio et Spiritui sancto," and with the last words of praise to the Holy Spirit he breathed out his life on earth.

[4] His scholar Alcuin, who always clung to him with great affection, said of him in his poem on the archbishops and holy men of York:

Cui Christus amor, potus, cibus, omnia Christus,
Vita, fides, sensus, spes, lux, via, gloria, virtus.

and

Indolis egregiae juvenes quoscunque videbat,
Hos sibi conjunxit, docuit, nutrivit, amavit

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rable Bede departed from this life. He afterwards became head of the school in York which was so flourishing under his direction, and many from distant places were here his scholars; until the emperor Charles invited him to join in the great work of educating the Franks, and of improving the condition of the Frankish church.

The Frankish church under Charlemagne was the central point, which united all the scattered rays of culture from England, Ireland, Spain and Italy; and Charles took advantage of every opportunity to stimulate the bishops of his kingdom to diligence and zeal in promoting learned studies, setting them an example by his own personal exertions. Having, for example, received letters from the abbots and bishops, in which they stated their petitions to him, he was pained to observe the extreme deficiency they manifested in an ability to express their thoughts with correctness and propriety. This led him to issue a circular letter,[1] in which he exhorted them to the zealous pursuit of scientific studies, as a means which would enable them better and more easily to understand also the mysteries of Holy writ.[2] He considered it of great importance, that the heads of the churches should coöperate for the same object with the learned men, whom he had assembled around him.[3] And among these, Alcuin was beyond doubt the most distinguished. When, in the year 780, the latter was on his return from a mission to Rome which had been entrusted to him by the archbishop of York, and the emperor, who had been acquainted with him before, met him at Parma, he pressingly invited him to remain with him, for the purpose of taking the direction of the institutions which he was about to establish. Having returned to his native land, and obtained permission from his king and from his archbishop to comply with this request, he fulfilled the wish of the monarch. The latter granted him a monastery near the city of Troyes, and the monastery of Ferrieres in the diocese of Sens, that he might direct the studies of the monks, and be provided for by the revenues of these establishments. But he placed under his particular charge the institution of learning which he himself had established, for youth of the higher ranks, in the vicinity of his own palace (the schola Palatina). Here he came into immediate contact with the emperor, and the most eminent men in the state and church, and was invited to give his advice on all affairs pertaining to the church, and to the education of the people. He instructed the emperor himself, and the latter called him his most beloved teacher in Christ.[4] He often proposed to him questions on difficult passages of Scripture, on the meaning of liturgical forms, on church

[1] Bouquet collectio scriptorum rerum. Franc. T. V. f. 621. Concilia Galliae T. II. f. 621.

[2] Quum autem in sacris paginis schemata, tropi et caetera his similia inserta inveniantur, nulli dubium est, quod ea unusquisque legens tanto citius spiritaliter intelligit, quanto prius in literarum magisterio plenius instructus fuerit.

[3] The discordia inter sapientes et doctores ecclesiae, he held to be the worst thing that could happen, as he wrote to the monks of the convent of St. Martin of Tours, by occasion of a quarrel between Alcuin and Theodulf bishop of Orleans. Among Alcuin's letters ep. 119.

[4] Carissime in Christo praeceptor, he calls him in a letter from which Alcuin quotes a few lines in his answer, ep. 124.

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chronology and other theological topics, which had been started in the conversations at the court of the emperor Charles. When absent from his residence the emperor until his death, kept up a familiar correspondence with him, in which Alcuin was accustomed to express his opinions with great freedom.[1]

We remarked on a former page, how important it was regarded by the emperor, both in relation to his own wants and those of the church, that the text of the Bible, in the then current Latin translation, which through the negligence and ignorance of transcribers had in many cases become wholly unintelligible, should be corrected; and this weighty task he imposed on Alcuin.[2] In the beginning of the year 801, wishing to congratulate the king on his accession to the imperial throne, Alcuin sent him as a present, a copy of the entire Bible carefully corrected throughout by his own hand.[3]

Having spent eight years in this circle of labors, Alcuin returned once more to his native country, where he resided about two years, and then, somewhere near the year 792, came back and resumed his former occupation. At the approach of old age, however, he was desirous of withdrawing from the bustle of court and from the multiplied concerns in which he here found himself involved, to renounce all employments whatsoever except those immediately connected with religion, and retiring from the world, to be allowed to prepare in quiet for his departure from the present life to which everything else should be subordinated.[4] If the ancient account of Alcuin's life is to be credited,[5] it was his wish to find a resting-place for the evening of his life in the monastery of Fulda. But when the emperor had concluded to release him from immediate service, he still wished to employ his abilities though in the tranquillity of retirement, in the work to which they had thus far been consecrated. The abbey of St. Martin at Tours having been left vacant in the year 796, he resolved on employing Alcuin to restore among the monks of that convent, the discipline

[1] As a monument of Alcuin's devout and Christian temper of mind, the consoling words which in the year 800 he wrote to the emperor on the death of his wife, Liodgarde, may stand here: Domine Jesu, spes nostra, salus nostra, consolatio nostra, qui clementissima voce omnibus sub pondere cujuslibet laboris gementibus mandasti dicens: venite ad me omnes, qui laboratis et onerati estis, et ego reficiam vos. Quid hac promissione jucundius? Quid hac spe beatius? veniat ad eum omnis anima moerens, omne cor contritum, fundens lacrimas in conspectu misericordiae illius, neque abscondat vulnera suo medico, qui ait: ego occidam et vivere faciam, percutiam et ego sanabo Deut. 32, 39. Flagellat miris modis, ut erudiat filios, pro quorum salute unico non pepercit filio. He then represents the Son of God saying to the soul: Propter te descendi et patiebar, quae legisti in literis meis, ut tibi praeparem mansionem in domo patris mei. Regaum meum tantum valet, quantum tu es. Te ipsam da et habebis illud. ep. 90.

[2] As he himself says: Domini regis praeceptum in emendatione veteris novique testamenti, see the letter prefixed to the sixth book of his Commentary on the gospel of St. John, T. I. Vol. II. f. 591. ed. Froben.

[3] Alcuin ep. 103. He had long been thinking what to send him, Tandem spiritu sancto inspirante inveni, quod meo nomine competeret offerre et quid vestrae prudentiae amabile esse potuisset.

[4] See epist. 168. Seculi occupationibus depositis soli Deo vacare desidero. Dum omni homini necesse est vigili cura se praeparare ad occursum Domini Dei sui, quanto magis senioribus, qui sunt annis et infirmitatibus confracti.

[5] Which may be found in the first volume of Frobenius' edition; in the Actis Sanctorum, at the 19th of May; Mens. Maj. T. IV; and in Mabillon Acta S. O. B.

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which had begun to decline, and also to found here a flourishing school. In this spot, Alcuin continued to labor as a teacher with the same activity and zeal as he had shown before, though under different circumstances.[1] But when urged by his increasing infirmities, and the presentiment of approaching death, to seek a release from all external business, he obtained permission to commit, during the last years of his life, the direction of the convent under his care to chosen scholars of his own.[2] Thus, as he said,[3] he could quietly live in the abbey of St. Martin, waiting for the summons to depart.[4] The wish which, in the last years of his life, and under the sense of its approaching end, he had been used to express, that he might die on the festival of Pentecost, was fulfilled on the 19th of May, 804.

There was during this period too little scientific life in the Western church, to give occasion for the starting up of opposite views of doctrines and of controversies arising therefrom. Even in the Carolingian age, in the epoch formed out of the whole period, in which learning flourished most, men were far more busily occupied in firmly establishing and practically applying what had been handed down by tradition, than in entering into any new investigations of the doctrines of faith. Yet naturally it was in this epoch alone that oppositions of doctrine could busy the Western church of this period: But it is singular to observe, that it was in the Spanish church of all others, — a church which, though not oppressed, was yet, under the rule of a foreign race that professed the religion of Mohammed, in no very favorable situation for progress in science — a revival commenced of the old opposition between the Antiochian and the Alexandrian schools; — though we must admit that in the Spanish church, owing to this very fact of its peculiar situation, such an opposition would have room for more freely unfolding itself, than would have been possible under other circumstances. In order to trace with certainty the origin of such a dogmatic tendency in the Spanish church of those times, we need more distinct information respecting the manner in which the controversy about to be mentioned began, and of the internal relations of the church itself. In this regard, it is an important question, which of the two principal persons, whom we see standing up as the defenders of the new system, Elipandus, archbishop of Toledo, or Felix, bishop of Urgellis,[5] is to be considered as the real author of this revived Antiochian tendency.

[1] He speaks of this in his thirty-eighth letter to king Charles. He says here that he instructed some in the exposition of Scripture, others in ancient literature, others in grammar, others in astronomy, plurima plurimis factus, ut plurimos ad profectum sanctae ecclesiae et ad decorem imperialis regni vestri erudiam, ne sit vacua Dei in me gratia nec vestrae bonitatis largitio inanis. But he complains of the want of books, and begs permission of the emperor to send some of his scholars to England, to procure books from that quarter.

[2] Ep. 176 to the archbishop Arno, ut scias, quanta misericordia mecum a Deo omnipotenti peracta est, nam rebus omnibus, quae habui per loca diversa, adjutores mihi ex meis propriis filiis elegi adnuente per omnia suggestionibus meis Domino meo David, as he was in the habit of calling the emperor Charles.

[3] Ep. 175.

[4] Spectans, quando vox veniat: aperi pulsanti, sequere jubentem, exaudi judicantem.

[5] La Seud'Urgelle, in the dukedom of Cerdana, in Spain.

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Elipandus, if we may judge from those writings of his which still remain, was a violent, excitable man, governed by the impulses of a blind zeal,[1] who had diligently studied, it is true, the ancient fathers, but was wholly wanting in the spirit of scientific research. We can easily believe him on his own testimony, that if once led by some accidental cause to make use of a doctrinal phrase, which should afterwards be attacked, so as to make him feel personally injured, by those whose relative position in the church entitled him, as he supposed, to expect from them submission to his archiepiscopal authority, he would only be the more tenacious of the expression which, in this conflict of opinions, would gain an importance in his eyes wholly disproportionate to its value. Now the term "adoption," which is sometimes found employed, even in the older fathers, to denote Christ's assumption of human nature into unity with the divine, was often introduced in the Gothico-Spanish liturgy[2] then in use;[3] and to such passages Elipan-

[1] So he appears also in the first doctrinal controversy in which he publicly engaged. In his disputes with Migetius, a Spanish false teacher, Elipandus had occasion, it is true, to draw more sharply the line of distinction between the humanity and deity of Christ; and here no doubt he already made use of expressions which might give occasion to his being charged with Nestorianism; for example, in the letter to Migetius, § 7: Persona filii, quae facta est ex semine David secundum carnem et ea, quae genita est a Deo patre. Indeed, as a general thing, he was extremely awkward and unskilled in the use of doctrinal terms. But in this polemical writing no other marks of Adoptianism are as yet to be found. He here employs the term assumptio, not adoptio. It would throw light on the subject, had we the means of investigating the doctrines of this Migetius with a view to determine the precise relation of Elipandus to him and to his system; but we must despair of arriving at any satisfactory result in this way, unless some new sources of information should still be opened in Spain. As the isolated and scattered accounts of Migetius are of no importance, the only valuable source still continues to be the letter of Elipandus to this Migetius, published by Florez in the España Sagrada, T. V. Ed. II. Madrid, 1763, p. 524. But Elipandus writes here with too much passion, he indulges too freely in the practice of making his own inferences, he shows too little capacity of entering into another's mode of thinking, to make it possible for us to form from his contrary statements and positions anything like a clear notion of Migetius's doctrines. So far as we can derive any hints from this letter, indicating the real opinions of Migetius, it would seem that he was inclined to Sabellian views. His opinion was that the Logos first became *personal* with the assumption of Christ's humanity, that the Logos was the power constituting the personality in Christ — hence he was accused of asserting: quod ea sit secunda in Trinitate persona, quae facta est ex semine David secundum carnem et non ea quae genita est a patre — but that the Holy Ghost first assumed a personality in the apostle Paul, — in him appeared the Spirit promised by Christ, which was to proceed from the Father and from the Son. At any rate, it were greatly to be wished, that we knew what the views were, which Migetius entertained with regard to the relation of St. Paul to the more complete development of Christianity, and which, though they may have been misrepresented, were yet the occasion of his being accused of holding the opinions just described. In the next place, he was charged with maintaining, that priests should be perfect saints: Cur se pronuntient peccatores, si vere sancti sunt? aut si certe se peccatores esse fatentur, quare ad ministerium accedere praesumunt, eo quod ipse dominus dicat: Estote sancti, quia et ego sanctus sum Dominus Deus vester. But here also the question comes up, in what sense did he say this? Did he mean perfect freedom from sin? Next is laid to his charge a declaration, which, if he made it, would certainly go far to show that he was wrapped in a strangely fanatical conceit of his own holiness. He said, for instance, that it was not lawful for him to eat with unbelievers (Saracens) or to partake of food which had been touched by them. Compared with him, on this particular side, Elipandus appears as the representative of the true Christian spirit; for the latter appeals to the words of St. Paul, that to the pure all things are pure, — to the fact that Christ ate with publicans and sinners, and to the declaration of St. Paul that it is permitted to accept an invitation to a feast even from an unbeliever.

[2] The officium Mozarabicum.

[3] Adoptio = assumtio, ἀνάληψις

dus not unfrequently refers.[1] We might, therefore, suppose that Elipandus had been led by such expressions to speak of an "adoption" of humanity by Christ in order to sonship with God, and to call him, with reference to his humanity, the adopted Son of God (filius Dei adoptivus); and that he would zealously defend this doctrinal phrase, when it came to be attacked, as if it were a phrase of peculiar importance. With Felix of Urgellis, however, the case stood somewhat differently. In him we may perceive a radical and thorough doctrinal tendency, which is not to be traced to any such outward and accidental cause. The more probable view is, then, that the doctrine concerning Christ's person designated by the name "Adoptianism," proceeded originally from Felix, by whom we find it presented in a strictly coherent system, rather than from Elipandus, a man hardly calculated to be the author and founder of any peculiar type of doctrine.[2] It would indeed be a very singular affair for an octogenarian like him, to provoke, at so advanced a period of life, a controversy on this point. The truth is, too much stress seems to have been laid generally upon the individual doctrinal phrases "adoption" and "adopted son," which gave its name to this whole type of doctrine; just as in the Nestorian controversies, an undue importance was given to the single expression θεοτόκος. As we shall see, when we come to examine this type of doctrine with reference to its internal coherence as a system, it could have subsisted independently of this particular expression, and of the comparison which it occasioned, of a son according to the flesh with a son by adoption. And it is possible, though not susceptible of proof, that the liturgy just mentioned may have led the author of the scheme to hit upon this particular comparison, while yet we should by no means be authorized, on such a ground as this, to derive from the liturgy this whole peculiar scheme of doctrine, which is itself, in fact, presupposed thereby.

In remarking the very striking agreement between the views of Felix on this subject, as they were gradually unfolded, and those of the Antiochian Theodore, we might be led to conjecture, that the former had received his first impulse in that peculiar direction from studying the writings of this father; and as there had been considerable intercourse in former times between the Spanish and the African churches; as the dispute concerning the three chapters had led to a translation of the writings of Theodore into Latin, for the use of the African church-teachers, while that controversy was pending; it is quite possible, that these writings, in such translations, may have been circulated in Spain. Still, however, we are not warranted by the few

[1] The expressions in the Toletanian liturgy, Adoptivi hominis passio, — adoptio carnis, gratia adoptionis. Elipandi epistola ad Alcuinum, T. I. P. II. f. 872. ed. Froben.

[2] The conflicting historical testimonies on a matter of this sort, so far out of the range of common observation, can settle nothing on this point. It would not follow as a matter of course that the individual who first brought this subject into public discussion, was the first to develop this type of doctrine. And even though Elipandus might have been the first to use some such expressions as those mentioned in his controversial writings, it would by no means prove him to have been the author of this dogmatic tendency.

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fragments of Felix which remain, to form any certain conclusion with regard to the nature of this agreement, which, indeed, may have resulted, independent of such outward derivation, from a resemblance of intellectual character between the two men, and in the circumstances of opposition under which they developed themselves.

If it be true, that Felix had been employed in defending Christianity against the objections brought against it from the standing-point of Mohammedanism, and in proving the divinity and truth of Christianity for the use of Mohammedans,[1] which he might naturally be led to do by the vicinity of the latter, and by his own close connection with the Spanish bishops; the first impulse to the formation of that peculiar type of doctrine might easily be traced to this circumstance. In an apologetic effort of this kind, it would be unnecessary for him to prove the divine origin of Christianity generally, or the divine mission of Jesus; for these he could assume as already acknowledged in the doctrine of the Koran. But what he had to prove, was the doctrine of the incarnation of God, and of the deity of Christ, against which and the doctrine of the trinity the fiercest attacks of the Mohammedans were directed; and by his apologetic efforts in this direction, he may have been led to seek after some such way of presenting this doctrine, as to remove, wherever possible, that which proved the stone of stumbling to those of the Mohammedan persuasion. Thus we might explain the origin of the Adoptian type of doctrine, respecting the internal coherence of which, as a system, we shall now proceed to speak.

Felix, like Theodore of Mopsuestia, was opposed to the indiscriminate interchange of predicates belonging to the two natures in Christ. When the same predicates were applied to Christ, in reference to his deity and in reference to his humanity, he required that it should always be precisely defined in what different sense it was done; particularly in what different senses Christ is called Son of God, and God, according to his deity and according to his humanity. He insisted here on the distinction, that when Christ is called by these names in reference to his deity, that is designated which has its ground in the divine essence; and when so called in reference to his humanity, that is designated which came from an act of free-will, a particular decree of God — the antithesis of *natura, genere*, on the one side, and of *voluntate, beneplacito*, on the other. As in the former reference, Christ is in essence God and Son of God; so in the second reference, he is God and Son of God, inasmuch as he was taken into union with him, who is in essence Son of God. Now over against the notions *essential* and *natural*, stands that also which can be so designated only in another sense, by a sort of metonymy (nuncupative). Unless it was meant to be said, that Christ derived his humanity from the essence of God himself, no other course remained, according to Felix, but to make *this* antithesis. In the same sense, he now introduced

[1] The emperor Charles had heard, that Felix had written a disputatio cum Sacerdote; yet this was unknown to Alcuin. See Alcuin, ep. 85

the antithesis also between a son by birth and nature (filiis genere et natura), and a son by adoption (adoptione filius). The notion of adoption — he supposed — stands for nothing else than precisely that filial relation which is grounded, not in natural descent, but in a free act of the father's will. And hence, to those who objected that the title of "Son by adoption" is nowhere attributed to our Saviour in the Scriptures, he replied, that still the fundamental idea was in strict conformity with Scripture; since other determinate conceptions, of like import, were actually to be found in Scripture.[1] All these determinate conceptions are closely connected; and without them the conception of Christ's human nature, as one not derived from the divine essence, but created by the divine will,[2] could in nowise be retained. He who denies one of these determinate conceptions, must therefore deny also the true humanity of Christ.[3] But the term "adoption" seemed to him peculiarly appropriate, as a designative term, for this reason, namely, that it was plain, from a comparison with human relations, that one person could not have two fathers by way of natural origin, though he might have one father by natural origin, and another by adoption;[4] and in like manner Christ could, in his humanity, be son of David by natural derivation, and by adoption Son of God. He searched the Scriptures for all those predicates which denote a relation of dependence in Christ, for the purpose of proving the necessity of that distinction, as one presupposed in the Scriptures themselves. When the form of a servant is attributed to Christ, the name servant had reference, not merely to the voluntary obedience rendered by him as man, but also to the natural relation, in which he, as man, as a creature, stood to God; in antithesis to the relation in which he stood to the Father, as Son of God, by his nature and essence as the Logos. This opposition he designated by the phrase servus conditionalis, servus secundum conditionem.[5] Nowhere — he affirmed — is it asserted in the gospel, that the Son of God — but always and only, that the son of man was given up for

[1] Si adoptionis nomen in Christo secundum carnem claro apertoque sermone in utroque testamento, ut vos contenditis, reperire nequimus, caetera tamen omnia, quae adoptionis verbo conveniunt, in divinis libris perspicue atque manifeste multis modis reperiuntur. Nam quid quaeso est cuilibet filio adoptio, nisi electio, nisi gratia, nisi voluntas, nisi adsumptio, nisi susceptio, nisi placitum seu applicatio? Si quis vero in Christi humanitate adoptionis gratiam negare vult, simul cuncta, quae dicta sunt, cum eadem adoptione in eo negare studeat Alcuin. contra Felicem l. III. c. 8, T. I. opp. 816.

[2] Humanitas in qua extrinsecus factus est, non de substantia patris subsistens, sed ex carne matris et natus est. l. VI. 843.

[3] Rationis veritate convictus velit nolit negaturus est eum verum hominem. l. III. c. 2, f. 817.

[4] Neque enim fieri potest, ut unus filius naturaliter duos patres habere possit, unum tamen per naturam, alium autem per adoptionem prorsus potest. l. III. f. 812.

[5] Numquid qui verus est Deus fieri potest, ut conditione servus Dei sit, sicut Christus Dominus in forma servi, qui multis multisque documentis, non tantum propter obedientiam, ut plerique volunt, sed etiam et per naturam servus patris et filius ancillae, ejus verissime edocetur, l. VI. f. 840. But here his opponents would not admit the distinction between the *propter obedientiam et per naturam*, since they derived the latter from the former, referred the assumption of human nature by the Son of God to his self-renunciation, and applied to this Philipp. 2: 8, 9. Furthermore: illum propter ignobilitatem beatae virginis, quae se ancillam Dei humili voce protestatur, servum esse conditionalem. f. 839. Where the manner in which he

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us.[1] He adduces the fact, that Christ himself, Luke 18: 19, said of his humanity, that it was not good of itself, but God in it, as, everywhere else, was the original fountain of goodness.[2] He alleges, furthermore, that Peter says of Christ, Acts 10: 38, God was in him; Paul, 2 Cor. 5: 19, God was in Christ — not as though the deity of Christ were for this reason to be denied, but only that the distinction of the human from the divine nature should be firmly held.[3] He maintained, that by this mode of designating the purely human element in Christ, the Son of God, as Redeemer, is glorified; since he assumed all this only out of compassion for, and to secure the salvation of mankind. In order faithfully and fully to represent the doctrine of holy Scripture, we should alike place together that which marks his humiliation and his exaltation.[4] Felix himself, however, could not enter, with an unprejudiced mind, into the views of the New Testament writers. While his opponents were disposed to torture and force them wholly into the form of their own theory of the mutual interchange of predicates, or, as it was afterwards called, the communication of idioms, Felix, on the other hand, allowed himself to twist the Scriptural view into accommodation with his theory of distinction, which he would everywhere force upon the sacred writers; as, for example, when he says that, in the words of Peter, Thou art Christ, the Son of the living God, — the predicate *Christ* has reference to the humanity in which he was anointed, the predicate *Son of the living God*, to his deity.[5] Felix agreed with Theodore, also, in comparing the manner in which the humanity of Christ was taken into fellowship with the deity, with the manner in which believers attain, through him, to union with God. — Adoption, the reception into union with God, by the grace of God, by virtue of a special act of the divine will, according to the divine good pleasure, he defined as being, in this case, the same in kind; without meaning, for

speaks of the virgin Mary may have given offence, in the prevailing tendency of the times.

[1] L. c. 834, 835. Here Alcuin could bring against him several passages of the New Testament, John 3: 16. Rom. 8: 32. Ephes. 5: 2. Acts 3: 13, 14, 15. But Felix was led into his error by following exclusively, with regard to the name Son of God, the usus loquendi of the church, instead of going back to that of the Scriptures.

[2] Ipse, qui essentialiter cum patre et spiritu sancto solus est bonus, est Deus, ipse in homine licet sit bonus, non tamen naturaliter a semetipso est bonus. l. V. f. 837. Hence, indeed, if we may judge from his language, Felix seems to have fallen into a self-contradiction. This arose from his confounding together two different points of view, that derived from his own peculiar notions, and that taken from the doctrinal standing ground of the church. By his own peculiar notions, he was, strictly speaking, not led to an ἀντιμεθίστασις τῶν ὀνομάτων; but he was so, no doubt, by adhering to the prevailing doctrinal terminology of the church; and he now sought to render this transfer of predicates harmless, by adding explanations according to his own theory of distinction. Proceeding in a consistent manner, on his own principle, he ought rather to have said: the human nature, taken into union with him who is, in his essence, Son of God, and in his essence good, is in its essence not good.

[3] Non quod Christus homo videlicet assumptus, Deus non sit sed quia non natura, sed gratia atque nuncupatione sit Deus. V. 832.

[4] Sicut ea, quae de illo celsa atque gloriosa sunt, credimus et collaudamus, ita humilitatem ejus et omnia indigna, quae propter nos misericorditer suscipere voluit, despicere nullo modo debemus. l. III. f. 818.

[5] L. V. f. 832.

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this reason, to suppose that what he considered to be the same in kind only in a relative sense, — especially as opposed to that which is grounded in, and derived immediately from, the divine essence — was absolutely identical. On the contrary he affirmed, that notwithstanding this relative sameness in kind, everything was to be conceived, in the case of Christ, after a far higher manner (multo excellentius); — and he here supposes, no doubt, not a merely gradual, but a specific difference; as may be gathered from the fact, that he by no means represents the human nature of Christ as appearing first in its self-subsistence, and then entering into union with the deity; but on the contrary, he started with supposing, that the true and essential Son of God assumed humanity into union with himself, from the moment of its conception; that the human nature ever unfolded itself in this unity, though conformably with its own laws; that no separate being for itself was to be ascribed to it; but that its existence, from the first, developed itself in that union with the divine Logos, into which the human nature had been assumed from its creation. He adduces the words of Christ himself, John 10: 35, to prove, that he placed himself in a certain respect in one and the same class with those, on whom, by virtue of that fellowship with God in which they stood by divine grace, the divine name had been conferred.[1] So there existed between him and all the elect the truest communion in this respect also, that he shared along with them a divine nature and divine names (though these belonged to him in a preëminent sense); even as he shared with them all other things, predestination, election, grace, the form of a servant.[2] Accordingly he could now say, the same person, who in the unity of the divine essence is the true God, becomes, in the form of humanity, by the grace of adoption, which was to pass from him to all the elect, partaker of the divine essence, and is therefore called God; *or* the Son of God became, without change of his divine nature, son of man; inasmuch as he vouchsafed to unite the man, from his origin, into personal unity with himself, — and the son of man is son of God, not in the sense that the human nature was changed into the divine, but in the sense that the son of man *in the Son of God* (by virtue of this assumption of the former into union with the latter) is true Son of God.[3]

But like Theodore, Felix too felt constrained to controvert such propositions, stated without restriction or limitation, as that Mary is

[1] Qui non natura, ut Deus, sed per Dei gratiam ab eo, qui verus est Deus, deificati dii sunt sub illo vocati.

[2] In hoc quippe ordine Dei filius dominus et redemptor noster juxta humanitatem, sicut in natura, ita et in nomine, quamvis excellentius cunctis electis, verissime tamen cum illis communicat, sicut et in caeteris omnibus, id est in praedestinatione, in electione, gratia, in adsumptione nominis servi. IV. 820.

[3] Ut idem, qui essentialiter cum patre et spiritu sancto in unitate Deitatis verus est Deus, ipse in forma humanitatis cum electis suis per adoptionis gratiam deificatus fieret et nuncupative Deus, and in the other passage at the beginning of the fifth book which is more strictly allied to the church form of doctrine: qui illum sibi ex utero matris scilicet ab ipso conceptu in singularitate suae personae ita sibi univit atque conseruit, ut Dei filius esset hominis filius, non mutabilitate naturae, sed dignatione, similiter et hominis filius esset Dei filius; non versatilitate substantiae, sed *in Dei* filio esset verus filius.

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the mother of God.[1] Felix, again, like Theodore, compared the baptism of Christ with the baptism of believers, and places both in connection with the spiritual birth by adoption (spiritalis generatio per adoptionem). This certainly he could not so have understood, as if baptism were related in altogether the same manner to the adoption of Christ, as to the adoption of believers; for in fact he supposes the adoption which relates to the humanity of Christ to have begun with the creation of that humanity. He probably meant, therefore, simply to say, that the sign of this adoption began to be revealed in an outward manner, from Christ's baptism onwards, by the divine powers bestowed on him as the Son of God after his humanity. Probably, like Theodore, he supposed a revelation of the divine power manifesting itself in the form of Christ's humanity, and following, step by step, the course of the development of his human nature; and hence he probably supposed also that the resurrection of Christ was the completion of this revelation which began first, in the form of the supernatural, with the baptism.[2] In conformity with this theory of the revelation of deity under the forms of human nature, Felix also defended Agnoetism, and cited in its favor Mark 13: 32.[3]

From this exhibition of the Adoptianist doctrine we may easily understand how its opponents would see in it, as judged from the platform of the ordinary church-system of doctrines a sort of revived Nestorianism, a lowering down of the doctrine of Christ's divinity. It was, so far as it concerned the dogmatic interest, a similar contest to that between the Antiochian and the Alexandrian schools in the earlier centuries, — on one side, the interest in behalf of the rational, on the other, the interest in behalf of the supranatural mode of apprehending Christianity, — on one side, the interest to give prominence to that which in the person of Christ answers to the analogy of human nature, on the other, the interest to seize on those points in the character of Christ which prove his exaltation above human nature.[4]

Two ecclesiastics in Spain first stood forth openly in opposition to this Adoptianistic system, Beatus, a priest in the province of Libana, and Etherius, a bishop of Othma. According to the representations of the other side, Beatus must have been a man of notoriously bad morals; but the credibility of this accusation becomes suspicious,

[1] Though he perhaps did not venture to combat this expression which was now generally adopted, yet he called upon the other party to produce his authorities for such a position as this: quod ex utero matris verus Deus sit conceptus et verus sit filius Dei. VII. 857.

[2] L. II. c. Felicem f. 809. Accepit has geminas generationes, primam videlicet, quae secundum carnem est, secundam vero spiritalem, quae per adoptionem fit. Idem redemptor noster secundum hominem complexas in se continet, primam videlicet, quam suscepit ex virgine nascendo, secundam vero, quam initiavit in lavacro (et consummavit) a mortuis resurgendo. Without the parenthetic clause, the words give no sense.

[3] See l. V. f. 835.

[4] When Felix threw out the question: Quid potuit ex ancilla nasci nisi servus? Alcuin replied: Hujus nativitatis majus est sacramentum quam omnium creaturarum conditio. Concede Deum aliquid posse, quod humana non valeat infirmitas comprehendere, nec nostra ratiocinatione legem ponamus majestati aeternae, quid possit, dum omnia potest, qui omnipotens est. l. III. c. 3. Alcuin. c. Felic.

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when we consider the passionate temper of his opponents.[1] Another charge appears more worthy of credence, which represents Beatus as bearing the character of a false prophet (pseudo-propheta). He employed himself a good deal on the exposition of the Apocalypse. The situation of the Spanish church, under the rule of a Saracenic Mohammedan race,[2] was well calculated to excite expectations of extraordinary divine judgments, to direct the imaginations of men towards the future, and to the indulgence of the most extravagant prospects. Accordingly Beatus seems to have predicted that Christ's coming to judge unbelievers was near at hand, and to have gone so far as to fix the precise time at which he would appear.[3] The controversy in Spain was conducted with great acrimony on both sides; each denouncing the other as unworthy the name of Christian. Elipandus pronounced his antagonists heretics and servants of Anti-Christ, who ought to be exterminated.[4] To him it appeared an unheard of thing, that a provincial priest of Libana should take it upon him to instruct the church at Toledo, that time-honored seat of the pure doctrine of tradition.[5] He brought up against his antagonists his own authority as the first bishop of the Spanish church, and seems moreover to have gained the secular power over to his side.[6] Not only the theologians and clergy, but the churches were divided by these disputed points.[7] As neither party was able to separate its own peculiar notions from the essential thing of Christian faith in the Redeemer, each side, as Beatus expressed it, contended with the other for the one Christ, though their common cause against a common enemy, Mohammedanism, should have served to call forth, and keep in livelier action, the sense of their Christian fellowship in the fundamentals of faith. The controversy

[1] This charge might appear more credible, it is true, from the consideration that Elipand seems to appeal to a fact, viz. that Beatus was deposed from his spiritual office for immorality; as he says in his letter to Alcuin: Antiphrasius (that is, the κατ' ἀντίφρασιν, such was the epithet commonly applied to him by his opponents) Antiphrasius Beatus, antichristi discipulus, carnis immunditia foetidus et ab altario Dei extraneus; also in the letter of the Spanish bishops to the emperor Charlemagne, he is called carnis flagitio saginatus: but it would be necessary to know more exactly, how the case really stood with this deposition, before we could draw from it any certain conclusion.

[2] It is plain from the letter of Elipandus, that the Spanish Christians must have felt themselves oppressed. He says near the conclusion of his letter to Alcuin (Alcuin. opp. ed. Froben. T. I. P. II. f. 870, oppressione gentis afflicti non possumus tibi rescribere cuncta, and in his letter to Felix, l. c. f. 916, quotidiana dispendia, quibus duramus potius quam vivimus.

[3] Thus in the letter of the Spanish bishops (Alcuin. opp. T. II. f. 573,) it is said, he had predicted the world would come to an end on a certain day which he had fixed; and the people were thus led with excited expectations to pass the time from the night of Easter Sabbath to the third hour of the afternoon of Easter Sunday in fasting.

[4] Elipandus writes: Qui non fuerit confessus Jesum Christum adoptivum humanitate et nequaquam adoptivum divinitate et haereticus est et exterminetur. See the fragment in the work of Beatus against Elipandus lib. I. in the Lectiones antiquae of Canis. ed. Basnage T. II. f. 310.

[5] Non me interrogant, sed docere quaerunt, quia servi sunt antichristi.

[6] Beatus says, l. c. fol. 301, Et episcopus metropolitanus et princeps terrae pari certamine schismata haereticorum unus verbi gladio, alter virga regiminis ulciscens. If a Saracenian prince was here meant, it would be a remarkable proof that the opinions of Adoptianism were the most acceptable to the Mohammedans. Yet it is possible the reference was to a West-Gothic monarch, if we can only suppose, that in the then political state of Spain, such a monarch was to be found in that country.

[7] Duo populi duae ecclesiae, says Beatus l. c.

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spread beyond the boundaries of Spain into the adjacent provinces of France. Felix, bishop of Urgellis, being the most distinguished representative and champion of Adoptianism, it followed, as a matter of course, that the Frankish empire must be brought to participate in this dispute. Both the friends and enemies of Felix agree in representing him as a man distinguished for his piety and Christian zeal. The fragments of his writings which we possess evince his superiority not only to Elipandus, but to all his antagonists, in acuteness of intellect. Eminent above all other theological writers of this age, for the calm and unimpassioned manner in which he stated his opinions, the only great defect to be observed in his character as an author, is the frequent obscurity of his style, which was owing perhaps in part to the particular form of the Latin language, as then cultivated in Spain.[1]

The spread of this controversy into the Frankish provinces led the emperor Charles to cause the matter to be investigated by an assembly convened at Regensburg, in the year 792, before which Felix himself was summoned to appear. His doctrines were here condemned, and he himself consented to a recantation. The emperor thereupon sent him to Rome; a procedure which may be easily explained, partly from the emperor's undeniable respect for the Romish church, without whose aid and counsel he was unwilling to take a step in any affair of moment, and partly from his want of confidence in the sincerity of Felix. At Rome, it was hardly to be expected that the explanations which had been thus far made by Felix would give complete satisfaction. He was arrested and confined; and, while in prison, was induced to prepare a new written recantation. Of course, these recantations of Felix did not proceed from any change that had really taken place in his mode of thinking, a thing which could not possibly be so brought about. On his return home, he repented having denied his own convictions of the truth, and betook himself to those parts of Spain which were under the Saracenic dominion, where he could once more express his convictions with freedom. Upon this the Spanish bishops issued two letters, addressed to the emperor and to the Frankish bishops; the latter a polemical writing, which entered fully into the defence of Adoptianism; and they proposed both a new examination, and the restoration of Felix to his former place. These letters the emperor sent to pope Hadrian. But without awaiting his decision, the emperor caused the matter to be brought before the council of Frankfort on the Main, in the year 794. The decision of this council, as might be expected, went against Adoptianism; and the emperor now sent the transactions of the synod, together with a letter certifying his own approval of them, to Elipandus, and the other Spanish bishops.

When the Frankish church first became enlisted in these controversies, Alcuin was absent in England. But having in the meantime returned to Frankfort, as he held the first place among the theologians

[1] Yet the incorrectness of the copy of the declarations of Felix, which has come down to us, is also to be taken into account.

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of the Frankish church, the emperor Charles was especially anxious to employ his influence for the suppression of Adoptianism. At first, Alcuin availed himself of the acquaintance which he had formed with Felix at some earlier period,[1] and wrote him a letter breathing all the spirit of Christian love. He begged him not to destroy by this one word so much that was good and true in his writings, and thus bring to nought the efforts of a life spent from his youth upwards in works of piety. To the party of Felix, he opposed the authority of the entire church. The controversy — he said — was, in truth, about a single word, a superficial judgment, we must allow, and refuted by the conduct of Alcuin himself in laying so much stress upon the difference. As he had requested Felix, in this letter, to try to draw off Elipandus from his error, so he wrote to the latter a friendly and respectful epistle, in which he entreated him to use his influence on Felix for the same purpose. Next, he composed a treatise against the doctrine of Adoptianism, which he addressed to the clergy and monks in the French provinces bordering on Spain,[2] and which was designed to fortify them against the influence of the erroneous opinions coming from that quarter. But Felix did not feel himself touched in the least by those passages from the older fathers which Alcuin had quoted against him, and in a work from his own pen, defended himself at length, and endeavored to prove the correctness of his doctrines. Alcuin, in his letter, had opposed, to the small party of the Adoptianists, the uniform agreement of the whole church, which led Felix to unfold in this work his own idea of the church; and on this point, we may assuredly discover in him a very liberal tendency, widely departing from the system of the Romish church. "We believe and confess — said he — a holy Catholic church, which diffused through the whole world by the preaching of the Apostles, is founded on our Lord Christ, as on an immovable rock (therefore not on Peter)[3] — but the church may also, sometimes, consist of few."[4] Elipandus, at a subsequent time, answered Alcuin in a letter filled with violence and bitterness. He upbraids him on the score of his wealth, stating that he owned twenty thousand slaves.[5] In opposition to the authority attached to universality, Elipandus said: Where two or three are assembled together in the name of Christ, there Christ *is*, as he promised,[6] in the midst of

[1] See his short letter to Felix, expressing esteem and love for him and asking for an interest in his prayers.

[2] In Gothia.

[3] In Christo Domino velut solida petra fundatam.

[4] Aliquando vero ecclesia in exiguis est. See c. Felicem l. I. See 791. 92.

[5] As it regards the first, Alcuin, in his letter to the three spiritual delegates of the emperor, says on the other hand (opp. T. I. P. II. p. 860), In the holding of worldly goods, everything depends on the temper of the heart, quo animo quis habeat seculum, aliud est habere seculum, aliud est haberi a seculo. Est qui habet divitias et non habet, est qui non habet et habet. As regards the second: hominem vero ad meum numquam comparavi servitium, sed magis devota caritate omnibus Christi Dei mei famulis servire desiderans.

[6] In accordance with this, are also the declarations of Elipandus, in the above cited letter to Migetius. In opposition to the extravagant titles which the latter seems to have bestowed on the Roman church, Elipandus says (l. c. p. 534): Haec omnia amens ille spiritus te ita intelligere docuit. Nos vero e contrario non de sola Roma dominum Petro dixisse credimus: Tu es Petrus, scilicet firmitas fidei, et super hanc petram aedificabo ecclesiam meam, sed de

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them. The broad way, in which the multitude go, was a way leading to destruction; but the narrow way, which but few travel, was the one that led to everlasting life. God had chosen not the rich, but the poor.[1] As the work of Felix against Alcuin had, in the meantime, been sent to the emperor Charles, the latter called upon Alcuin to refute it. But Alcuin begged that so important a matter should not be devolved on him alone, but that the work of Felix should also be sent to the pope, to Paulinus patriarch of Aquileia, to Theodore bishop of Orleans, and to Richbon bishop of Triers. All these should engage in the refutation of it. If they agreed in their arguments, this would be evidence of the truth. If not, that should stand valid, which most fully accorded with the testimonies of Holy Scripture and of the ancient fathers.[2] *Thus it appears that he, too, was not for allowing the pope an absolute power of decision in matters of faith.* The emperor adopted this plan. He caused the work of Alcuin in refutation of Felix,[3] to be read in his presence, to which he listened with such critical care as to mark what seemed to him to be capable of improvement, and to have it in his power to send Alcuin a list of passages which in his own view needed correction.[4] And inasmuch as Adoptianism had found its way among many of the clergy, monks and laity in the Frankish provinces bordering on Spain, the emperor considered it necessary to send a clerical committee to those parts for the purpose of counteracting it. For this business, he chose Benedict, abbot of Aniana in Languedoc, Leidrad, archbishop of Lyons, and Nefrid, bishop of Narbonne. These prelates succeeded in obtaining a conference with Felix himself in the town of Urgell. They here promised him, that if he would come into the Frankish kingdom, they would not proceed against him with violence, but that a calm investigation should be made of the whole subject in dispute, on rational grounds. Confiding in this promise, he appeared before a synod at Aix, in the year 799, in the presence of the emperor himself. The promise was sacredly observed; and here the abbot Alcuin disputed with him for a long time. At

universali ecclesia catholica, per universam orbem in pace diffusa. He demands of him, how it could be reconciled with the assertion, that the Roman church was the ecclesia sine macula et ruga, that the Roman bishop Liberius had been condemned along with heretics? It must no doubt have been the case, too, that Elipandus was on many points far superior to the popes of these times in Christian freedom of spirit. In the letter already cited, Elipandus earnestly contends, that nothing barely external, nothing that comes from without can defile the man. But to pope Hadrian such principles appeared offensive. In Rome, at this period, the apostolical decree, Acts 15, the barely temporary significance of which was recognized in Augustin's time, was held to be of perpetual validity. The delegates of the pope had to dispute with persons in Spain who maintained, in the sense of Elipandus, that, qui non ederit pecudum aut suillum sanguinem et suffocatum rudis est aut ineruditus. But the pope pronounced the anathema on those who maintained this, see España Sagrada, T. V. l. c. pag. 514. He also declared against those who following likewise the principles of Elipandus, believed there was nothing defiling in holding intercourse and eating with Jews and Saracens.

[1] We certainly recognize in such expressions the archbishop of an oppressed church.

[2] See ep. 69.

[3] His seven books against Felix, which as they contain many fragments from the works of Felix himself, are the most important source of information on the subject of his doctrines.

[4] Ep. 85 to the emperor. Gratias agimus, quod libellum auribus sapientiae vestrae recitari fecistis et quod notari jussistis errata illius et remisistis ad corrigendum.

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length, he declared himself to be convinced; and Alcuin supposed, that through divine grace, and by the authorities of the ancient fathers arrayed against him, a true conviction had been wrought in his mind.[1] At the same time however he betrays a shade of suspicion with regard to the sincerity of Felix.[2] In his work against Elipandus, he testifies his joy, in the spirit of Christian love, over the supposed conversion of Felix. The manner in which the truly devout and gentle Alcuin received and conversed with Felix at Aix, no doubt made a deep impression on the latter, and he afterwards testifies his love towards him.[3] But although, perhaps, the imposing character of the assembly and the exposing of some dangerous consequences to which his expressions might lead, produced on him a momentary impression, and forced him to yield, yet it is by no means probable in itself, that the man, who in theological dialectics excelled his opponents, could have been induced by a *single* disputation, to alter that mode of apprehending doctrines which was so deeply rooted in the very constitution of his mind. As his sincerity or his firmness was not fully trusted, he was not permitted to return to his bishopric, but was placed under the oversight of Leidrad archbishop of Lyons. He drew up himself a form of recantation for the benefit of his former adherents, in which rejecting the phrase, "Adoption," he still endeavored to hold clearly apart the predicates of the two natures. The delegates already mentioned were afterwards sent for a second time, in the year 800, to visit those districts; where according to Alcuin's report,[4] they labored with success, having induced ten thousand persons to recant. Felix lived in Lyons till the year 816; and it is clear from reliable evidence, that he continued to retain unaltered his type of doctrine concerning the person of Christ, with which Agnoëtism was closely connected. He endeavored to bring those who conversed with him to concede, that the knowledge of our Saviour, while on earth, so far as it concerned his humanity, was not, judging from his own professions with regard to himself, absolutely unlimited. Agobard, who succeeded Leidrad as archbishop of Lyons, having heard of such remarks by Felix, asked him, if he really thought thus. Felix replied in the affirmative. But when Agobard placed before him a collection of the sayings of the older fathers, directly opposed to this view, he promised to take all possible pains to arrive at a better knowledge[5] — words however, which still implied, that he was not yet ready to adopt a different opinion; and the probability is, that he merely sought to get rid of a dispute. Besides, a card of his was found, after his death, written over with questions and answers, in which the theory of distinction maintained by Adoptianism was clearly asserted.[6]

[1] Ep. 76. Divina clementia visitante cor illius novissime falsa opinione se seductum confessus est.

[2] Nos vero cordis illius secreta nescientes occultorum judici causam dimisimus.

[3] Alcuin ep. 92. Multum amat me totumque odium, quod habuit in me, versum est in caritatis dulcedinem.

[4] See ep. 92.

[5] Promisit se omnis emendationis diligentiam sibimet adhibiturum.

[6] See the tract composed by Agobard, on this account, against the doctrines of Felix — the last in this controversy.

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II. In the Greek Church.

In the Greek church, the cultivation of letters had been preserved to a far greater extent than in the Latin; though all true intellectual progress had long since been suppressed by a political and spiritual despotism. There was the want of a living, self-moving, creative spirit, to animate the inert mass of collected materials. In interpreting the sacred writings, the chief object was, to bring together the expositions of the older fathers, and arrange them in the order of the several books of the Bible,—out of which collections afterwards arose the so-called Catenae (σειραί) on the Holy Scriptures. The Monophysite controversies had at length contributed in a special manner to awaken the dialectic spirit, which derived fresh nourishment from the study of the Aristotelian philosophy, and fresh practice from the prolonged controversies with the Monophysites. The same causes tended to promote an abstract, dialectical method of expounding the doctrines of faith, which was employed chiefly on the doctrine of the Trinity, and the doctrine of the two natures in Christ, less attention being paid to the practical element in the system of faith. An undue stress was laid on a formal orthodoxy, to the neglect of practical Christianity; and beside the former an external holiness of works, or a piety consisting in the observance of outward forms, or bound up with, and upheld by superstition, could peacefully proceed. This dialectical tendency, which seizing upon the results of the doctrinal controversies, elaborated and arranged them, produced, in the eighth century, the most important doctrinal text-book of the Greek church, which was entitled, "*An accurate summary of the orthodox faith*," (ἀκριβὴς ἔκδοσις τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως,) drawn up near the beginning of that century by the monk John of Damascus; where the expositions of doctrine are given for the most part in the expressions of the older fathers, especially the three great teachers from Cappadocia. Nevertheless, in the Greek church, the original and free development of spiritual life was too scanty to allow any such important creation to start forth here out of the union of the ecclesiastical and dialectical tendencies, as deserves to be compared with the scholastic theology of the Western church.

Monasticism had ever continued in the Greek church to maintain an important influence; an influence, too, which in kind differed entirely from that which prevailed in the Western church of this period; for the predominant contemplative tendency had still been preserved in it, and hence the Greek monasteries were the favorite seats of a mystical theology. At these places, the writings which, as we remarked in the history of the preceding period, were forged under the name of Dionysius the Areopagite, had an unbounded influence. It is remarkable, that the spread of these writings was due in the first place to opponents of the dominant church, and that while they were in the hands of these men, the church was familiar with the arguments against

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their genuineness. The Severians (a party of the Monophysites) at a conference with theologians of the Catholic church held at Constantinople in 533, adduced among other things, testimonies from these writings in favor of their opinions. But their opponents refused to admit such testimonies as genuine, alleging that, as these writings were wholly unknown to the ancients, as neither Cyrill in the controversy with Nestorius, nor Athanasius in the controversies with Arius, had made any use of them, it was sufficiently evident, that they could not be so old as was pretended.[1] A certain presbyter, Theodorus, composed, in the seventh century, a work in defence of the genuineness of these Dionysian writings;[2] and from what is known to us respecting the contents of that work, it is clear that the genuineness of those writings was impugned on right grounds. The arguments against them were four, 1. That none of the later church-teachers cited them. 2. That Eusebius, in his catalogue of the writings of the older fathers, makes no mention of them. 3. That they are filled with comments on church traditions which had arisen only by degrees, and had been progressively shaping themselves into form, during a long period of time, in which they had received many additions. 4. That in them were cited the letters of Ignatius, though he lived after Dionysius. Nevertheless, the spirit of historical criticism was too little prevalent in this period, and the force of that symbolizing, mystical and contemplative bent of mind was too potent to allow any chance of victory to arguments based on grounds of criticism. Now by means of these writings, the elements of New-Platonism and, in part, of the older Alexandrian theology were transferred into the later Greek church; and as, in earlier times, there had been formed, out of the same elements, a certain religious Idealism, which spiritualized rigid Judaism and the sensual rites of Pagan religions, so the recurrence of a like phenomenon might be expected in the Greek church.

A theology which had sunk into this spiritualizing mode of interpretation could adopt the whole round of superstitious notions connected with the worship of saints and of images; and by this spiritualization place them on a firmer basis; while the people, who were profoundly ignorant of this contemplative theology, would apprehend the whole in the grossest material form. By distinguishing two different positions, a mode of apprehension by symbols, and another which stripped away everything symbolical, and soared to the intuition of pure ideas; by distinguishing a humanizing and a *de*humanizing, a positive and a negative mode of apprehension (a θεολογία καταφατική and ἀποφατική);[3] a way was contrived for blending with that idealism the whole system of church ordinances and customs. Furthermore, the excessive use of these writings led to a fulsome style of language, easily inclining to exaggeration, which marred the simplicity of the

[1] See the Acta of the Collatio Constantinopolitana of the year 533, Harduin. Concil. II. 1163.

[2] The notice of its contents, where we have only to regret that Photius has not cited what Theodore said in refutation of the weighty arguments, is to be found in Photius Bibliotheca pag. 1.

[3] As this distinction had been already used by Philo; see Vol. I.

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gospel. From the same cause arose also a singular combination of dialectical and mystical theology, whereby the dogmatism of the understanding became permeated by a certain element of religious intuition and of the fervor of the feelings. We may consider as a representative of this dialectical, contemplative tendency, the monk Maximus, in the seventh century, a man distinguished for acuteness and profundity of intellect. He had filled an important station at the imperial court, as the emperor's first secretary,[1] and was in the way of attaining to still higher posts, but partly for the purpose of holding fast his convictions amid the Monotheletic controversies, he retired to the seclusion of the monastic life, and finally became an abbot. It is evident from his works, that the writings of Gregory of Nyssa and of the Pseudo-Dionysius had exerted a very considerable influence on his mode of thinking in theology. The grand features of a coherent system may be discovered in them, together with many fruitful and pregnant ideas, which, if he had developed himself and acted his part under more favorable circumstances, might have been the means of leading himself and others to an original construction of the Christian system of faith and morals. He was also distinguished for his zeal in endeavoring to promote a vital, practical Christianity, flowing out of the disposition of the heart,[2] in opposition to a dead faith and outward works. The solid inward worth and importance of this individual induces us to dwell the longer upon his peculiarities, and to give the fuller exposition of the ideas which lie at the centre of his theology.

Christianity, as it seemed to him, forms the exact mean betwixt the too narrow apprehension of the idea of God in Judaism, and the too broad one of the deification of nature in paganism; and this mean is expressed by the doctrine of the Trinity.[3] The highest end of the whole creation he supposed to be the intimate union into which God entered with it through Christ — when, without detriment to his immutability, he assumed human nature into personal union for the purpose of rendering humanity godlike; God becoming man without change of his own essence, and receiving human nature into union with himself without its losing aught that belongs to its peculiar essence. It was with a view to secure this point, that he attached so much importance also to the articles touching the union of the two natures in which each retains without change its own peculiar properties.[4] The end and purpose of the redemption was not solely to

[1] Πρῶτος ὑπογραφεὺς τῶν βασιλικῶν ὑπομνημάτων.

[2] To the authorities of the Greek fathers against slavery, let us here add that of Maximus. He regarded slavery as a dissolution, introduced by sin, of the original unity of human nature, as a denial of the original dignity of man's nature, created after the image of God, — while it was the aim of Christianity to restore the original relation. He says of slavery: ἡ τῆς αὐτῆς δηλονότι παρὰ γνώμην διαίρεσις φύσεως, ἄτιμον ποιουμένη τὸν κατὰ φύσιν ὁμότιμον, νόμον ἐπίκουρον ἔχουσα, τὴν τυραννοῦσαν τὸ τῆς εἰκόνος ἀξίωμα τῶν δεσποζόντων διάθεσιν. Exposit. in orat. Dom. I. f. 356.

[3] The antithesis of the διαστολή and the συστολὴ τῆς θεότητος, on one side, the καταμερίζειν τὴν μίαν ἀρχήν, on the other, the μία ἀρχή, but στενὴ καὶ ἀτελής. See the exposition of the Paternoster. Maximi opera ed. Combefis. T. I. f. 355.

[4] Quaest. in scripturam, p. 45 and p. 209. Θεοῦ ἀφράστως ὑπεράγαθος βουλή, to the fulfilment of which all else is but preparatory; ἀτρέπτως ἐγκραθῆναι τῇ φύσει τῶν

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cleanse human nature from sin, but to elevate it to a higher stage than it could attain by its original powers — to raise it up to an unchangeable, divine life.[1] Hence the history of creation falls into two grand divisions, — the preparation for that assumption of human nature by the Divine Being, and the deification of human nature progressively unfolding itself out of this fact, in all such as become susceptible of it by the bent of their will, even to the attainment of perfect blessedness.[2] Accordingly he often speaks of a continual incarnation of the Logos in believers, in so far as the human life is taken up into union with Christ, and permeated by the principle of his divine life.[3] And he considers the soul of the individual, who thus begets a divine life out of himself, as a *θεότοκος*.[4] As the Logos, being God, was the creator of the woman, whom, from love to mankind, he caused to become his mother so far as it concerned his bodily generation as a man — so the Logos in us, is in the first place the creator of faith, and then a son of the faith that is in us, embodying himself, by the virtues that spring out of faith, in Christian action.[5] Now as human nature was so formed by God as to be the organ of a divine life exceeding the limits of the finite creation, as to be capable of receiving a higher principle, and of being permeated thereby, though without exceeding the limits of the peculiar essence given to it by creation, a way was provided in this theory for establishing a harmonious connection between creation and redemption, nature and grace, the natural and the supernatural, reason and revelation: and the scattered hints pointing at this connection we may consider as the luminous points of his system. "The faculty of seeking after the godlike,[6] has been implanted in human nature by its Creator; but it is first enabled to arrive at the revelation of the godlike by the supervening power of the Holy Spirit. But as this original faculty has, in consequence of sin, become suppressed by the predominance of sense, the grace of the Holy Spirit must supervene, for the purpose of restoring this faculty to its pristine freedom and purity. We cannot properly say, that grace, by itself alone, and independent of the natural faculty of knowledge, communicates to the righteous the knowledge of mysteries;[7] for in that case we must suppose, that the prophets understood nothing at all of what was revealed to them by the Holy Spirit. As little can we suppose, that they attained to true knowledge by seeking for it with the natural faculty alone; for thus we should make all supervention of the Holy Spirit superfluous. When St. Paul says, The one and the self-same Spirit, which worketh in all, divideth to every man severally as he will, this is to be understood to mean that the Holy Spirit wills that which is suited to each individual; so as to guide the spiritual

ἀνθρώπων διὰ τῆς καθ' ὑπόστασιν ἀληθοῦς ἑνώσεως, ἑαυτῷ δὲ τὴν φύσιν ἀναλλοιώτως ἑνῶσαι τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην.

[1] *Τῇ θεώσει πλεονεκτοῦσαν τὴν πρώτην διάπλασιν.* Quaest. in script. f. 157.

[2] L. c. p. 45.

[3] *Ὁ χριστὸς διὰ τῶν σωζομένων σαρκούμενος*

[4] Exposition of the Paternoster, p. 354.

[5] *Κατὰ τὴν πρᾶξιν ταῖς ἀρεταῖς σωματούμενος.*

[6] *Αἱ ζητητικαὶ καὶ ἐρευνητικαὶ τῶν θείων δυνάμεις.*

[7] *Χωρὶς τῶν τῆς γνώσεως δεκτικῶν κατὰ φύσιν δυναμέων.*

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striving of those who are seeking after the godlike to its desired end.[1] Accordingly, the Holy Spirit works not wisdom in the saints, without a mind which is susceptible of it; — it works not knowledge, without the recipient faculty of reason; — it works not faith, without a rational conviction respecting the future and the invisible;[2] — it works not the gift of miraculous healing, without a natural philanthropy; — and, in a word, it produces no charisma whatsoever, without the recipient faculty for each.[3] The grace of the Spirit destroys not in the least the natural faculty, but much rather makes that faculty, which has become inapt by unnatural use, once more efficient, by employing it conformably to its nature, when it leads it to the contemplation of the godlike."[4]

So, in like manner, the union of the divine and human natures in Christ corresponds to the mutual adaptation to each other of the divine and the human elements in believers. "As the Logos could not have wrought the natural works of the body after a manner worthy of God, without a body animated by a rational soul, so neither could the Holy Spirit produce the knowledge of the mysteries, without a faculty seeking after knowledge in the way of nature."[5] All Christian contemplation and action are so brought about in believers, that God works within them as his instruments,[6] and the man contributes nothing thereto but a disposition that wills what is good.[7] In conformity with this relation of the natural to the supernatural, of revelation to the recipiency of man, which is the condition of it, Maximus supposes a progressive development of the divine revelations, according to the point attained by the individuals to be educated. Hence in the Old Testament, the revelation and agency of God was connected with forms of sense, for the purpose of elevating man from sensible things to spiritual.[8] As he proceeds upon the idea of a communion with the divine source of life imparting itself to man, which man is enabled to appropriate by means of the organ originally implanted in his nature, and now once more unfolded to freedom, so he apprehends the idea of faith as the internal fact of this appropriation. But it is from faith that this divine life must first unfold itself — from faith penetrating into the disposition of the man, incorporating itself with his actions, ruling him in the form of love; and together with this love, as the union with the godlike, arises the life of contemplation, the peculiar element of the Gnostic point of view, and the highest thing of all; but which he considers not as a mere theorizing state

[1] Βούλεται τὸ ἑκαστῷ δηλονότι σύμφερον εἰς πληροφορίαν τῆς ἀπαθοῦς τῶν ἐπιζητούντων τὰ θεῖα ἐφέσεως.

[2] Ἀνεὺ τῆς κατὰ νοῦν καὶ λόγον τῶν μελλόντων καὶ πᾶσι τέως ἀδήλων πληροφορίας.

[3] Χωρὶς τῆς ἑκαστοῦ δεκτικῆς ἕξεως τε καὶ δυνάμεως.

[4] Ἡ χάρις οὐδαμῶς τῆς φύσεως καταργεῖ τὴν δύναμιν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον καταργηθεῖσαν πάλιν τῇ χρήσει τῶν παρὰ φύσιν τρόπων ἐνεργὸν ἐποιεῖ πάλιν τῇ χρήσει τῶν κατὰ φύσιν πρὸς τὴν τῶν θείων κατανόησιν εἰσάγουσα.

[5] See Quaest. in script. 59 T. I. p. 199, and what follows.

[6] Πᾶσαν ἐν ἡμῖν ὡς ὀργάνοις ὁ θεὸς ἐπιτελεῖ πρᾶξιν καὶ θεωρίαν.

[7] Πλὴν τῆς θελούσης τὰ καλὰ διαθέσεως. Quaest. in script. 54 p. 152.

[8] The divine wisdom, in having respect to the ἀναλογια τῶν προνοουμένων. Quaest. 31. p. 74.

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of mind, but as the highest transfiguration of Christianity in the complete unity of life and knowledge. "Faith — says he — is a certain relation of the soul to the supernatural — the godlike;[1] — an immediate union of the spirit with God, so that the being of God in man is therewith necessarily presupposed. The kingdom of God, and faith in God, differ only in the abstract conception. Faith is the kingdom of God, which has not yet come to a determinate shape, — the kingdom of God is faith, which has attained to shape in a way answering to the divine life.[2] The faith which is actively employed in obeying the divine commands becomes the kingdom of God, which can be known only by those who possess it, and the kingdom of God is nothing other than operative faith." In speaking against those who considered the charismata as isolated gifts, simply communicated from without, he says:[3] "He who has genuine faith in Christ, has within him all the charismata collectively. But since, by reason of our inactivity, we are far from that active love towards him, which unveils to us the divine treasures which we bear within our own souls, so we justly believe that we are without the divine charismata. If, according to St. Paul, Christ dwells in our hearts by faith, and in him are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge, then all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge are hidden in our hearts. But they reveal themselves to the heart in the same proportion as the heart becomes pure through obedience to the divine commands." Of love, he says,[4] contemplating it as the perfection of the Christian life — "What kind of good is there, which love possesses not? Does it not possess faith, which bestows on him that has it as firm and assured a conviction of the godlike, as the sensuous perception of the eye can bestow of visible objects? Does it not possess a hope, which represents to itself the truly good, and grasps it more firmly than the hand ever grasps an object which can be felt? Does it not bestow the enjoyment of that which is believed and hoped for, when, by virtue of the whole bent of the soul, it possesses in itself the future as the present?"[5] With regard to the union of the theoretical with the practical element, he says, that he who represents to himself knowledge as something embodied in action, and action as something instinct with knowledge, has found the right way of true, divine action. But he who severs the one from the other, either converts knowledge into an unsubstantial fancy, or action into a lifeless shadow.[6]

In describing how the whole life of the Christian should be one prayer, Maximus explains himself thus: Constant prayer consists in

[1] The *πίστις δύναμις σχετικὴ τῆς ὑπὲρ φύσιν ἀμέσου τοῦ πιστεύοντος πρὸς τὸν πιστευόμενον θεὸν τελείας ἑνώσεως*. Quaest. 33 in script. T. I. 76 and the following.

[2] L. c. *ἡ μὲν, πίστις ἀνείδεος θεοῦ βασιλεία ἐστίν ἡ δὲ βασιλεία, πίστις θεοειδῶς εἰδοπεποιημένη*.

[3] In the thoughts concerning charity, I. f. 453.

[4] In a letter, T. II. p. 220.

[5] *Δι' ἑαυτῆς ὡς παρόντα τὰ μέλλοντα κατὰ διάθεσιν ἔχουσα*.

[6] *Ἡ τὴν γνῶσιν ἀνυπόστατον πεποίηκε φαντασίαν ἢ τὴν πρᾶξιν ἄψυχον κατέστησεν εἴδωλον*. Among the scattered thoughts, which harmonize well with his other writings. I. 606.

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this, that one has his mind constantly directed to God in true piety and sincere aspiration; that the whole life should be rooted and grounded in hope on him; that in everything one does or suffers, one's whole reliance is placed only in Him.[1] He nowhere suffers himself to fall into the mistake, into which the mystics were often misled, that of confounding together eternal life and the present earthly existence. He thus contrasts them: One is the relative knowledge of the godlike by conceptions, which consists in the striving after that perfect union with the object of knowledge which, in this life, is not yet to be attained; the other, the absolute, perfect intuition, in immediate presence, where knowledge by conception retires into the back-ground.[2] The fundamental ideas of Maximus seem to lead to the doctrine of a final universal restoration, which in fact is intimately connected also with the system of Gregory of Nyssa, to which he most closely adheres. Yet he was too much fettered by the church system of doctrine, distinctly to express any theory of this sort.[3]

The first doctrinal controversy, which we have to notice in the Greek church of this period, originated partly in causes within and partly in causes without the church itself. The internal cause was the effort to unfold from the doctrine of the two natures in Christ the consequences which it involved. The doctrine of the two natures in Christ combined together in personal union, while each retained its own attributes unaltered, would if consistently carried out lead men also to suppose two forms of working corresponding to these two natures; as, in fact, they allowed to subsist along with the two natures the attributes also, answering to each, which remained unaltered. The external cause of these controversies, was, as had so often been the case, the inclination of the Byzantine emperors to intermeddle with ecclesiastical proceedings; and in particular, the effort, so often made without success, and from which they still could not desist, to bring about a conciliation of the opposite doctrinal views existing in the

[1] See his ἀσκητικός I. p. 378.

[2] Ἡ μὲν τῶν θείων γνῶσις σχετικῆ, ὡς ἐν μόνῳ λόγῳ κειμένη καὶ νοήμασι, ἡ δὲ κυρίως ἀληθὴς ἐν μόνῃ τῇ πείρᾳ κατ' ἐνέργειαν δίχα λόγου καὶ νοημάτων ὅλην τοῦ γνωσθέντος κατὰ χάριν μεθέξει παρεχομένην τὴν αἴσθησιν, δι' ἧς κατὰ τὴν μέλλουσαν λῆξιν τὴν ὑπὲρ φύσιν ὑποδεχόμεθα θέωσιν ἀπαύστως ἐνεργουμένην. Quaest. script. f. 210.

[3] In the collection of Aphorisms derived from Maximus, the ἑκατοντὰς τετάρτη § 20. T. I. f. 288, the re-union of all rational essences with God is established as the final end: πρὸς ὑποδοχὴν τοῦ πάντως πᾶσιν ἑνωθησομένου κατὰ τὸ πέρας τῶν αἰώνων. In his ἐρωτήσεις καὶ ἀποκρίσεις c. 13. I. f. 304, he himself cites Gregory's doctrine concerning the restoration, and with approbation; but explains it thus: τὰς παρατραπείσας τῆς ψυχῆς δυνάμεις τῇ παρατάσει τῶν αἰώνων ἀποβαλεῖν τὰς εὐτεθείσας ἀυτῇ τῆς κακίας μνήμας· καὶ περάσασαν τοὺς πάντας αἰῶνας καὶ μὴ εὑρίσκουσαν στάσιν εἰς τὸν θεὸν ἐλθεῖν τὸν μὴ ἔχοντα πέρας. But then he adds καὶ οὕτως τῇ ἐπιγνώσει, οὐ τῇ μεθέξει τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀπολαβεῖν τὰς δυνάμεις καὶ εἰς τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἀποκατασθῆναι καὶ δειχθῆναι τὸν δημιουργὸν ἀναίτιον τῆς ἁμαρτίας. According to this, then, God will finally be glorified by the complete extirpation of all evil. Yet how, according to his own ideas he could distinguish the *knowledge* of the highest good in which all would participate, from the *participation* in it, cannot be well seen. In expounding Collos. 2: 15 from different points of view (Quaest. script. 21) he had in his mind perhaps (see T. I. f. 44) a final redemption even of fallen spirits; since he says, that there is also a λόγος μυστικώτερος καὶ ὑψηλότερος, but that we are not authorized to rely on the ἀπορρητότερα τῶν θείων δογμάτων of Scripture.

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church, by means of formulas designed to conceal the existing differences. It was not merely a religious, but also a political interest by which the Greek emperor Heraclius, whose arms were successful in recovering the provinces rent from the Greek empire by the Persians, was led to desire this. It was to him a matter of great political importance, to strengthen the power of the Greek empire by reuniting the large body, constituting the Monophysite party, with the dominant church of the empire. The interviews he had had with Monophysite bishops, whom he happened to meet in his campaigns during the war against the Persians in 622 and the following years, inspired him with the thought, that the formulary of one divinely human mode of working and willing in Christ, might serve the purpose of bringing about the result which had been so long sought in vain, and if not to reconcile, at least to render harmless to the unity of the church, the opposition between the Monophysite party, and the Catholic church which held fast to the decisions of the Chalcedonian council. The formulary — one mode of Christ's willing and working — seemed the less liable to give offence, because in the writings of Dionysius the Areopagite, which stood in the same high authority with both the parties, an ἐνέργεια θεανδρική was set down as the distinguishing predicate of Christ.[1] Heraclius by no means designed to make this formulary of doctrine a universally dominant one in the church. He was governed here far more by political than by doctrinal motives; and without taking any particular interest in the doctrinal disputes, or wishing to have any influence in determining the doctrines of the church, his only object was to employ this formulary as a means for promoting union in districts where the Monophysite party was numerous and powerful, as was the case in the Alexandrian diocese. The patriarch Sergius, of Constantinople, whom the emperor consulted touching the propriety of employing this formulary, having found nothing offensive in it, he was the more confirmed in his contemplated project.[2] Perhaps the use

[1] It cannot, indeed, be proved, that the emperor, when he first hit upon this formulary, had this object in view. It is possible, that having heard, perhaps from Monophysite bishops, in conversation, some such expression, and not knowing what to think of it, he consulted on the subject his patriarch at Constantinople; or that the Monophysite bishops of the dominant church, had, in the course of some discussion, raised it as an objection, that as they supposed two natures in Christ, they must also affirm two modes of willing and working; and that the emperor was thus led to ask the opinion of the patriarch whether it might not be right to suppose one mode of willing and working. It is possible, that bishop Cyrus also, when he first spoke with the emperor and consulted the patriarch Sergius about this formulary, had no thoughts of employing it as a means for higher objects. It is possible, that his elevation to the Alexandrian patriarchate, stood in no connection whatever with these transactions; and that it was only by occasion of this elevation that he was led to make such a use of this formulary. Great mistakes are often made, by reasoning back from some result really brought about by a concurrence of circumstances, to the motives of individuals; still, however, the interest shown by the emperor in this formulary, renders it probable that from the first it appeared to him an important means to this end; and by comparing this case with the like attempts to bring about a union with the Monophysites, as for example, the added clause to the Trishagion, the condemnation of the three chapters, we shall find much serving to confirm this view of the matter.

[2] That the emperor had for this reason applied to the patriarch, may be gathered from the letter of bishop Cyrus to him soon to be mentioned. Harduin. Concil. T. III. 1338.

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which Heraclius was making of this formulary, would never have engendered a controversy, if he had not finally succeeded by it in effecting his purpose among the Monophysites in the Alexandrian church.

Among the bishops, with whom the emperor had conversed on this subject, was Cyrus bishop of Phasis, in the territory of the Lazians of Colchis. As the latter felt some scruples about the employment of this formulary, he applied for advice to the patriarch Sergius of Constantinople.[1] Sergius sought in his reply to remove these scruples;[2] but in so doing he expressed himself very ambiguously, showing the want of an independent theological judgment of his own. He wrote him, that at ecumenical councils, this subject had never come under discussion, nor had anything been determined about it. Several eminent fathers had used the phrase *one mode of working*, but as yet he had found no one, who approved the phrase *two modes of working*. If however any such case could be pointed out, it would be necessary to follow that authority, for men were bound not merely to seek to agree with the fathers in doctrine, but also to use the same language with them, and to be cautious of all innovations.[3] To such a pitch of extravagance was carried this slavery to the letter, which substituted the sayings of individual men in place of an independent examination of doctrines![4] Nevertheless, Cyrus represented himself as satisfied by this decision of the patriarch; and we may conjecture that it was to his approbation of this formulary, and his declared readiness to form a union with the Monophysites, he was indebted for his elevation to the patriarchate of Alexandria in the year 630. He actually succeeded in bringing back thousands of the Monophysites in Egypt and the adjacent provinces, who had remained hitherto separated from the dominant church, to reunite with the same, by means of a doctrinal compromise established on nine points, which compromise placed the peculiar articles of Monophysitism beside those of the creed of the Chalcedonian council; so that every man could explain the one in conformity with the other.[5] And in the seventh article of this compromise, it was derived as a consequence from the idea of the real[6] union of the two natures, that the one Christ and Son of God works that which is divine and that which is human by one divinely human mode of agency.[7]

[1] See l. c.

[2] See the tract l. c. f. 1309.

[3] Πᾶσα γὰρ ἀνάγκη μὴ μόνον κατ' ἔννοιαν τοῖς τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων ἕπεσθαι δόγμασιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῖς αὐταῖς ἐκείνοις κεχρῆσθαι φωναῖς καὶ μηδὲν τὸ παράπαν καινοτομεῖν.

[4] It deserves to be noticed, that Sergius in his reply makes no mention whatever of his own earlier explanation, to which Cyrus had appealed. It might be inferred from this, though it is not certain, that Sergius in that explanation had been moved by the wishes of the emperor to express himself in too decided a manner in favor of that formulary; so that he was now willing to ignore it.

[5] Namely, on the one hand, εἷς χριστὸς ἐκ δύο φύσεων, on the other, ἕνα χριστὸν ἐν δυσὶ θεωρεῖσθαι ταῖς φύσεσιν, are brought together by the expression μία φύσις τοῦ λόγου σεσαρκωμένη and μία ὑπόστασις σύνθετος, ἕνωσις φυσικὴ and ἕνωσις καθ' ὑπόστασιν.

[6] Not merely φαντασίᾳ, ψευδεῖ καὶ διὰ κένοις νοῦ διαπλάσμασι.

[7] Τὸν αὐτὸν ἕνα χριστὸν καὶ υἱὸν ἐνεργοῦντα τὰ θεοπρεπῆ καὶ ἀνθρώπινα μίᾳ θεανδρικῇ ἐνεργείᾳ. See the formula of union in the 13th action of the 6th ecumenical council. Harduin. III. 1342.

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But this compromise[1] met with the same fate with all the earlier attempts at conciliation; namely, the union thus brought about was soon dissolved again; and new schisms sprung out of it. There was then residing at Alexandria an eminent monk of Palestine, by name Sophronius,[2] who with logical consistency defended the system of the two natures, and was not inclined to sacrifice consistency in doctrine to church policy. To him, the doctrine of one mode of working and willing seemed to lead necessarily to Monophysitism; and an accommodation (*οἰκονομία* was the word) ventured upon at the expense of truth, in order to promote the peace of the church, was a thing he could by no means approve. It was agreed on both sides to leave the matter to the patriarch Sergius; and Sophronius himself went to see him. Sergius foresaw the important consequences which this opposition, once agitated, might have; and he sought to suppress the controversy in the bud. It is true, he himself perhaps approved the phrase one mode of willing and working; yet he was of the opinion, that it would be wrong to make a law, and a dogma for the church, out of the manner in which only a few approved fathers, in a few passages, and but occasionally, had expressed themselves; and it was necessary to avoid this phrase in the public language of the church, because to many it might give offence and be so misapprehended, as if the doctrine — which was by no means implied therein — of one nature, might be deduced from it. He was more decided, however, with regard to the phrase "two modes of willing and working," not merely on account of its possible abuse, but because this phrase seemed to him to denote something that was false in itself. Men would be led thereby to conceive of two opposite wills of the Logos and of the humanity in Christ, to annul the true unity of the person of Christ, inasmuch as two wills cannot be conceived to exist at the same time in one person. It was therefore safest, to use none but the doctrinal formulas hitherto employed, as these perfectly answered the interests of Christian faith. He therefore advised the patriarch Cyrus to make no change in the compromise at Alexandria, which was so important for the peace of the churches and which could not be dissolved without prejudice to the same; but after having attained his object, no longer to speak either of "*one* mode of willing and working" or of "*two*," but only to hold fast to this, that the self-same Christ, the true God, works that which is divine and that which is human, and all the divine and human agency proceeds undivided from the same incarnate Logos, and is to be referred back to him. And Sophronius finally promised the patriarch that he would refrain from both forms of expression, and from all dispute about them.[3] Much, we must allow, depends on the form in which Sophroni-

[1] Called by the Greeks the *ἕνωσις ὑδροβαφής*, because it so quickly came to nothing.

[2] Sophronius was, in his younger years, known as a learned man and teacher, under the name of the *Sophist*. This was before he became a monk, if, as it is probable, he is the same with the one to whom Johannes Moschus dedicated his history of the monks (*λείμων πνευματικός*) and of whose resolutions to quit the life of the world, he speaks in this history, c. 110.

[3] The source of these accounts is the relation, faithful as it seems to the truth, of

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us worded this promise, in judging as to his good faith and sincerity. On this point, we can form no opinion; since we have only the report of Sergius, who was a party in the case. But at all events, Sophronius believed himself bound by the promise he had given only so long as he remained in this subordinate relation of dependence as a monk. From this he was removed, and attained himself to one of the highest stations in the general guidance of the church; for he was made in 634 patriarch of Jerusalem. As Sergius now had reason no doubt to dread the zeal of Sophronius, who by this new position, had acquired so great an influence, he endeavored to procure as a counterpoise to this, the concurrent decision of the Roman bishop Honorius. He informed the latter[1] of what had thus far been done, and asked him for his own judgment. Honorius, in two letters, declared his entire concurrence with the views of Sergius, and wrote also in the same terms to Cyrus and Sophronius. He too was afraid of logical determinations on such matters. It seemed to him altogether necessary[2] to suppose but one will in Christ, as it was impossible to conceive, in him, any strife between the human and the divine will such as by reason of sin exists in men.[3] He approved, indeed, of the accommodation (*οἰκονομία*,) whereby the patriarch Cyrus had brought about the reunion of the Monophysites with the Catholic church. But as hitherto no public decision of the church had spoken of "one mode of working" or of "two modes of working" of Christ, it seemed to him the safest course, that in future such expressions should be avoided, as the one might lead to Nestorianism, the other to Eutychianism. He reckoned this whole question among the unprofitable subtilties which endanger the interests of piety. Men should be content to hold fast to this, in accordance with the hitherto established doctrine of the church, that the self-same Christ works that which is divine and human in both his natures.[4] Those other questions should be left to the grammarians in the schools. If the Holy Spirit operates in the faithful, as St. Paul says, in manifold ways, how much more must this hold good of the Head himself! Meantime Sophronius in the circular letter, which, according to ancient custom, he issued on entering upon his office,[5] when laying down a full confession of his faith, presented at the same time the doctrine of two modes of operation

the patriarch Sergius to the Roman bishop Honorius, in the twelfth action of the sixth ecumenical council. Harduin. III. f. 1315.

[1] See the last cited letter of Sergius l. c.

[2] See l. c. f. 1319.

[3] Nam lex alia in membris aut voluntas diversa non fuit vel contraria salvatori, quia super legem natus est humanae conditionis. Now to such passages, the defenders of Honorius on the principles of church orthodoxy might appeal, in order to show that he had not attacked the doctrine of two natures in Christ, by itself considered, but only the hypothesis of an opposition between the divine and the human will in Christ. This defence, however, will not stand the test of examination, for it seemed to him, as well as to Sergius, that a duplicity of will in one and the same subject could not subsist in fact without opposition.

[4] In the second letter, f. 1354: Unus operator Christus in utrisque naturis, duae naturae in una persona inconfuse, indivise, inconvertibiliter propria operantes; — although the theory of two modes of working lies at the foundation of the very thing he here asserts, yet he carefully avoided expressing this.

[5] His *γράμματα ἐνθρονιστικά* in the XI. actio of the VI. ecumenical council. Hard III. 1258, and what follows.

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answering to the two natures in Christ as a necessary consequence flowing from the doctrine of the two natures. He by no means rejected the phrase *ἐνέργεια θεανδρική*; (divinely-human agency;) but he maintained that this stood in no sort of contradiction with the designating of two modes of operation answering to the peculiar natures; but referred to quite another thing, to that which is not predicated of one of the natures in particular, but of the action of both in union with each other, of the collective activity of the person of Christ. True, Palestine, soon after Sophronius had issued this letter, was by the conquest of the Saracens, severed from its connection with the rest of the Christian world. But the controversy must already have spread to a considerable extent; for the emperor Heraclius considered it necessary to resort, for the purpose of suppressing it, to a common expedient, which generally served but to aggravate the evil. He issued, in 638, a dogmatic edict, under the name of the Ecthesis, without doubt the work of Sergius,[1] drawn up according to the principles which Sergius had hitherto always expressed. The doctrine of one person of Christ in two natures was held forth conformably to the doctrine of the church, and that one and the self-same Christ works that which is divine and that which is human, was affirmed; but the phrases one energy (*ἐνεργεία*) or two energies were to be avoided, the first because, though it had been employed by some of the fathers, yet created uneasiness in many, who supposed that such an expression carried with it the denial of the duality of natures — the second, because it had been used by no one of the approved church-teachers, and because it gave offence to *many*.[2] There would, moreover, follow from it the hypothesis of two contradictory wills in Christ, which Nestorius himself had not ventured to assert. Following the doctrine of the fathers, it was necessary, on the contrary, to affirm one will of Christ; since the humanity with its own rational soul had never determined itself out of its own will in opposition to the will of the Logos united with it, but always so, as the Logos willed.[3]

This edict expressed itself in language too favorable to the doctrine of "one mode of willing and working," ever to satisfy the opponents of the latter doctrine. Nor were the defenders of Dyotheletism contented to be merely tolerated; but the doctrine of two modes of willing and working, corresponding to the two natures, seemed to them closely connected with the true idea of the Redeemer and of the redemption; and it would therefore be considered by them of the greatest importance, that the same should be adopted into the church system of faith. The majority of the Greek bishops were wont, it is true, to be governed by the prevailing tendency of the court. The patriarch Sergius could easily convoke at Constantinople an *endemic* council (*σύνοδος ἐνδημοῦσα*) which would approve the new religious

[1] *Ἔκθεσις τῆς πίστεως.*

[2] It is easy to see, that the language is stronger against the second expression, than against the first.

[3] *Ὡς ἐν μηδενὶ καιρῷ τῆς νοερῶς ἐψυχωμένης αὐτοῦ σαρκὸς κεχωρισμένως καὶ ἐξ οἰκείας ὁρμῆς ἐναντίως τῷ νεύματι τοῦ ἡνωμένου αὐτῷ καθ' ὑπόστασιν θεοῦ λόγου τὴν φυσικὴν αὐτῆς ποιήσασθαι κίνησιν, ἀλλ' ὁπότε καὶ οἷαν καὶ ὅσην αὐτὸς ὁ θεὸς λόγος ἠβούλετο.* Harduin. III. 796.

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edict; nor would there be much difficulty in compelling to acquiescence the majority of the other bishops of Asia. But the arm of the emperor was powerless in the provinces of Africa and of Italy; where, besides, a more independent hierarchical spirit opposed itself to the influence of court dogmatism. There was one man in particular, who by his acuteness as a dialectician, by his activity, and his invincible courage, was singularly fitted to take the lead of the party opposed to Monotheletism, and to concentrate all his powers to this object. This was the above mentioned *Maximus*, who had then retired to the monastic life.

As *he* must be called the most important representative of Dyotheletism, so *Theodore*, bishop of Pharan, in Arabia, of whom however we know nothing except from single fragments of his writings, was the most important doctrinal representative and spokesman of the opposite party. Now as to the dogmatic interest connected with this latter tendency, the truth was, it attached itself to the reigning mode of thinking and speaking since the last decision of the controversy about the two natures of Christ, by virtue of which mode of thinking and speaking, the formulary: "One incarnate nature of the Logos," was joined with the formulary: "two natures;" and without infringing on the abiding duality of the natures, it was thought possible to refer the human nature, as well as the divine, to the one incarnate Logos as one personal subject; and *in* thus referring it, a special religious interest was involved. Accordingly, it was now considered of importance to say, that it was not, so to speak, the self-subsistent human nature in Christ that was subject to, and submitted itself to, the sensuous affections, but that everything human in Christ was no less a free act, than the assumption of human nature itself; all sprung from the one will and the one activity of the Logos;—all appropriation of purely human attributes and affections was, in fact, nothing else than a continued exertion of that one determination of will and act, by virtue of which the Logos, from the first, appropriated to himself the human nature. All the actions and sufferings of Christ proceed from three factors. The efficient cause in them all is the *divine will*, the divine agency as the determining power; and this operates *by means of the rational soul*, and through the *body* as its instrument.[1] Whatsoever pain or suffering of Christ we may choose to name, it must still be considered, and justly, as the one activity of the same Christ.[2] God is the author of all, the humanity the instrument, which he makes use of.[3] On the contrary, Maximus affirms: For the complete redemp-

[1] *Μία ἐνέργεια τοῦ λόγου, τοῦ νοῦ, τοῦ αἰσθητικοῦ σώματος καὶ ὀργανικοῦ τὰ πάντα λεχθείη. Πάντα ὅσα τῆς σωτηριώδους οἰκονομίας εἴτε θεῖα εἴτε ἀνθρώπινα περὶ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν χριστοῦ ἀνιστόρηται ἀρχοειδῶς μὲν ἐκ τοῦ θείου τὴν ἔνδοσιν καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν ἐλάμβανε, διὰ μέσης δὲ τῆς νοερᾶς καὶ λογικῆς ψυχῆς ὑπουργεῖτο παρὰ τοῦ σώματος.* See the fragments of Theodore of Pharan, in the acts of the VI. Ecumenical Council, actio 13. Harduin. Concil. T. III. f. 1343, and 44.

[2] *Ὁ σταυρὸς ἡ νέκρωσις, οἱ μώλωπες ἡ ὠτειλὴ καὶ καθήλωσις, τὰ ἐμπτύσματα, τὰ ῥαπίσματα, πάντα ταῦτα ὀρθῶς ἂν καὶ δικαίως κληθείη μία καὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἕνος χριστοῦ ἐνέργεια.*

[3] *Μία ἐνέργεια, ἧς τεχνίτης καὶ δημιουργὸς ὁ θεὸς, ὄργανον δὲ ἡ ἀνθρωπότης.*

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tion of human nature, it was requisite that God should appropriate it with the identity and totality of all its powers without sin, in order to purify human nature from sin, in all its parts, and to interpenetrate it with a principle of divine life. Whatsoever was not taken up into this union, would therefore remain excluded from redemption. In particular, the will peculiar to man's rational nature, as that by which sin is brought about, must be assumed into this union, and thereby sanctified.[1] Neither human nature generally, nor the nature of any other being whatsoever, can subsist separate from its peculiar powers; nor, accordingly, human nature, without its *ἐνέργεια* and *θέλησις* (powers of working and willing). It is impossible, therefore, without recognizing this, to affirm any true incarnation of the Logos; he who does not recognize it, must fall into Docetism. He refers to all those passages of the gospel history, which speak of a willing or a working of Christ, with respect to anything limited and sensuous — his walking, eating, etc. This does not admit of being transferred to the infinite all-present will, and to the infinite all-present agency of God. It would be necessary, therefore, to understand all this after the manner of Docetism, unless we attributed to the human nature in Christ the *θέλησις* and *ἐνέργεια* which are peculiar to it.[2] When the divine Logos became man, he appropriated, along with the human nature, the inclinations and aversions also which belong to that nature, the positive and negative impulses which lie within it; and he gave signs of both in his life.[3] Maximus said, for example, that as there is implanted in each creature an impulse for self-preservation, and therefore along with this positive principle a negative one,[4] the natural feeling which struggles against the extinction of life; so this feeling, inasmuch as it belongs to the essence of human nature, must have existed in the case of Christ; and indeed was manifested by him at the approach of death. But the schism existing between this

[1] *Εἰ παραβάντες τὴν ἐντολὴν διὰ θελήσεως ἀλλ' οὐ δίχα θελήσεως παρέβημεν ἐδεόμεθα τῆς κατ' αὐτὴν ἰατρείας, τῇ προσλήψει τοῦ ὁμοίου τὸ ὅμοιον αὐτοῦ δὴ τοῦ σαρκωθέντος θεοῦ θεραπεύοντος.* opp. ed. Combefis. T. II. f. 83.

[2] In truth, there is to be found in Monotheletism, as it is expressed by Theodore of Pharan, much that borders on Docetism. For example, he regards it as the peculiar character of all bodily affections in the case of Christ, that he, as man, was not subjected to these affections by any natural necessity, but produced them, each moment, by the divine will, to which the corporeal nature must, of necessity, be subjected; that, by virtue of its appropriation by the Logos, the body of Christ had become, in a sense, deified and spiritualized, and could be freed from the limitations and defects of a corporeal nature, or subjected to them, as he pleased; — hence the miracles. *Ἡ γὰρ ἡμέτερα ψυχὴ οὐ πέφυκε τοσαυτης δυνάμεως εἶναι, ἵνα τὰς φυσικὰς τοῦ σώματος ἰδιότητας ἐξ αὐτοῦ τε καὶ ἑαυτῆς ἀπελαύνῃ.* As this was so in the case of Christ, hence the *ἐπικρατῆσαι τῶν συμφυῶν τοῦ σώματος, ὄγκου, ῥοῆς καὶ χρώματος*; hence, that Christ *ἀογκῶς καὶ οἷον εἰπεῖν ἀσωματῶς ἀνεὺ διαστολῆς προῆλθεν ἐκ μητρὰς καὶ μνήματος καὶ θύρων καὶ ὡς ἐπ' ἐδαφοῦς τῆς θαλάσσης ἐπέζευσεν.* In one point Maximus did, it is true, agree with him; namely, in holding that Christ was not subjected to bodily sufferings, by any necessity of nature, but that he subjected himself to them by a free act of the will, *κατ' οἰκονομίαν*, for the good of mankind.

[3] *Τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος τὴν ὁρμὴν καὶ ἀφορμὴν θέλων δι' ἐνεργείας ἔδειξε, τὴν μὲν ὁρμὴν, ἐν τῷ τοῖς φυσικοῖς καὶ ἀδιαβλήτοις τοσοῦτον χρήσασθαι, ὡς καὶ μὴ θεὸν τοῖς ἀπίστοις νομίζεσθαι, τὴν δὲ ἀφορμὴν ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τοῦ πάθους, ἑκουσίως τὴν πρὸς τὸν θάνατον συστολὴν ποιήσασθαι.* Disputat c. Pyrrho. l. c. f. 165.

[4] The *ἀφορμή*, the opposite to the *ὁρμή*

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natural impulse and reason — the irrational tendency of it growing out of sin, the fear of death in conflict with the call of duty — such a tendency could find no place in him.[1] But with all this, Maximus also derived, from the hypostatic union, a consequence in which he agreed with the Monotheletians, in that he represents the Logos to be efficient, after a peculiar manner, as the personal subject in all these cases, so that the Logos revealed, in the form of the peculiar human "working" and "willing," his own agency for the salvation of mankind. Hence natural necessity is, in every case, to be excluded; everything occurred in a manner entirely different from what is otherwise usual in human nature; everything took place in a divine and supernatural, and, at the same time, a human and natural way.[2] Accordingly Maximus also admitted an *ἐνέργεια θεανδρική* (a divinely human activity) in *his own* sense, as denoting the activity of one subject, viz. the Logos become man, in the forms at once of the divine and the human nature, by virtue of a *τρόπος ἀντιδόσεως* (the interchange of attributes), which applied to the peculiar properties of each nature.[3]

The question concerning the relations of the human and the divine will to each other in Christ was connected also in a way that deserves notice, with the question respecting the relation of the human to the divine will in the redeemed in their state of perfection. At least, many among the Monotheletes supposed the final result of the perfect development of the divine life in believers would be in them, as in the case of Christ, a total absorption of the human will in God's will; so that in all, there would be a subjective, as well as objective identity of will, — which, consistently carried out, would lead to the pantheistic notion of an entire absorption of all individuality of existence in the one original spirit. Maximus well understood this, and contended earnestly against the notion. He maintained, that regarded on the objective side with reference to the object of God's will, which was also the same for all — and with reference to the energising principle of divine grace which is the same, there was indeed one will in all; but that notwithstanding this, the subjective difference would ever remain, the difference namely between the will in God, which works salvation, and the will of those who receive it from him.[4] We may now see also, how closely connected this doctrine of Maximus

[1] *Ἐστὶ γὰρ καὶ κατὰ φύσιν καὶ παρὰ φύσιν δειλία καὶ κατὰ φύσιν μὲν δειλία ἐστὶ δύναμις κατὰ συστολὴν τοῦ ὄντος ἀνθεκτικῆ, παρὰ φύσιν δὲ παράλογος συστολή.*

[2] *Οὐ προηγεῖται ἐν τῷ κυρίῳ καθάπερ ἐν ἡμῖν τῆς θελήσεως τὰ φύσικα, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ πείνασας ἀληθῶς καὶ δίψησας οὐ τρόπῳ τῷ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐπείνασεν καὶ ἐδίψησεν, ἀλλὰ τῷ ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς, ἑκουσίως γὰρ, οὕτω καὶ δειλίασας ἀληθῶς, οὐ καθ' ἡμᾶς, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς ἐδείλιασε καὶ καθολοῦ φᾶναι, πᾶν φυσικὸν ἐπὶ χριστὸν συνεμμένον ἔχει τῷ κατ' αὐτὸ λόγῳ καί τὸν ὑπὲρ φύσιν τρόπον ἵνα καὶ ἡ φύσις διὰ τοῦ λόγου πιστῷθη καὶ ἡ οἰκονομία διὰ τοῦ τρόπου.*

[3] That which, in later times, was called communicatio idiomatum.

[4] *Τῶν τε σωζομένων πρός ἀλλήλους καὶ θεοῦ τοῦ σώζοντος κατὰ τὴν θέλησιν γενήσεται σύμβασις ὅλον ἐν πᾶσι γενικῶς καὶ τὸ καθ' ἕκαστον ἰδικῶς χωρήσαντος τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ τὰ πάντα πληροῦντος τῷ μέτρῳ τῆς χάριτος καὶ ἐν πᾶσι πληρουμένου μελῶν δικὴν κατὰ τὴν ἀναλογίαν τῆς ἐν ἑκάστῳ πίστεως* T. II. f. 10, 11. He also points out in his disputation with Pyrrhus, the ambiguity which arises from expressing the *θέλημα* and the *θελητόν* by the same word. II. f. 162.

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was with the general principle — so important to him-concerning the revelation of the supernatural and divine in the more highly refined form and individuality of the natural; a view with which the other theory stood directly in conflict. As to the appeals made on both sides to the declarations of the older fathers, the truth was, that under the influence of their different dogmatical interests each party would be so much the more likely to differ from the other in their interpretations, as the older fathers, who had no such controversy in their thoughts, expressed themselves very indefinitely on such points.[1]

In Constantinople, the imperial edict still continued valid even after the death of Heraclius, in 641; but the successors of Honorius bishop of Rome, who died soon after the breaking out of these disputes, declared themselves decidedly against Monotheletism, and in favor of the doctrine of the two modes of willing and working. This dogmatic tendency prevailed also in the African church. Maximus repaired to these districts; he increased by his influence the zeal in behalf of it; and used the authority of these churches, especially the Roman, to put down Monotheletism. From Africa and Rome, he directed letters and tracts to the monks of the East, in which he combatted that system. In Africa, he was supported by the governor Gregorius, who was plotting an insurrection against the imperial government, and wanted, perhaps, to avail himself of the excitement growing out of these doctrinal disputes, to further his own plans. A great sensation was created in Africa by a public transaction in which Maximus was the principal actor. The patriarch Pyrrhus, successor to Sergius, who up to this time had himself also maintained the validity of the *Ecthesis*, had been driven by the tide of popular feeling excited against him, to resign his post, in the year 642, and had betaken himself to North Africa. A disputation between him and Maximus was held in presence of a numerous assemblage and of the governor Gregory. Maximus, it is true, displayed great acuteness in the management of his cause; and in this respect he was far superior to his opponent. Nevertheless, it was, beyond doubt, an outward interest, far more than this intellectual superiority or any force of argument, which induced Pyrrhus to own that he was beaten; — upon which confession, he was solemnly restored, by the Roman bishop Theodore, to the communion of the church. But he very soon went over again to the other party.

The long continued troubles which arose out of these disputes, moved the emperor Constans, in 648, to revoke the Ecthesis, and to publish a new religious edict, known under the name of the *Type*.[2] Al-

[1] Thus in particular they differed about the right interpretation and reading of the passage in the fourth supposed letter of Dionysius to Caius, where an *ἐνέργεια θεανδρική* is ascribed to Christ. According to the context of this passage, the reading *μίαν*, defended by the Monothelites, would not be the correct one, but the reading *καινήν* defended by the opposite party; for it is plainly the author's design to mark that which was *new* in the appearance of the God-man; but perhaps all the definiteness here given to the word *θεανδρικήν* originated in glosses. At all events, each party could at least explain the words in its own sense.

[2] *Τύπος τῆς πίστεως.*

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though this edict was drawn up under the influence of the patriarch Paul, and although this prelate, as is plain from his correspondence with the Roman bishops, was devoted to Monotheletism, yet his peculiar doctrinal views were not thrust so prominently to view, as those of Sergius had been in the Ecthesis. He must have known how to distinguish the duty of a church-teacher from that of a civil ruler; or perhaps he considered this dogmatic difference as of too little importance to be suffered to disturb the peace of the church; at least, he did not wish to use the authority of the emperor to introduce Monotheletism into the church. The Type was clearly distinguished from the Ecthesis in this essential respect, that the doctrinal element therein retired further out of view; and, without taking part in any way, either with Monotheletism or against it, the edict was chiefly aimed to restrain the violent disputes, and to restore quiet to the church.[1] After having presented the two opposite views, deciding in favor of neither, it ordered, that the church should abide by the doctrine as it stood before the outbreak of this controversy, and contend no longer about these points. No person should stigmatize another as a heretic, on account of them. The *clergy* who acted contrary to this should be deposed; the monks banished; persons in office, whether in the civil or in the military service, should forfeit their places; private individuals of rank should be punished by the confiscation of their goods; those of the lower order, after being corporeally punished, should be perpetually banished.[2] But though the well-meant purpose was here aimed at, of putting an end, by this ordinance, to the passionate dispute on both sides, yet such an object could not be so attained; for no magisterial word has power to command on matters of religious convictions. Those to whom the subject in dispute seemed so important, would only be the more excited to controversy by the very prohibition of it, which seemed to them either the fruit of an unchristian *indifferentism*, or a sly trick to check for the present the free assertion of the truth. To the zealots for the doctrine of the two modes of willing and working, the *Type* appeared under the aspect as if Christ was thereby made a being without will, or free agency — placed on a level with deaf and dumb idols.[3] Martin I, the zealous opponent of Monotheletism, who even before this, while Apocrisiarius of the Roman church at Constantinople, had violently opposed it, became, when pope, the most important pillar of this party. From different quarters of the East and the West, he received communications from the

[1] The imperial commissioners, who attended the trial of Maximus at Constantinople, could no doubt rightly say, the emperor had dropped the Type simply *διὰ τὴν εἰρήνην, οὐκ ἐπ' ἀναιρέσει τινὸς τῶν ἐπὶ χριστοῦ νοουμένων, ἀλλ' ἐπ' εἰρήνῃ τὴν σιωπὴν τῶν ποιουσῶν τὴν διάστασιν φωνῶν οἰκονομοῦντα.* See Acta Maximi, prefixed to the edition of his works, T. I. § 8. f. 36.

[2] See the Acta of the Lateran Council, Act. IV. T. III. Harduin. f. 824.

[3] In a query addressed by the monk Maximus, with other Greek monks, to the Lateran council, the following remarks are made respecting the Type: *Εἰς ὂν ἀνενέργητον πάντῃ καὶ ἀνεθέλητον, τουτέστιν ἄνουν καὶ ἄψυχον καὶ ἀκίνητον αὐτὸν τὸν τῆς δοξῆς θεὸν τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν ἰήσοῦν χριστὸν ἐδογμάτισαν τοῖς τῶν ἐθνῶν ἀψύχοις παραπλησίως εἰδώλοις*, and then Ps. 115 is cited, *τοιοῦτον γὰρ ἅπαν τὸ ἀνενέργητον πάντῃ καὶ ἀνεθέλητον.* Harduin. Concil. T. III. f. 724.

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monks and clergy, complaining that truth was suppressed by the edict, which, though it appeared under the name of the emperor, was supposed to have really proceeded from the patriarch of Constantinople. As successor of St. Peter, he believed himself called upon as he was invited by these voices from different quarters, to watch over the preservation of pure doctrine in the whole church. Without consulting the emperor, he convoked a council, in 648, to meet at Rome in the Constantinopolitan church, which stood in the vicinity of the former Lateran palace, and was hence called the ecclesia Lateranensis. This was a general council, afterwards known under the name of the Lateran council. By this assembly, twenty canons were drawn up in opposition to Monotheletism. The doctrine of two modes of willing and working, combined in union, was established; and sentence of condemnation pronounced on the opposite doctrine and on its advocates, namely, all the patriarchs of Constantinople since the time of Sergius, and on the edicts drawn up under their influence, the Ecthesis and the Type. The pope circulated these decisions through the Western church, and sought to obtain for them a universal adoption. He wrote also, in his own name and in the name of the synod, to the emperor Constans; sending him its proceedings, and inviting him to give his assent to the doctrines therein expressed.

Meantime Olympius, the new exarch of Ravenna, came to Rome. He was directed, in case he found himself strong enough, to publish the Type, to force all to subscribe it, and to arrest the pope if he resisted these measures. But if he found that he was not strong enough to execute these orders, he was in the first place to bring together a sufficient force to execute them with certainty. Now the case may have been, that Olympius really did not feel himself strong enough at first to proceed openly against the pope, since the latter had great influence with the people, and it was feared that he might summon them to his support. On this account, he may have deemed it expedient for the present, to represent himself as more friendly to the pope than he really was, that he might prepare a trap for him under the cloak of friendship. But when shortly afterwards he plotted an insurrection against the emperor, he was led by his own political interests to take part with the pope rather than against him, hoping to find some support from him in the prosecution of his political designs. So the proceedings of the Lateran council were suffered to go on without disturbance.[1]

[1] As in the trial instituted against Martin at Constantinople, the plan of an insurrection by Olympius is presupposed as an established fact, and Martin moreover does not deny the fact, it cannot be doubted, that Olympius entertained such designs; and this explains in the most satisfactory manner, why he made no attempt to seize the pope. And his conduct towards the pope may have occasioned, or furnished a pretext for, the charge that a secret understanding existed between the two. About this connection of events, however, Anastasius, in his life of this pope, is silent; and his account seems to stand in contradiction with it. But on this ground, it would not be just to conclude that everything he relates is false; we should rather seek for some way of reconciling the two reports. It is very possible he may have followed some exaggerated story, when he says that Olympius designed to have Martin assassinated at a celebration of the eucharist at which he was present. But there may be

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When afterwards the exarch Olympius repaired to Sicily for the purpose of engaging in the war against the Turks, where he met his death, the emperor, in 653, sent Calliopas to take his place as exarch of Italy, who was to enforce obedience to the Type, and transport Martin for punishment to Constantinople. The political interest now predominated at Constantinople, far beyond the doctrinal. He was to be arraigned and punished not as a heretic,[1] but as a rebellious subject. What he had undertaken to do in opposition to the imperial edict appeared to Byzantine despotism in the light of a *crimen majestatis*. In form, Martin's behavior would certainly wear that appearance, the Type having been published as an imperial edict; and it was moreover alleged on the part of the Byzantine court, that the contents of the Type were rather of a political than of a doctrinal nature; that nothing new was established by it in matter of doctrine, but merely disputation on certain points forbidden; that no man's conscience could be injured, therefore, by this merely negative injunction. If Martin alleged, however, that the edict proceeded not so much from the emperor as from the patriarch Paul, this surely could serve in no sense to excuse his behavior; for so might disobedience to any law be excused, on the plea that the law did not proceed from the ruler, but from the counsellor who advised him wrongly. Nevertheless, Martin, as representing the power and interest of the church — though this was not recognized on that principle of the Byzantine court which subordinated spiritual things to political — could with still more justice allege on his own side, that the civil power, in attempting to define the limits between essentials and non-essentials in doctrine, already overstepped its proper limits, and encroached on a foreign province; that the church could not be prohibited from presenting and defining that which she understood to be essentially connected with the full development of Christian doctrine. And inasmuch as he

some truth at the bottom of this story. Perhaps Olympius had determined at the outset, and before he conceived the project of an insurrection, to seize the pope by some stratagem. This view of the case seems to be confirmed by a passage in one of the pope's letters, by which we may understand his opinion of Olympius, and how far it was from any of his thoughts to make common cause with that conspirator. The letter was written to Theodore, and in it Martin reports what he had heard said by the exarch Calliopas, quod semper per complexionem et fallacem accusationem incederent adversum nos et cum in adventu infamis Olympii vani cujusdam hominis cum armis me hunc potuisse repellere faterentur. On account of the word "faterentur" here instead of "dicerent," I can understand this language in no other sense than as intended to prove the falsehood of the suspicion excited against him, as if it had been his purpose to defend himself by force. They themselves, he would say, must confess, that when Olympius first arrived, and as yet had collected no forces about him, it lay within the power of the pope, by a slight exertion of his influence, to prevent him, by force of arms, from marching into Rome. But the fact that Martin did not resort to the forcible measures which were at his command, though he might have suspected from the first that Olympius came with hostile intentions, made it perfectly evident how far it was from his thoughts to defend himself by resorting to violence.

[1] Once only, when at first it was attempted at Rome to excuse the violent measures resorted to against Martin (see ep. 14 ad Theodorum Harduin. T. III. f. 675), a charge was brought against him on the score of doctrine, viz. that he refused to recognize the virgin Mary as θεοτόκος; which, from the Monotheletian point of view, was regarded as bordering on Nestorianism. But subsequently this accusation does not occur again, nor did it ever accord with the principles and motives of those with whom the *Type* originated.

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went on the principle that on him, as the successor of St. Peter, was conferred the supreme direction and guidance of the church, he might consider himself bound to defend the full development of Christian truth, and the free development of the church, against a political authority, which as he supposed, though perhaps erroneously, was subservient to heretical influences. We must allow, however, that Martin, on his own hierarchical principle, would have been very willing to use the civil power as an instrument for establishing that which he himself recognized as the doctrine of orthodoxy, and no doubt would have applauded the act, if in submission to the decisions of the Lateran council, the same emperor had issued an edict in favor of Dyotheletism.

When Martin had once appeared to the imperial court in the light of a state criminal, there would be a strong inclination to believe the various political charges which were brought against him, it being no rare thing for extravagant charges of this sort to find credence with the suspicious government at Constantinople or to be seized upon as a palliation of persecutions. Sometimes he was accused of entering into an understanding with the Turks,[1] sometimes of conspiring with, and lending support to, Olympius.

On the 15th of June, 653, Calliopas arrived at Rome. He did not venture at once to take any open step against the pope, because he feared the pope would arm the people for his defence. Martin, who had been ill for several months, was lying on his couch at the altar of the Lateran church, with his clergy assembled around him. Calliopas arrived in the evening; he let Sunday pass by, because he feared the multitudes then assembled for public worship; and he sent as an excuse to the pope, that owing to the fatigue of his journey, he had not been able as yet to pay him his respects; but informed him that he would come on the next day. Early on Monday morning, the governor still full of distrust, sent some of his followers to the pope to tell him he was aware that armed men were collected in the church, and that stones had been piled up in heaps for the purpose of defending the pope. All this was unnecessary; the pope ought not to permit it. Martin caused these emissaries to be conducted through every part of the church, that they might be convinced by their own eyes that this suspicion was groundless. Calliopas being now satisfied that he had nothing to fear, pushed forward with an armed band, into the church, and published the imperial mandate, that Martin was deposed, because he had illegally obtained the bishopric,[2] and that he should be convey-

[1] See ep. ad Theodorum. He is said to have maintained a correspondence with the Saracens, and sent them money and a confession of faith. Were the last statement true, it would be to his honor; the just conclusion to be drawn from it, was that he took a special interest in the conversion of the Saracens; and efforts for this purpose would have tended rather to hinder than to aid any design of forming a political alliance with the Saracens. But Martin denies the whole, and affirms, that there was not a particle of truth in the story, except that he had sent money to the Christians living among the Saracens (probably in Sicily) by the hands of certain persons of their own number, who had come on a visit to Rome.

[2] Quod irregulariter et sine lege episcopatum subripuissem, which doubtless refers to the fact, that Martin had not applied in

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ed to Constantinople. Several of the clergy invited the pope to call out an armed force to protect his person, since probably he could reckon if it were but for a moment, on the zeal of the people; but Martin declared, he would rather ten times die than that any man's blood should be shed on his account. He surrendered at once to the governor's force, who caused him to be conveyed to his own palace. Calliopas having at first given liberty to all ecclesiastics who pleased to go with the pope, many clergymen and also laymen who had resolved to accompany him, joined him on the next following days. But the governor had probably no other object in view than to deceive, so as to prevent an insurrection in the pope's favor. At midnight he suddenly caused him to be removed from the palace, and accompanied by only a few attendants, to be conveyed to the port. The gates of Rome were kept shut till he sailed. He was obliged to make a long and difficult voyage. He was left lying for a year on the island of Naxos. During the whole journey, the old, sick man was hardly and shamefully treated. He was denied every convenience, and the little comforts in particular which were necessary for him in his present condition of body. When ecclesiastics and laymen, at whatsoever place he came, sent him such articles as might serve for his refreshment, his keepers interfered, driving away the bearers of them with insults and declaring that he who showed any interest in the emperor's enemy, evinced that he was an enemy of the emperor himself.[1] The few letters of the pope, written under these sufferings to his friend Theodore, manifest a spirit of Christian resignation. He began thus: "with the help of your prayers, and the prayers of all the faithful who are with you, I shall, living and dying, defend the faith on which our salvation reposes; as Paul teaches, for me to live is Christ, and to die is gain." And when, after his departure from the island of Naxos, he described to his friend the sufferings he had hitherto endured, he concluded with the following words: "I trust in the power of God, the Omniscient, that when I shall have been removed from the present life, all my persecutors will be brought to punishment, that so at least they may be led to repentance and to turn from their wickedness." On the 17th of September, 654, he arrived at the port of Constantinople, and was left on board the ship in his sick-bed until evening, exposed to various annoyances. He was next conveyed to the prison of the chief watch, where he remained confined ninety-three days, no person being allowed to visit him. After this long delay, he was conveyed, at first on his sick-bed, before the tribunal appointed to try him. Though so weak that he could not stand without being supported, he was still required to remain standing while on trial. The president of the court said to him: "Speak, wretched man, what wrong has the emperor done thee?" Martin

the usual manner to the emperor, and received from him the confirmation of his election; whether it was, that he supposed the schisms were a sufficient reason for omitting this legal formality, or whether he had been otherwise prevented.

[1] See Martin's letter to Theodore, and the report of his sufferings drawn up by a friend. Harduin. III. f. 677 and what follows.

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made no reply. Said the president, Art thou silent? Behold thy accusers shall now appear; and several witnesses were now introduced, to prove that he had been concerned in the conspiracy of Olympius. As they were about to be put on their oath, the pope begged that it might not be done,—no swearing was necessary; they might do with him as they pleased; what need was there of destroying the souls of these people? When he undertook to give an account of the whole history of events in the case of Olympius, and began by saying, "When the Type had been drawn up, and was sent by the emperor to Rome,"—he was immediately interrupted, for fear he might come upon doctrines—a subject which, by special command, was to be avoided; and one of the assembly cried out: "Don't mix in here anything about the faith, you are on trial for high-treason. We, too, are Christians and orthodox." Martin replied: "Would to God you were! But even on this point I shall testify against you, on the day of that dreadful judgment." With dignity and spirit, he defended himself against many things which individual judges brought forward in support of the charges alleged against him. Finally he said to them: "I adjure you by our Lord, what you conclude to do with me do quickly; for God knows, death is the greatest boon you can bestow on me." The trial having been reported to the emperor, Martin, amid much shameful abuse, was stripped of his priestly robes, and conveyed in fetters to another dungeon. It seems it was the intention, at first, to condemn him to death, as guilty of high-treason. But the patriarch Paul, then sick and nigh his end, on hearing of it, testified, notwithstanding he had been greatly injured by the popes, his dissatisfaction that a bishop should be so treated; and the emperor promised him, in his last moments, that Martin's life should be spared. After having been left eighty-five days to pine away in the second dungeon, he was told to leave it, and remain for a few days in the house, and under the watch of one of the emperor's secretaries, for the purpose of being transported next to his destined place of exile, which as yet was not named to him. He embraced those who were with him, and, thanking God, cheerfully bid them farewell. When they began to weep and complain, he begged them not to do so, but rather to rejoice with him, and thank God, who had judged him worthy to suffer for his sake. The town of Chersonesus, on the peninsula of Crimea, in the midst of barbarians, was selected for his place of exile. On the 26th of March, 655, he departed from Constantinople, and on the 15th of May arrived at Chersonesus. Here, in the midst of unfeeling barbarians, he had to suffer the greatest deprivations. He could obtain no bread; he was also destitute of money to purchase it of the foreign vessels which touched at this spot. A ship came from Constantinople, and he hoped it brought means for his support which might be furnished from Rome. But he was disappointed; and, in mentioning this to his friend, he adds: "I also praised my God for this, since he orders our sufferings according to his wisdom." Nevertheless, he wrote, that if the means of sustenance were not sent him he could not long survive; "For—said he

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—the spirit is willing, but the flesh is weak, as thou thyself art aware." He was grieved especially, that up to the month of September, he had as yet received nothing from Rome—no token of sympathy—which, perhaps, might be owing to some fear of exciting the emperor's displeasure. "I wondered, and still wonder—he wrote in the month of September—at the want of sympathy in my friends and kinsmen—that they have so utterly forgotten my misfortune, and as I see, do not even want to know whether or not I am still on the earth." But it seemed to him the strangest of all, that the clergy of the Roman church should take no further concern about him, though a member of their own body; that they should not at least provide for his bodily wants. "For although St. Peter's church possesses no gold, yet, through the mercy of God, it has stores of grain and wine, and all things necessary for the support of life." "What fear—he writes—has fallen on men, which restrains them from fulfilling God's commands—fear, where nothing is to be feared? Or have I appeared to the whole church so like an enemy? But may God, who will have all men to be saved and to come to the knowledge of the truth, by the mediation of St. Peter, establish their hearts in the true faith, and preserve them firm and unshaken from all influences of heretics, especially their present pastors; that so, having never deviated, even in the smallest particular, from that which in the presence of the Lord and his holy angels they have published in written decrees, they may together with me receive the crown of righteousness from the hand of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. For as it regards my feeble body, the Lord himself will take care of that, so as it may please him to order all things, whether it be under continual suffering, or with some relief. For the Lord is nigh, and why should I be troubled; for I hope in his mercy, that he will soon finish my course at the goal he has ordained." His wish was fulfilled; he died on the 16th of September.

There still remained the old Maximus—he who was the head of the Dyotheletians in the East, the soul of every movement both in the East and in the West against the imperial decrees; and though at the advanced age of sixty-five, still by the influence of his name, and by the firmness and stability of his character, Maximus might present a powerful resistance to the sovereign will. He was, therefore, seized, along with his disciple Anastasius, brought to Constantinople, and thrown into prison. The master and disciple, who had lived now for more than thirty years constantly together, were purposely separated. It was attempted to convict Maximus also on political charges, without entering at all upon the subject of doctrines. Some of these accusations, on being compared with what Maximus said in his defence, show a remarkable contrast between the Byzantine and the Roman principles of church government; for example; the disciple of Maximus is accused of having refused to recognize the emperor as also a priest; and indeed he had attempted to prove, from the usage of the church, that the emperor belonged to the laity, and possessed no spiritual power. Melchisedec, to whose example the other party

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appealed, was, he said, at once priest and king, only as a type of Christ.[1] The proceedings against Maximus, however, were not so harsh in the beginning as they had been against Martin. Respect for the old man, who was looked upon as a model of the monastic life, and compassion for his old age, operated with many, who wished he might be spared; and if they could only bring him to yield, it was hoped, in this way, to overcome at once all resistance to the Type. Threats, flatteries, every mode of persuasion were tried. Maximus was told, that he was not required to deny his own dogmatical convictions; but only to signify his consent to a compromise for the sake of peace. They set before him a new formulary of union, which Maximus might, no doubt, have so interpreted, as to include within it his own doctrinal views — "that, in relation to the difference of the two natures, it was necessary to suppose two agencies and wills (ἐνεργείαι and θελήσεις); in relation to their union, one." But Maximus persisted in the views, which, to maintain consistency in his doctrinal system, he believed himself bound to hold, and rejected every ambiguous concealment of the differences — which, for the reasons already stated, appeared to him important. Meantime, Martin had been wholly removed from the public arena, and Eugenius, who was substituted in his place by the exarch Calliopas,[2] granted to the new patriarch of Constantinople, the lately banished Pyrrhus,[3] the fellowship of the church; the Roman agents (Apocrisiarii) at Constantinople had been prevailed upon to subscribe the above-mentioned formulary of union; and as the authority of the Romish church stood high with him, it was now intended to employ it, for the purpose of inducing him to yield. But the deep-seated convictions of his own mind weighed more with him than the authority of a single bishop; and he declared, that though the Roman bishop had fallen from the truth, yet, according to St. Paul, even an angel from heaven could preach no other gospel. Every proposition having been rejected by him, he was sent in exile to the castle of Bizya, in Thrace, where he was kept confined apart from his disciple. But when every attempt to produce an effect on him, by new negotiations, had proved unavailing, the spite against the old man, whose will could not be broken, passed all bounds! In the year 662, he was dragged back again to Constantinople, publicly scourged, his tongue cut out, and his right hand severed at the wrist; after which he was banished to the country of the Lazians, where he soon died (on the 13th of August), in consequence of the injuries inflicted on him at so advanced a period of life.

Thus the emperor succeeded to enforce everywhere in the Eastern church the adoption of the Type; and with the adoption of this, the bishops of the chief cities in the East (whom the major part of the others, without any personal interest in, or independent examination

[1] See acta Maximi § 30. T. I. opp. pag. 30 and the following.

[2] As Calliopas would not have appointed him, unless he had pledged himself to do so beforehand.

[3] See above, page 184.

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of, the points in dispute, blindly followed,) united, at the same time, the defence of Monotheletism. In the Roman church, on the contrary, the zeal for the doctrine of Dyotheletism continued to propagate itself; and out of all this arose a schism between the two churches, although the two next successors of Martin, — Eugenius and Vitalian — from dread of the emperor's power seem not to have taken any public stand against the patriarchs at Constantinople. But under pope Adeodatus, in 677, the schism took a more decided shape. All connection between the two patriarchs was dissolved; since the patriarchs of Constantinople, now devoted to Monotheletism, were no longer regarded in Rome as members of the Catholic church, and none of their letters were received; and the names of the Roman bishops were no longer enrolled in the church records (Diptycha) at Constantinople, and no longer mentioned in the general prayers of the church. The patriarch, Theodore of Constantinople and Macarius of Antioch, were for expunging also the name of Vitalian from the church records. They were of the opinion, that the Roman patriarchs could be justly recognized as orthodox and as deserving to be mentioned, only as far down as Honorius; because since his time, the dogmatic opposition had subsisted between the two churches, which needed first to be adjusted. But the then reigning emperor Constantinus Pogonatus would not suffer this. On the contrary, he was troubled by this separation of the churches; and it was his earnest wish, that the general peace of the church should once more be restored. He did not venture, being a layman, to pass any judgment himself on this difference; and therefore sought by the mutual counsels of the bishops themselves, under whom the opposition existed, to bring about a safe decision. For this reason, in 678, he issued a letter to Domnus bishop of Rome, inviting him to send delegates to Constantinople, for the purpose of uniting with the patriarchs and bishops of the East in an investigation of this affair. The language of the emperor in the letter differs from the ordinary language of Byzantine despotism in such transactions, inasmuch as it evinces some respect for free doctrinal investigation. He declares, appealing to the Most High, that he would allow equal freedom to both parties and equal honor to their representatives.[1] He should rejoice, if the two parties could come to an agreement. But if no union could be effected, he would still send back the papal delegates with all honor to Rome. Agatho, the successor of Domnus, the latter having died soon after this letter was sent, complied with the emperor's invitation; and in the year 680 the sixth ecumenical council assembled for the examination of this controversy at Constantinople. This therefore was the third universal council held at Constantinople, and from the vaulted room in the imperial castle where the assembly met,[2] it was named the Trullan council, (council in Trullo). The emperor himself attended its meetings. It is true, that

[1] His words are *οὐκ ἐστὶ παρ' ἡμῖν ἑτερομέρησις οἱαδήποτε, ἀλλ' ἰσότητα τοῖς ἀμφοτέροις φυλάξομεν.*

[2] *Σεκρετὸν τοῦ θείου παλατίου τὸ οὕτως ἐπιλεγομένον Τροῦλλος.* Vita Stephani ed. Muratori p. 482 *ὁ τροῦλλος, ὅπερ ἡμεῖς ὠάτον καλοῦμεν.*

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at this council also, there was no full and calm discussion of the disputed points; but still its proceedings were conducted in a more dignified manner and with less disturbance from foreign influences, than had been the case in earlier councils. Conformably to the ruling principle of doctrinal tradition, the standard, at this council, for the determination of disputed points, was first of all, the declarations of the older approved church-teachers, with which each party agreed, as each wanted to present only the ancient doctrine of the church. But since the older church-teachers, as we have already remarked, had written before this opposition had ever come to be discussed, and had often expressed themselves very indefinitely, hence their words might often be differently understood, being interpreted from different points of view; and one party accused the other of perverting them, or of forcing them out of their right connection and garbling them. Thus by such authorities nothing could be decided; but the dispute had to fall back upon the logical determination of conceptions; as became evident, for example, in the proceedings of the eighth session, in the case of Macarius patriarch of Antioch. The Roman delegates brought with them a letter from their bishop Agatho, which contained a full exposition and defence of Dyotheletism, with proof passages from the approved older fathers, and besides this a brief containing the same in substance, issued by this bishop in the name of a numerous synod held at Rome. These two documents were publicly read at the fourth session of the council. In the seventh session, on the 13th of February, they laid before the council a collection of passages from the older fathers (which they had also brought with them from Rome) in confirmation of that doctrine; — and now the bishops George of Constantinople and Macarius of Antioch, together with the other bishops siding with them, were asked, whether they agreed with the doctrine presented by the bishop of Rome. They requested leave to defer the answer of that question until the next session, that they might have time to turn to the passages cited from the fathers, and examine them in the connection in which they stood — and at the following session, on the *seventh* of March, the patriarch George declared, that having made the examination, he was convinced; and accordingly he professed the Dyotheletism set forth in those letters. Nevertheless, as it is certain that in those letters, and in the collection of authorities from the fathers laid before the council by the Roman delegates, nothing was to be found, which he might not have learned from polemical writings already existing, we must either suppose, he had adopted his previous Monotheletism blindly, following the prevailing tendency, without any examination of his own, or that this change which so suddenly took place in his views had proceeded or was hypocritically assumed from outward considerations rather than resulted from honest conviction. Macarius, however, persisted in his Monotheletism, presenting it in a full confession of faith, together with a collection of authorities from the fathers in confirmation of his views. In being willing to confess but one will and one mode of working in Christ, he evinces what was in fact hovering before his mind — the truly Christian, though in his

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case misapprehended, interest to derive all the volitions and acts of Christ only from the being of God in him; just as he would admit in Adam before the fall, nothing but the divine will as the determining power; and considered the fleshly volitions (*σαρκικὰ θελήματα*) and human reasonings (*ἀνθρωπίνους λογισμοὺς*) to be a consequence of the fall.[1] Men agreed in their deeper convictions, though they were divided from each other by differences of conception. To what a pitch of extravagance the fanatical zeal for such a conceptual formulary could proceed, is shown by a remarkable incident that occurred in the fifteenth session of the council. A monk from Heraclea, in Thrace, made his appearance, by name Polychronius. This person declared that a troop of persons in white robes had appeared to him, and amid them, a person of ineffable majesty, by whom, perhaps, he meant Christ himself. The latter said to him, Whosoever did not confess the one will (*ἓν θέλημα*) and the divinely human agency (*θεανδρικὴ ἐνέργεια*) was not a Christian. He must go tell the emperor that he should neither make nor adopt a new faith. The man offered to prove that this doctrine was true by a miracle, and undertook to raise a dead man to life by means of a confession of faith, drawn up in accordance with it. It was thought necessary to accede to his proposal, in order to prevent the people from being led astray by his deceptions. The whole synod and the highest officers of state, surrounded by a vast multitude of the people, made their appearance on the public square. A corpse was brought to the spot on a silver-plated bier. Polychronius laid upon it his confession of faith, and continued to whisper for an hour or two in the dead man's ear, till finally he was obliged to confess that he was unable to awaken him. A shout now thundered forth from the people, pronouncing anathema on the new Simon Magus. But the external fact could not shake the deep-seated conviction in the mind of the man, and Polychronius still remained as firm in his faith as ever.

By means of this council, the doctrine of two modes of willing and working in Christ now obtained the victory in the Eastern church; and this doctrine, together with a precautionary clause against the conclusions derived from it by the Monotheletes, was established in a new symbol, "Two wills and two natural modes of working, united without schism, and without confusion, as well as without change; so that no conflict ever existed between them, but the human will was invariably subject to the divine and almighty will." The anathema was moreover pronounced on those who had hitherto defended Monotheletism, as well as on the patriarchs of Constantinople and on *Honorius*, whom however, at an earlier period, some had attempted to defend by a strained interpretation of his language.[2]

But since Monotheletism, as appears evident from the above cited

[1] See Actio VIII. fol. 1181. T. III.

[2] See the 18th session, Harduin. III. 1398. The patriarch Georgius, and several bishops of his diocese, had petitioned: *Ἵνα εἰ τῶν ἐνδεχομένων ἐστιν, μὲ ἀναθεματισθῶσι τὰ πρόσωπα εἰς τὰς ἐκβοήσεις*, namely, the patriarchs since Sergius, *δι οἰκονομίαν τινὰ*; but he was obliged to yield to the majority. Act. 16. l. c. 1386.

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examples, had, both among clergy and monks, so many zealous advocates, the Monotheletian party could not be suppressed at a stroke by the anathema pronounced by this council; but it continued to propagate itself, and evinced its existence by many indications of a reaction, down from the reign of the emperor Justinian II, which began in 685.

In opposition to such attempts, the decisions of the sixth ecumenical council on the doctrine were confirmed anew by the second Trullan council, in the year 691 or 692, which was to serve as a supplement to the two preceding general councils, the fifth and the sixth.[1]

But in the year 711, a zealous partizan of the Monotheletians, Bardanes, or Philippicus,[2] as he was called when emperor, succeeded in wresting the throne from Justinian II, who was hated on account of his remorseless despotism. Before he entered the imperial palace, he commanded that the symbol of the sixth general council of the church, which had been placed among the symbols of the other general councils, should be removed; otherwise he would not go in. He caused the names of Sergius and of Honorius to be re-inserted in the diptycha, among the other orthodox patriarchs; and their images were again set up in the public places. He deposed the existing patriarch of Constantinople, and nominated in his place John, a deacon, who was ready to be used as a willing instrument in furthering the progress of Monotheletism. Under the presidency of John, a council was held at Constantinople, which overturned the decisions of the sixth general council, and drew up a new creed in favor of Monotheletism. The few clergy, who refused to accommodate themselves to the emperor's will, were deposed from their places. In Italy, on the other hand, the arm of the new emperor had no power to enforce obedience, and his attempts to introduce the new symbol into the Roman church, resulted in an insurrection of the people against his government. But this sovereignty of the Monotheletian party terminated with the short two-years reign of Philippicus, and the new emperor, Anastasius II, by whom he was dethroned, annulled all that had been done on this subject under the preceding reign. The patriarch John of Constantinople now altered his conduct at once, and stepped forth as a zealous advocate of Dyotheletism — whether in his doctrinal bent he belonged more to one party than to the other, and now or before this acted the

[1] Hence its name σύνοδος πενθέκτη, concilium quinisextum. As both the other councils busied themselves only with doctrinal matters, and had drawn up no canons in relation to church life and church discipline, so this council was designed to supply the deficiency; and it published 102 canons relating to matters of this sort. Several of them are important, from the fact that they served to establish in a more decided form the opposition between the Greek and the Latin churches, and so to prepare the way for the schism between the two churches. Of this we shall speak again in another connection.

[2] According to the report of the deacon and archivar (Χαρτοφύλαξ) of the Constantinopolitan church, which is an important source of information respecting these events, published by Combefis, and was appended by its author to his copy of the acts of the sixth general synod (see Harduin. Concil. III. f. 1835). This Philippicus had received his religious education from the abbot Stephanus, who, being a disciple of the patriarch Macarius of Antioch, defended Monotheletism at the sixth general council.

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hypocrite, he seems, at all events, to have been one of those clergy of the court, men without character, and ready for any falsehood, who never scrupled to sacrifice every higher interest to worldly motives. He issued a letter addressed to the Roman bishop Constantine, in which, by flattering expressions of respect, he sought to gain his support, in fact addressing him — a thing which the patriarchs of Constantinople were not easily induced to do — as the head of the church, and begging him to forget the past and to recognize in him a Christian brother. He expressed himself, in this document,[1] as if he were a sincere follower of Dyotheletism. He pretended, that he had been forced to take the patriarchate in order to avoid a greater evil, and to prevent the late monarch from making a layman patriarch, whom he might use as a still more effectual instrument for establishing the supremacy of Monotheletism. He endeavored to justify his whole course of procedure under the late reign, as a necessary accommodation to circumstances (*οἰκονομία*) designed to protect pure doctrine from more violent attacks. "The pope himself — he thought — must be well aware from his own experience, that in such matters force could not be directly resisted, but resort must be had to art and cunning.[2] Even the prophet Nathan used concealment, for the purpose of reproving the sins of adultery and murder in king David."[3]

John of Damascus embodied the results of these controversies, with a logical exposition of them, in his abovementioned work on the system of faith. He also wrote a particular treatise on the same subject, and thus transmitted the polemical arguments against Monotheletism to the later Greek church.

Like Nestorianism and Monophysitism, the Monotheletic system, banished from the Roman church, could propagate itself only among an insignificant race of people independent of that church, the inhabitants of Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, among whom this doctrine had probably been made dominant by a certain abbot Marun (*Μαρῶν*). After this abbot the whole tribe was named, because the abbots of this Maronite convent stood in the highest consideration with them, and directed their government, as well as all their undertakings. Protected by their mountainous district, the Maronites contrived to make and keep themselves independent of the Greek empire, and afterwards of the Saracens.

We shall now proceed to consider a series of controversies, which did not relate, like those just mentioned, to the determination of individual doctrinal conceptions, but to the essential character of Christian worship — the controversies about *image-worship*. These disputes, from their very nature, would necessarily excite a far more general sympathy, than those before mentioned; for the object to which they referred, did not immediately occupy the attention of theologians, so that it was only by the excitement and odium produced by theologians

[1] The same document, first published by Combefis, is to be found in Harduin. III. f. 1838.

[2] *Ὡς οὐ λίαν ἀντιτύπως καὶ σκληρῶς ἔχειν πρὸς τὴν τῆς ἐξουσίας ἀνάγκην ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις ἄνευ τινὸς τέχνης καὶ περινοίας καθέστηκεν εὐμαρές.*

[3] *Ἔλεγχος οὐκ ἀπερικάλυπτος.*

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and then operating on the multitude that the participation of the laity in them could be brought about; but as this subject could be understood by the laity as well as by the theologians, it would obtain the sympathy of the laity as readily as that of the clergy. The question, whether Christian worship necessarily rejected all sensible representations of religious objects, or whether such representations are indispensable to Christian feeling — this question would necessarily be answered differently by different persons, according to each one's peculiar devotional bent. One of the most zealous advocates of image-worship of whom we shall speak hereafter, Theodorus Studita, makes the difference between these controversies and the preceding ones, as well as the disputes about the two natures or wills of Christ, to consist in this; — that the latter related solely to notional distinctions, but the subject of the former was something sensible, outward, and lying before the eyes of all.[1] And as the devotion of the multitude had a sensual tendency, so the subject of this controversy would necessarily interest them and occupy their thoughts more than any other. Furthermore, this opposition related not barely to isolated, dialectic and notional distinctions, but opinions belonging to the universal tendencies of the religious spirit here met in conflict; and the victory of the one or the other of these must decide, by the consequences resulting therefrom, on the whole future development of the church and of its doctrines.

In order to explain the origin of these controversies, we must cast a glance back upon the previous history of the mode of thinking and acting in reference to this matter.

As we have shown in the preceding volumes,[2] the opposition to the aesthetic religion of paganism, under which Christianity appeared, had also brought about an uncompromising opposition to all union of art with religion. But by degrees this opposition wore away; and art, particularly painting, had been used for the glorification of religion, conformably to the spirit of Christianity, which spurns nothing belonging to our pure humanity, since it was destined to appropriate, interpenetrate, and ennoble the whole of it. Although, then, the rude multitude, even in the Western church, soon allowed themselves to be misled into the error of making their worship too sensual, and of transferring the homage, due to the object represented in the symbol, to that symbol itself; and although this aberration of Christian feeling was occasioned by the culpable neglect of conveying Christian instruction to the people; yet by the church-teachers, the distinction between the right use of images to express and to excite Christian feelings and to instruct the unlettered multitude on the one side, and the superstitious worship of images on the other, was ever held fast; and as the former was recommended, so the latter was combatted with earnestness, wherever it appeared. This tendency we still observe in the Roman

[1] *Οὐδὲ γὰρ περὶ τῶν ἐν χριστῷ φύσεων ἢ θεληματων καὶ ὅσα πρὸς τούτοις ἀμφισβητούμενα, ὧν ἡ διαμάρτησις κατὰ τὰ νοήματα οὖσα, οὐδὲν αἰσθητῶς παρεῖχε τὴν ἀπόδειξιν· νῦν δὲ σὺν τοῖς νοήμασι καὶ κατ' ὀφθαλμοὺς τὸ ἀμφισβητούμενον ἤτοι ἀσεβούμενον.* Theodori epistolae l. II. ep. 21. in Sirmond. opp. T. V. f. 331.

[2] Vol. I. p. 292. Vol. II. p. 287.

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bishop, with whom we commenced the present period. A hermit having sent to Gregory the Great for an image of Christ, and other religious symbols, the latter sent him a picture of Christ and the virgin Mary, and pictures of St. Peter and St. Paul, and explained in the letter accompanying these presents, his views respecting the right use of images and the way in which they were designed to subserve the interests of religion.[1] He expressed himself pleased with the wish avowed by the recluse; since it was evident, he sought with his whole heart the Being whose image he desired to have always before his eyes, that by the sight of that the love to Him might be continually revived in his heart. The striving to represent things invisible by means of the visible, was grounded in man's nature.[2] But, nevertheless, he considered it important to add a word of warning against that aberration of religious feeling, which might lead to a superstitious worship of the image — a proof, that danger was already apprehended of such a mistake in men of devotional feelings, but destitute of mental culture. "I am well aware — he wrote — that thou desirest not the image of our Saviour, that thou mayest worship it as God, but to enkindle in thee the love of him, whose image thou wouldst see. Neither do we — he added — prostrate ourselves before the image as before a deity, but we adore him whom the symbol represents to our memory as born, or suffering, or seated on the throne;[3] and according to the representation, the correspondent feelings of joyful elevation, or of painful sympathy, are excited in our breasts."

Especially worthy of notice, on this matter, is the correspondence of Gregory with Serenus, bishop of Marseilles (Massilia). The latter having observed, that among the rude Franks of his diocese, the worship of images was rapidly spreading, caused the images to be demolished, and cast out of the churches. The pope, who heard that there were complaints against this procedure of Serenus, applauded the zeal which he manifested against the worship of images,[4] but censured his rashness in proceeding indiscriminately against all images; for these were introduced into the churches for the sake of those who could not instruct themselves by reading the Holy Scriptures, that at least by

[1] L. IX. ep. 52.

[2] Sic homo, qui alium ardenter videre desiderat, aut sponsam amans videre conatur, si contigerit eam ad balneum aut ad ecclesiam ire, statim per viam incedenti se praeparat, ut de visione ejus hilaris recedat.

[3] Et nos quidem non quasi ante divinitatem ante illam (imaginem) prosternimur; sed illum adoramus, quem per imaginem aut natum aut passum seu in throno sedentem recordamur. From these words it does not, indeed, necessarily appear evident, that Gregory rejected the custom of kneeling before images (the προσκύνησις); for the words may be easily understood as meaning, that Gregory wished only to guard against a misunderstanding of that symbolical act which then already prevailed and was approved by himself; that he wanted to show, that this act was not performed with reference to the image, but to that, which the image represented to the religious feelings. But he could hardly presuppose any *such* misunderstanding in the case of a hermit, nor imagine that he would be likely to perform his devotions to the image as such, and not refer them to Christ alone.

[4] Zelum vos, ne quid manu factum adorari possit, habuisse laudavimus. As Gregory here declared himself so unconditionally against the adoratio imaginum, we may infer, that he rejected not merely the idolatry subsisting in that tendency of mind, but also every outward symbol of this sort, the custom of prostration and of kneeling, as usually practised before idols; and in this way we may account for his language in the last cited letter.

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the contemplation of images they might come to some knowledge of scriptural facts.[1] Serenus was not disposed to fix any such limits to his zeal against images; and whether it was, that his critical judgment had become warped by his pious zeal, or that he merely sought some pretext under which he could proceed in his work of destroying images without seeming to despise the papal authority, he declared the letter of Gregory a forgery, and considered himself bound therefore to pay no further attention to its contents. It was a consequence of his well-meant, though by no means temperate or wisely directed zeal, that the minds of the rude Franks were provoked to hostility against himself. They beheld in him a destroyer of that which they held sacred; and the major part of them renounced all fellowship with him. When this came to the ears of the pope, he reprimanded Serenus[2] for not distinguishing the right use of images from their abuse, repeating on this occasion what he had said in his former letter, and expressing it as his opinion, that the first mentioned use of images was important, especially for the rude nations recently converted from paganism.[3] Had he duly considered this, the pope wrote to him, he would have avoided the consequences which had followed his indiscreet zeal, and more certainly secured his object.[4] He bade him take every pains to repair the injuries which had been done, and by paternal gentleness to win back the alienated affections of his people. He gave him the following instructions as to his mode of procedure for the future. "He should call together the members of the community, and prove to them by testimony from Scripture, that men should pay religious worship to nothing made by human hands; and having done this, he should explain to them in a friendly manner, that his zeal had been directed only against a practice which *contradicted* the end for which images had been introduced into the churches, but not against any use of them corresponding to that end, not against them as a means of religious instruction, where he should allow they were good."

This moderate tendency with regard to the use of images, proceeding from a genuinely Christian spirit, did not long maintain itself, however, in the Roman church; for as appears evident from the manner in which the popes participated in the contests against images of the Eastern church, they had already down to the opening of the eighth century, become zealous defenders of image-worship; and this would, indeed, be the necessary result of that tendency fully carried out, which lay at the foundation of the whole mediaeval Catholicism — a tendency which uniformly failed of duly distinguishing and separating the divine thing from the symbol designed to represent it, and was ever inclined to transfer to the latter what belonged only to the former. But in the Greek church, for reasons which have already been mentioned,[5] the worship of images had made its appearance at a much earlier period,

[1] L. IX. ep. 105.
[2] L. XI. ep. 13.
[3] Among whom, however, the abuse might most easily creep in.
[4] Si zelum discretione condiisses, sine dubio et ea, quae intendebas, salubriter obtinere et collectum gregem non dispergere, sed potius dispersum poteras congregare.
[5] Vol. II. p. 294.

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and was closely interwoven not only with ecclesiastical, but also with civil and domestic life. Not only the churches and church-books were ornamented with pictures of Christ, of the virgin Mary and of saints, but these objects were to be seen fronting the palaces of the emperors, and on the walls of private houses; and even household furniture, and wearing apparel were ornamented with them. The artists, among whom were many monks, emulously labored to produce such images in wax[1] or more costly materials. The worship of images stood closely connected with the exaggerated reverence paid to Mary and to the saints. What relics of saints were in the Western church, such were their images in the Greek church. In every case of extremity, men prostrated themselves before the pictures of saints, many of which had the reputation of performing miraculous cures. The saints themselves being represented to the religious consciousness as present in their images, these images were introduced as sponsors at baptism, and children were named after them.[2] In that uncritical age, many legends, received without a question, served to enhance the respect shown for these religious objects. Some, which were reported to have been made without human hands (*ἀχειροποίητα*), stood in special veneration, and were used as the most effectual of amulets; sometimes such as were said to have been miraculously produced by Christ himself—sometimes others, of whose origin no distinct account could be given. Thus, for example, the city of Edessa, possessed its famous *ancile* in the picture of Christ, sent to king Agbar, as it was pretended, by our Saviour himself; and in an *ἀχειροποίητος εἴκων τῆς θεοτόκου* (an image of the mother of God, made without hands).[3] Still another Christ was said to have been impressed on the handkerchief of St. Veronica (the saint healed of the issue of blood).

The extravagant lengths to which the superstitious reverence of images was carried, might the more contribute to excite a reaction of the Christian consciousness against it, even among the laity, as Jews and Mohammedans accused the Christians on this score of idolatry and a trangression of the divine law; and by such reproaches many might be led to reflect on what was really required by the Christian faith on this point. To this was added, in the case of the clergy, the reading of the Bible and of the older fathers, whereby the unprejudiced would easily be led to see, that the prevailing image-worship was utterly at variance with the apostolical teaching and the principles of the primitive church; and if they could not distinguish the different points of view of the Old and New Testaments, still they

[1] The *κηρόχυτα*.

[2] Theodore Studita writes to a captain of the emperor's guard (Protospatharius), of whom he had heard, that he wore the image of St. Demetrius, as *ἀνάδοχος*, at the baptism of his child; and he compares the confidence of faith, in which the man did this, with the confident faith of the centurion in Matth. 8. As Christ wrought the miracle then by his invisibly present divine power, although not visibly present himself, so here: *συνῆν ὁ μεγαλόμαρτυς πνεύματι τῇ οἰκείᾳ εἰκόνι τὸ βρέφος δεχόμενος. ὁ μάρτυς ἦν διὰ τῆς οἰκείας εἰκόνος τὸ βρέφος εἰςδεχόμενος ἐφ' ὅσον οὕτω πεπίστευκας.* Lib. I. ep. 17.

[3] The stories about these images are to be found in Theophylactus Simocatta, Theophanes Johannes Cantacusenus.

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might believe themselves bound to apply the *Old Testament* prohibition of images to *Christian* worship. But while a reaction against image-worship was thus evoked, still it was difficult to prevent it from overstepping, under the impulse of passionate excitement, the bounds of moderation. As one extreme easily leads to another, so the superstitious worship of images would easily lead to the extreme of a fanatical hatred of images and of art, and the passionate opposition would be the less productive of good fruits, the less able it was to distinguish in what it impregned the true from the false, and to spare the Christian feeling and interest which lay at the bottom. It was unfortunate, too, that this reaction did not proceed, in the first place, from those whose calling it was to work upon men's convictions by teaching; but from the possessors of secular power, and that, too, in a despotic government, where men were used to think it possible to enforce by commands, by threats and violence, that which can never proceed but from free conviction, and where they were least capable of exercising that tenderness and indulgence, which is most needed in matters touching on the religious interests of mankind. The spirit which men would drive into a way of thinking opposed to that course of development that grows out of its own essence, will but struggle the more to repel what is forced upon it against nature, and become inveterate in its errors; for even that which is, in itself, true, when not imparted in that way in which alone truth can be consciously seen, but obtruded by a power different from that of the mind itself, is converted into a lie; the subjective consciousness of truth is necessitated to resist it. So was it especially in the present case, where a medley of truth and error on the one side was opposed to a like medley on the other.

The first from whom this war against image-worship began, was the emperor Leo the Isaurian. At the very opening of his reign, with zeal for the extension of the church and of its doctrines, he also discovered the greatest ignorance with regard to the limits of the power conceded to him for this purpose. He forced Jews to receive baptism, and compelled the Montanists to come over to the dominant church. The consequence of which was, that the Jews persevered in their faith as before, and made sport of the sacred rites, in which they could be forced to join only in an outward manner; and that the Montanists were driven to such a pitch of enthusiasm, as to burn themselves up with their churches. Such measures led men to anticipate what they had to expect from the emperor, when he believed himself called to deliver the church from the idolatry, as it was called, of image-worship. As this idolatry of the church was seized upon as a handle for their attacks by Jews, Mohammedans, and heretics, so Leo's zeal for the extension of the church and of its faith, might thus be connected with his iconoclasm. There were some, though few of them ecclesiastics, who, by the study of the Scriptures and of the older fathers, had been led to regard the introduction of images into the churches, as an unchristian innovation, and in direct contradiction to the law of God. It was, probably, such persons (among

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whom we find particularly mentioned a certain Constantine, bishop of Nacolia, in Phrygia), who persuaded the emperor, or at least confirmed him in his own resolution, to banish images from the churches.[1] The appeal to the command which forbade the use of images in the Old Testament, to the fact that they are not mentioned in the New, to passages in the old church-teachers, — all this would make an impression on the emperor; while the misfortunes of the empire, pressed hard by barbarians and unbelievers, might easily be represented to him in the light of a divine judgment on idol-worshippers. He imagined himself called, as a priest and a monarch, like Hezekiah of old, to banish an idolatry which had been spreading for centuries. But being aware of the power of the adversary he had to contend with, he proceeded cautiously in the outset, gradually preparing his way, — exercising a prudence which was imperatively demanded by the circumstance just mentioned, rather than one resulting from any consciousness of the natural limits imposed on his authority. No doubt, the Greek emperors were wont, in their ecclesiastical projects, to apply in the first place to their patriarchs at Constantinople, and then to operate through these, as primates of the oriental church, upon the remaining multitude; but Leo could not resort to this expedient in the present case, for the nonagenarian patriarch Germanus[2] belonged among the most zealous advocates of image-worship, and was well versed in all the arguments used in defending it. It is true he had consented, at an earlier period, to serve as the willing instrument of an emperor;[3] but the defence of images touched, without doubt, his religious sympathies much more readily, than the dispute concerning a logical determination of conceptions. As Leo, then, could not reckon on the consent and support of the patriarch, he believed it necessary to observe the more indulgence and caution in his first approaches towards the attack of image-worship; and his

[1] In the report of the presbyter John, the plenipotentiary of the oriental patriarchs, in the fifth action of the council of the image-worshippers (787, Harduin. IV. f. 319), this Constantine is described as the head of the party, and the spring of the whole movement; and it is evident, from his transactions with Germanus, patriarch of Constantinople, that this was not said without reason. Of course, the zealots for image-worship, among whom also belong the Byzantine historians, hailed with delight every occasion which offered itself of tracing the scheme to suppress images to the Mohammedans and the Jews. Hence their reports (savoring strongly of the fabulous) about Jews, who were said to have predicted Leo's elevation to the throne of the empire, and about the influence exercised over the emperor by Beser, a renegade, which first determined him to engage in the war against images, deserve little confidence. Even were it true, that Ized, a caliph, set the example for the emperor, and first commanded images to be banished from the churches of Christians in his dominions, yet it does not appear that these measures had any immediate connection with the commencement of the attack on images by the emperor Leo; though the image-worshippers were inclined to believe otherwise.

[2] We learn his peculiar bent of mind from his discourses in praise of the virgin Mary, and from the pains he took to vindicate Gregory of Nyssa from the charge of Origenism. See Vol. II. p. 677.

[3] When bishop of Cyzicus, he had adopted the formulary introduced by Philippicus (see above, p. 196), in favor of Monotheletism. It may be, however, before this, that he was already devoted to Monotheletism; for the same bent of mind, which made him a warm defender of image-worship, might also incline him to favor Monotheletism.

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first ordinance, issued in the tenth year of his reign, in 726, was not directed against religious images in themselves, nor against every kind of reverence paid to them, but against such signs of an idolatrous homage, as the custom of prostration and kneeling down before them. But since that which the emperor declared to be idolatrous, was by no means acknowledged to be such by the church theologians, but was defended as a pure expression of Christian feeling, he could not well avoid a collision with them, and with his patriarch in particular; and, being a layman, he would find it no easy matter to manage a man so well practised in defending this custom, which could be supported by so many nice distinctions. Although the fragmentary accounts of the historians, who describe the interview between the emperor and the patriarch, are in themselves entitled to but little faith — none being present at this interview but the parties — nevertheless, what they report harmonizes so well with the style in which the emperor delivers himself on this subject, in his letters still extant,[1] that we may form from it some idea of what passed between the two. When the emperor appealed to the Mosaic law, which forbids the worship of graven images, or of any creature whatsoever, the patriarch met him by saying, that much depends on the connection in which a thing is spoken or done. That Mosaic law had been given to Jews accustomed to witness the worship of idols in Egypt. With Christians, the case stood otherwise. Among them, the worship of God in spirit and in truth had been established for perpetuity. Nor had Moses forbidden the use of images in religion altogether; as was evident from the example of the cherubim placed over the ark, and of other symbols in the temple. And as to himself, he said he was far from honoring images in the same sense in which we are bound to worship the triune God alone. Nor did every sort of prostration imply such worship; — even in the Old Testament this custom occurred as an outward sign of reverence; and in this sense it was observed also towards men, as at the present day men were wont, by this sign, to show respect to emperors, to their images and edicts, nor did any one see in it the least trace of idolatry. Of God's invisible essence it was, indeed, impossible to form any likeness or representation; and hence, at the position of the Old Testament, it would necessarily be forbidden to make any image of God. But now, God had visibly appeared in human nature, had taken the latter into personal union with himself. As surely as we believe in the true humanity of the Son of God, so surely we must form to ourselves some image of the God-man. The representation of Christ in such an image, was essentially the same as an oral confession of that great mystery of the incarnation of the Son of God, and a practical refutation of Docetism. Nor did men worship that image of Christ, which is made of earthly materials, but the worship was addressed to that which is represented by the image to the devotional mind, — the incarnate Son of God.[2] But to the mother of

[1] In the IV. action of the second council of Nice.

[2] A *προσκύνησις σχετική*.

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God, and to the saints, no devotion of any sort was paid; not even to their persons; no religious homage (*λατρεία*), such as belongs to God alone. To the mother of God was shown the reverence which was due to her, as the person through whom humanity was made to participate in the highest blessings, and who was exalted above all other creatures. And in the saints, men worshipped only what the grace of God had wrought in human nature, and paid them in their images nothing more than the reverence and love, which were due to such distinguished fellow-servants and fellow-soldiers. In the image, we do not invoke the saint, but the God of the saint.[1] It is plain, how important to the old patriarch the theory of images, taken in this connection of ideas, must have seemed; since, in his view, it was intimately connected with the recognition of the reality of the fact of the divine incarnation. Accordingly, he declared that he was ready to give up his life for the image of that being, who had given up his own life to restore the fallen image of God in human nature. The emperor must have perceived, that he could not possibly come to any agreement with the patriarch, who had already pushed his way so far into this artfully combined system. In the opinion that no sort of idolatrous worship of images was admissible, both were agreed; but the notion itself they explained differently. The emperor declared he had nothing to object against images in themselves; but that he only wanted to raise some of them, which were objects of peculiar veneration to the people, to a higher place, beyond contact of the multitude, which exposed them to be dishonored. It was manifestly his design to deceive the old patriarch, and, without his participation, to prepare the way, step by step, for the execution of his project. Those bishops who had a common understanding with the emperor, began, in the meantime, to proceed against the images in their dioceses; and as the people and the major part of the clergy were zealously devoted to image-worship, this attempt could not fail to be attended with many violent outbreaks, so that the patriarch was obliged to complain, that in whole cities, and among large portions of the people, great disturbances had grown out of these proceedings.[2] Complaints against such bishops flowed in upon him from many quarters. The most considerable man of that party, Constantine, bishop of Nacolia in Phrygia, who had fallen into a quarrel with his metropolitan, John, bishop of Synnada, came himself to Constantinople. He assured the patriarch, that it was far from his intention to insult Christ and the saints in their images; that his object was directed only against the idolatrous worship of images forbidden by the divine law. Now, in the condemnation of such a practice, the patriarch agreed with him; and explained at large, in the way above

[1] The words of Germanus, in his letter to Thomas, bishop of Claudiopolis: *προσβλέπων γάρ τις μετ' ἐπιστήμης εἰκόνι τινὸς τῶν ἁγίων, ὡς τὸ εἰκὸς, δόξα σοι ὁ θεὸς, λέγει τοῦ ἁγίου τὸ ὄνομα προστιθείς.* Harduin. IV. f. 258.

[2] The words of the patriarch Germanus, IV. f. 259: *πόλεις ὅλαι καὶ τὰ πλήθη τῶν λαῶν οὐκ ἐν ὀλίγῳ περὶ τούτου θορύβῳ τυγχάνουσιν.*

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stated, how different a thing the reverence paid to images was from adoration. The bishop perceiving, no doubt, that it would here be useless to contend, seemed to approve all that was said, and promised the patriarch that he would avoid every procedure which might give offence, or prove an occasion of disturbance among the people. Germanus gave him a letter to the metropolitan John, in which he informed the latter of the happy result of these negotiations. But the bishop Constantine withheld the letter from its destination, and probably concerned himself no further about the matter as it had then been discussed. Similar accounts reached the ear of the patriarch respecting other adjacent districts, as Paphlagonia, where Thomas, bishop of Claudiopolis, labored to suppress the worship of images. He sent to the same an elaborate document in defence of images, and of the reverence paid them in the way that was customary at that time.[1] In this letter he adduced, as an argument in their favor, the miracles said to have been wrought by them; such as the healing of diseases (in proof of which he could appeal to his own personal experience), and the fact that such effects were produced only by images of Christ and the saints, and not by any others; so that they could not be attributed to an accidental coincidence.[2] He appealed, in particular, to a miracle at Sozopolis, in Pisidia, where balsam had distilled from the painted hand of an image of Mary. To be sure, this was *no longer the fact;* but still there were many witnesses of the wonder, and they who were disposed to call it in question because it no longer took place, might, for the same reason, doubt the miracles recorded in the Acts, which were no longer performed. At that time, the patriarch still thought the images of the apostles and prophets, erected before the imperial palace, might be rightly regarded as evidencing the piety of the emperor.

These first covert attacks on image-worship created nevertheless so great a sensation, that the accounts of them penetrating beyond the existing boundaries of the Roman empire into Palestine, then under the dominion of the Saracens, spread dismay among the zealots for the old church doctrines. Living at that time in Damascus was that zealous and acute-minded defender of the church doctrine, John,[3]

[1] Germanus defends, in this tract, the custom also of placing lights and burning incense before the images of saints, which the opponents of image-worship probably represented as being a heathen practice. He seeks to justify this by the symbolism, which had become so customary since the dissemination of the writings falsely ascribed to Dionysius: *σύμβολον μὲν τὰ αἰσθητὰ φῶτα τῆς ἀΰλου καὶ θείας φωτοδοσίας, ἡ δὲ τῶν ἀρωμάτων ἀναθυμίασις τῆς ἀκραιφνοῦς καὶ ὅλης τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος περιπνοίας τε καὶ πληρώσηως.*

[2] Which may be easily explained; the contemplation of other images would not produce the same subjective impressions.

[3] His father Sergius, called by the Saracens Mansur, had been entrusted by the Caliph with an important civil office. If we may credit the more lately composed and fabulous life of John of Damascus, it was owing to a peculiar turn of events, that he was enabled to enjoy the advantages of a distinguished literary education. Among the many Christians, whom the Arabians had carried off as captives, in marauding expeditions, along the sea-coast of the West, was a certain Cosmas, a man of Greek descent, probably from Calabria. John's father obtained for this person his liberty, took him home, and entrusted him with the education of his own son, and also of an adopted one, who afterwards became famous as a writer of spiritual songs (*Κοσμᾶς ὁ μελῳδός,*) and was made bishop of Majuma in Palestine.

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whom we have already mentioned. He filled a civil post of considerable importance, under the Caliphs who ruled in these districts; but some years after, retired as a monk to the Saba convent near Jerusalem. This person supposed that, in the attack upon images, he saw a tendency of spirit dangerous to the essence of Christianity, and felt constrained to address a discourse in defence of image-worship,[1] and against the arguments of its antagonists, to the patriarchs and the communities in Constantinople, while still a hope might be indulged, that the emperor, by perceiving its inconsistency, might be induced to change his policy, in which hope, the defenders of images refrained as yet from every thing which could offend the emperor, although John himself had no occasion to fear him. He merely hinted that earthly rulers were themselves subject to a higher Potentate, and that the laws should govern princes. He saw in that dread of idolatry, which had led to the attacking of images, a decline from the Christian fulness of age and perfection, a falling back into the nonage of the Jewish position. To those, who were ever repeating that command of the Old Testament, which forbids representations of God, Exod. 20, he applied the words of Paul: The letter killeth, the spirit maketh alive. "Christians — said he — who have arrived at the full age in religion are endowed with a faculty of distinguishing that which can be symbolized, and that which transcends the power of symbolization. On the standing-ground of the Old Testament, God, as incorporeal and formless, could not, indeed, be represented under any image whatsoever. But now, after God has appeared in the flesh, and walked with men on the earth, I represent him, according to his visible appearance, in an image. I adore not the earthly material, but its Creator, who for my sake vouchsafed to dwell in an earthly tabernacle, and who, by the earthly material, wrought out my salvation. I never will cease honoring the earthly material by means of which my salvation has been effected. Joshua commanded the Jews, to take twelve stones from the river Jordan, Joshua 4, and he gave as a reason: When your children ask their fathers in time to come, saying what mean ye

[1] Nothing is to be found inconsistent with this in the fact that John (who was in the habit, as appears above, of associating image-worship, according to his own understanding of it, with the essential peculiarities of the Christian faith, and who moreover shows himself, in his defence of it, to have been a man of sound judgment and reflection) that this John combatted the popular tales concerning dragons and fairies (*στρύγγαι, γελοῦδες*) as appears from some fragments of his on this subject, published by Le Quien. Tom. I. opp. f. 471. We see no good reason why a defender of image-worship might not at the same time set himself to oppose that species of superstition. His conduct, in both cases alike, proceeded from religious motives. Image-worship, by virtue of the connection of ideas unfolded in the text, appears to him a practice altogether correspondent with the spirit of Christianity and conformable to reason; but these stories he regarded as alike repugnant to Christian truth and to reason. He ascribes the spread of the latter superstition among the people to the fact that they were kept in such total ignorance of the Scriptures. He insists that laymen of all classes, even soldiers and peasants, ought to read the sacred word, *μέγιστα γὰρ βλαπτόμεθα ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ἀναγινώσκειν τὰς ἱερὰς βίβλους καὶ ἐρευνᾷν αὐτὰς κατὰ τὸν τοῦ κυρίου λόγον. Ἀλλ' ὁ μεν στρατιώτης λέγει, ὅτι στρατιώτης εἰμὶ καὶ οὐ χρείαν ἔχω ἀναγνώσεως, ὁ δὲ γεωργὸς τὴν γεωργικὴν προφασίζεται.* This biblical tendency might seem rather to collide with the traditional one of a zealous image-worshipper: but neither are these contrarieties of such a nature that they might not exist together in the same individual.

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by these stones? Then ye shall answer them, that the waters of Jordan were cut off before the ark of the covenant of the Lord, and the ark and the whole people passed through. Why may not we, then, form a picture of the sufferings, by which the salvation of the world was procured, and of the miracles of Christ; so that when my son asks me, what is this? I may tell him, God became man, and by him, not Israel alone passed over Jordan, but all human nature was led back to the original bliss, — by him, that nature has been raised from the low places of the earth above all principalities and powers and to the throne of the Father himself. — But if men are willing to tolerate images of Christ and of Mary, but not of any others, then it is not images they contend against, but the worship of the saints. You tolerate images of Christ because he is glorified; but not images of saints, because you do not acknowledge that they are glorified. You do not acknowledge the dignity imparted to human nature by the Son of God, who has indeed glorified them, and exalted them to fellowship with God. Were images, representing the forms of animals and plants, employed to adorn the temple? and is it not now a far more glorious thing to have all the walls of God's house decorated with the images of those, who were themselves living temples of God, full of the Holy Ghost? Why should not the saints, who have shared in the sufferings of Christ, share also, as his friends, even here upon earth, in his glory? He calls them no longer his servants, but his friends." On the Christian festival which celebrated the memory of the saints, John of Damascus noticed a fundamental mark of distinction between the Christian and the Jewish customs. "In the times of the ancient covenant, no temple was ever named after a man. The death of the righteous was lamented, not celebrated. The touch of a dead body was defiling. But now it is otherwise, since human nature by the appearance of the Son of God in it, and by his sufferings for it, has been delivered from the dominion of sin and death, and exalted to worship with God and to be partakers of the divine life. Either then you must go farther, and annul the jubilees of the saints which are celebrated in contrariety to the ancient law; or tolerate also the images, which, as you say, are contrary to the ancient law." In general, he discovers in the enemies of images a tendency bordering on Judaism, or indeed, on Manichæism, which threatened to introduce again the antagonism between the divine and human removed by the redemption, and which ran counter to Christian realism. If, to the enemies of the images, it appeared a desecration of holy things to attempt representing them by earthly materials; to John, on the other hand, the earthly material appeared worthy of all honor, inasmuch as through it, as the instrument and medium of the divine agency and grace, is wrought the salvation of man. "Is not the wood of the cross earthly material?" He then goes on to mention all holy places, and the body and blood of the Lord. "Insult not the earthly material — nothing that God has created is, in itself, a thing to be despised. To say this is Manichæan — the abuse of sin alone is a thing to be contemned."

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Meantime, while these disputes were producing, in many districts, a ferment in the popular mind, the appearance of extraordinary natural phenomena, among others, an earthquake, was looked upon by the discontented as a token of the divine displeasure against the enemies of images. The inhabitants of the islands called the Cyclades rebelled, under a certain Stephanus as their leader. But by means of the Greek fire, the emperor succeeded in destroying their fleet; and regarding this victory as a proof that God favored his proceedings against the idolaters, he was confirmed in his iconoclasm. In vain he endeavored to gain over the old patriarch to his views; the latter persisted stoutly in his opposition, and declared, that without a general council no change could be attempted in the church. The emperor now, without consulting with him, but after having discussed the whole matter with his civil counsellors, issued, in the year 730, an ordinance, whereby *all images* for religious purposes were forbidden. Germanus, resolved not to act in contradiction to his conscience, voluntarily resigned his office, and retired once more to a life of solitude, and his secretary,[1] Anastasius, who was willing to act as the emperor's tool, obtained his place. Conformably to the usual policy, the bishops generally, who declined receiving the imperial edict, were now ejected from their places.[2] When the report of these measures reached Syria and Palestine, John of Damascus composed in defence of images a second treatise, in which he more fully unfolded the arguments contained in the first.[3] In this, he spoke still more sharply against the emperor. "It does not belong to the monarch — says he — to give laws to the church. The apostle Paul does not mention among the offices instituted by God, 1 Cor. 12, for advancing the growth of the churches, the office of monarch. Not monarchs, but apostles, prophets, pastors and teachers, preached the divine word. Emperors had to provide for the welfare of the state; pastors and teachers for the growth of the church."[4] He speaks of a new gospel of Leo; but though he had nothing to fear from the emperor, still he pronounced against him no anathemas; but applying the words of St. Paul, Gal. 1: 8, he said, "Though an angel, though an emperor, preach to you any other gospel than ye have received — shut your ears; for I still forbear to say with the apostle, let him be accursed, because I hope for his reformation." In the third discourse, he endeavors to point out the need of such sensuous representations, grounded in the essence of human nature and of the Christian consciousness. "Our Lord pronounces his disciples blessed, because their eyes could see and their ears hear such things. The apostles saw Christ with their bodily eyes, his sufferings and his miraculous works — and they heard his words. We, too, long to see, to hear, and to be pronounced blessed. But as now when he is not bodily present, we hear his words by means of

[1] *σύγκελλος*, a subordinate who always possessed much influence with the patriarch.

[2] See Joh. Damasc. Orat. II. § 12.

[3] He himself says, that he had been invited to do so, *διὰ τὸ μὴ πάνυ εὐδιαγνωστὸν τοῖς πολλοῖς τὸν πρῶτον λόγον εἶναι.*

[4] *Βασιλέων ἐστὶν ἡ πολιτικὴ εὐπραξία, ἡ δὲ ἐκκλησιαστικὴ κατάστασις ποιμένων καὶ διδασκάλων*

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books, and show our reverence for these books,[1] so by means of images we behold the semblance of his bodily form, his miracles and his sufferings, and we are thereby sanctified, filled with confidence and joy. But while we behold the bodily shape, we think also as much as is possible on the majesty of his godhead. For since we are of a twofold nature, not barely spiritual, but consisting of body and spirit, we can only attain to the spiritual by means of the corporeal. In like manner, therefore, as we hear by sensible words with the bodily ears, and at the same time think that which is spiritual, so we attain through sensuous intuitions to spiritual ones. So also Christ took upon him body and soul, because man consists of both. And thus everything, baptism, the Lord's supper, prayer, singing, lights, incense, is twofold, at once spiritual and corporeal." If the enemies of images alleged that no instance of their employment could be pointed out in the New Testament, John of Damascus could reply, that many other things also, as the doctrine of the Trinity, of likeness of essence, of the two natures of Christ, had been deduced from the Scriptures, not being contained in them in so many words; and he could appeal to tradition as a source of religious knowledge, from which even the enemies of images derived many doctrines, which could not be proved from Scripture.

In these discourses, then, John of Damascus pronounces, as yet, no anathema on the emperor; the hope being still entertained that there would be a change in his conduct, at present so hostile to the reigning spirit of the church. But when he now began to execute with energy the edict against images, the anathema was pronounced, in all those churches which the arm of Byzantine power could not reach, on the enemies of the images; — they renounced all fellowship with the latter, and constituted from this time forward the chief support and dependence of the persecuted and banished image-worshippers.

To these churches in which the emperor's power could safely be defied, belonged not solely those of the East where Mohammedan princes ruled; the Roman church, also, found itself placed in the same relation, for while the popes did indeed recognize the East-Roman emperors as their masters, and their own political interests would lead them to prefer annexation to a power at a distance rather than to the Longobards near by, still, under the existing political relations, they might safely bid defiance to the emperor's threats. In a time, when Boniface was laboring with such mighty effect, as an instrument for the triumph of papacy; when so many rude populations acknowledged, along with Christianity, the papal authority, — it was in such a time, that pope Gregory II,[2] fully conscious of his rising influence among the nations of the West, replied to the emperor's threatening

[1] Προςκυνοῦμεν, τιμῶντες τὰς βίβλους, δι' ὧν ἀκούομεν τῶν λόγων αὐτοῦ. The image worshippers frequently argued, that it was customary to pay to the gospels (when they were publicly read in the churches) and to the cross, the symbol representing the body and blood of our Lord, the homage of prostration (προσκύνησις) — why then might it not be paid also to the images?

[2] In or after the year 730.

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language in a tone so sarcastic, that unless we transport ourselves back, and enter into the very spirit of the period, it might seem incredible to us, that a pope should have so expressed himself in addressing an emperor. "But once try the experiment — he writes to him — go into the schools where the children are learning to read and write, and tell them you are the persecutor of the images; they would instantly throw their tablets at your head, and the ignorant would teach you perforce what you would not learn from the wise." The emperor had said in his letter to the pope, "As Uzziah,[1] after a period of eight hundred years, banished the brazen serpents out of the temple, so I after eight hundred years have banished the idolatrous images from the church."[2] The pope replied, himself also confounding Uzziah with Hezekiah, whether by his own fault, or because the emperor had done the same — "Yes indeed, Uzziah was your brother, and dealt with the priests of his time after the same tyrannical manner, as you deal with them now." He assured him, it had been his intention to exercise the power he had received from St. Peter, and pronounce on him the sentence of condemnation, if the emperor had not already virtually pronounced the curse on himself. "Better were it — says he — if one alternative were necessary, that the emperor should be called a heretic, than a persecutor and destroyer of the images; for they that teach errors in doctrine, may still find some excuse for themselves in the obscurity of the subjects; but you have openly persecuted objects which are as manifest as the light, and robbed the church of God of its ornamental attire." He defended the worshippers of images against the reproach of idolatry, which the emperor had cast upon them. Far was it from any thought of theirs, to place their trust in images. "If it is an image of our Lord — he writes — then we say, Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, help us and deliver us. If it is an image of his holy Mother, we say: Holy Mother of God, entreat thy Son for us, our true God, that he may deliver our souls. If it is an image of a martyr, e. g. St. Stephen,

[1] That is, Hezekiah; — either the emperor may have been first to confound Uzziah with Hezekiah, or perhaps this error proceeded solely from the pope.

[2] These words, like many other singular things in this letter which fully corresponds, we must allow, with the character of the times and of the pope, might lead us to suspect its genuineness, or at least its genuineness as a whole, unless we suppose an error has slipped in with regard to the number of years, which in fact does not correspond to the period intervening between the erection of the brazen serpent and the times either of Uzziah or Hezekiah; for how could Leo wish to say, that he had banished images from the churches after a period of eight hundred years? However badly he may have reckoned, or extravagantly he may have expressed himself, still it would follow, that the superstition of image-worship had begun even in the times of the apostles. But to utter a falsehood on this point, the enemy of images certainly had no conceivable motive; on the contrary, it must have seemed important to him to show, that image worship was a thing of very recent date; and we know that the iconoclasts did in fact so affirm, and indeed, they could bring many proofs in support of this assertion from the older church fathers. Leo therefore could never have so expressed himself. But of the author of this letter, it is very possible to suppose that he perverted the emperor's language. Perhaps the emperor may have said, in his letter, against those who defended images on the authority of tradition: that even though images had been in the churches for eight hundred years, he was still right in banishing them from the churches, as an appurtenance of idolatry, as Hezekiah had done in the case of the brazen serpent.

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we say Holy Stephen, thou who hast shed thy blood for the sake of Christ, thou who, as the first Martyr, hast confidence, pray for us." He gives the emperor to understand, that he had no reason to fear his fleet; for he needed but to remove twenty-four stadia from Rome in order to be safe, and to give himself no further concern about the emperor's power.

The emperor, in a letter to the pope, having said in justification of his conduct, that he was both king and priest at the same time, Gregory, in a second letter, replied: This epithet, his predecessors Constantine, and Justinian might with more propriety have adopted, since they had upheld the priests in defending the true faith. Next, he pointed out to him the great difference between royalty and priesthood. "If a man commits an offence against the emperor, his goods are confiscated, he is condemned to death, or banished far from his friends. The priests proceed in a very different way from this. When a man confesses his sins to them, they banish him to a place where he must do church penance; they compel him to fast, to watch and pray; and having made him suffer in right earnest, they give him the body and blood of our Lord, and bring him back to the Lord pure and guiltless." The emperor again, had said in his letter, that in the six general councils, images are not mentioned. To this Gregory replied: Neither is anything said about bread and water, eating and not eating; these things being always connected with human life. So images have ever been handed down by tradition; the bishops themselves brought their images with them to the councils; for no good man ever undertook a journey without one. "Men — he writes — expended their estates to have the sacred stories represented in paintings. Husbands and wives took their children by the hand, others led the youth, and strangers from pagan nations to these paintings, where they could point out to them the sacred stories with the finger, and so edify them, as to lift their hearts and minds to God. But you hinder the poor people from doing all this, and teach them on the contrary to find their amusements in harp-playing and flute-playing, in carousals and buffoonery."

The emperor, it is true, strove earnestly to carry his edict against images into full effect; but owing to the vast number and wide diffusion of these objects, and the manner in which image-worship was interwoven, not merely with church but with domestic life, this would prove to be no easy task, even for Byzantine despotism, with all its disregard for the rights of individuals. The attempt would naturally be made first to remove the images from all public places and from the churches. And here they would of course make the first onset upon those images which stood in highest consideration with the people, those about which various wonderful stories were related, and the very sight of which served to nourish and promote the reverence of images. But the removal of such monuments would be likely to excite violent commotions among the people, who saw they were going to be deprived of the objects of their devotion. For instance over the

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bronze portal of the imperial palace,[1] stood a magnificent image of Christ,[2] which was regarded with universal reverence. A soldier of the emperor's guard placed up a ladder for the purpose of taking down the image and burning it; when a collection of women gathered round, and begged that the image might be spared to them. But instead of attending to their requests and representations, the soldier struck his axe into the face of the image, thus wounding to the quick the pious sensibilities of the women, who looked upon the act as an insult done to the Saviour. Maddened with indignation, they drew the ladder from under the soldier's feet, who coming to the ground, fell a victim to their fanatical rage. The emperor now despatched more soldiers to the spot, who quelled the tumult by force, and carried off the image.[3] In place of this image of Christ, he ordered a cross to be set up in the same niche, with a remarkable inscription which was composed by one Stephen, a member of this faction, and serves to show the fanatical hatred of images and of art which characterized the whole party. "The emperor could not suffer a dumb and lifeless figure, of earthly materials, smeared over with paint, to stand as a representation of Christ. He has therefore erected here the sign of the cross, a glory to the gate of believing princes."[4] This inscription involves, to be sure, — as did all the proceedings of the iconoclasts — an inconsistency and a self-contradiction.[5] The same principle, by which the earthly material was deemed unworthy of being employed to represent sacred things, might also be applied to the cross; and the same principle, by which the ceremony of prostration before images was declared an act of idolatry, should have led them also to reject

[1] Which was known, therefore, under the name of the *ἁγία χαλκή*.

[2] This image of Christ was known under the name of *χριστὸς ὁ ἀντιφωνήτης* = *ἔγγυος*, the surety. This epithet, might lead us to conclude, that it had derived its origin from some special event. According to an old legend it was the following: Theodore, a wealthy merchant and shipowner of Constantinople, had lost all his property at sea. After struggling in vain, to amass capital enough for new commercial speculations, he betook himself to a rich Jew, named Abraham. The latter after much entreaty agreed to lend him a considerable sum, provided he could furnish him with sufficient security. But Theodore, not being able to find any, had recourse at last to an image of Christ, before which he was accustomed to pay his devotions. This image he boldly offered as his surety, and the Jew moved by compassion for Theodore, as well as strongly impressed by the confidence of his faith agreed to accept it. After the loss of two more vessels at sea, Theodore at last prospered in his trade, became rich again, and was enabled to pay back Abraham the whole he had borrowed. This with various accompanying marvels, made such an impression on the latter, that he had himself and his family baptized, and afterwards became a presbyter. Theodore turned monk, as he had resolved to do after he met with his first loss at sea. These incidents which are said to have happened under the emperor Heraclius, are related in a panegyric on the image in question, which Combefis has published in his hist. Monothelet. or Auct. bibl. patr. Paris. T. II. 1648.

[3] See the story in the Life of the image worshipper Stephen, in the Analecta Graeca published by the Maurinian Benedictines (T. I. p. 415); and the more recent one in the above cited tract of Gregory II, who had heard it told by Western pilgrims of various countries returning from Constantinople, who had been eye-witnesses of the facts. See Harduin. Concil. IV. f. 11

[4] *Ἄφωνον εἶδος, καὶ πνοῆς ἐξῃρμένον,*
Χριστὸν γράφεσθαι μὴ φέρων ὁ δεσπότης
Ὕλῃ γεηρᾷ, ταῖς γραφαῖς πατουμένῃ,
Λεὼν σὺν υἱῷ τῷ νέῳ Κωνσταντίνῳ
Σταυροῦ χαράττει τὸν τρισόλβιον τύπον,
Καύχημα πιστῶν ἐν πύλαις ἀνακτόρων.
See Banduri I. f. 125, and Theod. Studit. opp. ed. Sirmond. f. 136.

[5] This is made prominent by Theodore Studita in his Antirrheticus against the epigrams of the iconoclasts.

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the similar reverence shown to the symbol of the cross, against which, however, nothing was directly said. The sign of the cross ought to have been abolished, so as not to afford a foothold for such superstitious customs. But in favor of the cross it might be said, that it was not, like the images, a work of art; and the iconoclasts generally had not come to any clear and distinct consciousness of the principle which actuated them. As this could be developed only in conflict with a different direction of feeling, given them by education and tradition, many inward contradictions would still present themselves in their sentiments and conduct.

Through a period of twelve years, the emperor Leo labored in vain to subdue a tendency of the religious spirit which was so deeply rooted; and after the death of Leo, a reaction, probably from the same cause, arose, which resulted in important political consequences. His son, Constantine Copronymus, as zealous an iconoclast as his father, having succeeded him in the government in 741, advantage was taken of the hostility of the people to the iconoclasts, by Artabasdus, the brother-in-law of Copronymus, who obtained possession of the throne, and restored the worship of images. Constantine however succeeded in wresting the kingdom again out of his hands, and in 744 became once more master of the empire. He resolved utterly to exterminate the images and finish the work begun by his father. But the sad experiences of the early part of his reign had taught him the necessity of proceeding with slow and cautious steps, if he did not mean to ruin the whole project; and besides, on his reäccession to the throne, other unfavorable circumstances occurred which counselled him to prudence. An earthquake, a desolating pestilence took place, — calamities which agitated the popular mind, and which might easily be turned to advantage by the image-worshippers, who had the people on their side. Moreover, the disturbances, which followed his first attempts against the images, taught him afresh the necessity of more thorough measures, to change the tone of popular feeling; and after mature deliberation with his counsellors, he concluded that the surest means for effecting his object would be to convoke a general council, which might take its place by the side of the older general councils, and lend a sacred authority forever to the principles of the iconoclasts. In the year 754, such a council was appointed, to assemble at Constantinople. It was composed of three hundred and thirty-eight bishops. Among these there were probably but few (and at the head of them stood Theodosius, bishop of Ephesus), who, from well-grounded conviction, were zealous and decided iconoclasts. The rest were partly such as had been determined in their course by the influence of these first, and hence might afterwards easily be turned back again by influence of another sort; and partly such as had ever been wont to attach themselves to the court-party. To the fanatical zeal of image-worship, this council opposed a no less fanatical hatred of images and of art. The disposition of the image-worshippers to brand their opponents as heretics, not on the ground of the doctrines they avowed, but on the ground of their own inferences from those doctrines, was met by another, equally

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bad, on the opposite side. With great injustice the council declared the image-worshippers to be men who had sunk back again into the idolatry which Christianity had banished. The devil had covertly reintroduced idolatry under the outward form of Christianity; had induced his servants to worship a creature designated by the name of Christ, as God; and yet the friends of images had taken special pains to guard by careful distinctions against such accusations. In the next place, it was asserted, in the spirit of the Byzantine court which was ever confounding spiritual things with political, that as Christ once sent forth his Apostles, armed with the power of the Holy Ghost, to destroy all idolatry; so at the present time, he had inspired the emperor to come forth in emulation of the apostles, for the advancement and instruction of the church,[1] to destroy the works of the devil. While the image-worshippers accused their opponents of denying the reality of Christ's incarnation, in refusing to acknowledge the images of Christ; so this council descended to accusations of a similar character against the image-worshippers. If they believed they could make an image of Christ, then inasmuch as the divine essence was incapable of being represented under the limited forms of sense, they must believe, that by the union of deity and humanity a change took place of both divine and human attributes, and that a *tertium quid* had resulted from this union, capable of being represented by art; and thus they fell into Eutychianism, — or they must believe that the humanity had a self-subsistent existence of its own, and in this respect was capable of being represented; and thus they fell into Nestorianism. "What a grievous mistake of the wretched painter — exclaims the synod — to think of representing with his profane hand that which is believed with the heart, and of which confession is made by the mouth! There is but one true image or symbol, even that which Christ himself made of his incarnation, when just before his passion, he appointed bread and wine to be the symbol of his body and blood. Here, consecration by the priest was the intermediate instrument by which the earthly material of bread was raised to that higher dignity. This true symbol, instituted by Christ himself, answered to the natural body of Christ; since, like the latter, it served as a bearer of the divine essence. (Thus it appears, that the bread and wine, interpenetrated by virtue of the consecration with the divine life flowing from Christ, became a channel for the communication of this life, and for the sanctification of those who partook of it.) On the contrary, the images, so-called, derived their origin neither from any tradition from Christ, from the apostles or from the fathers, nor were they consecrated by holy prayer, so as to be transferred from a profane to a holy use; but such an image still continued to be profane, continued to be what the painter made it, since nothing had invested it with a higher dignity."

But in the next place, aside from these reasons, which were urged exclusively against images of Christ, the images of saints and of the

[1] Πρός καταρτισμὸν ἡμῶν καὶ διδασκαλίαν, so say the bishops of the emperor.

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virgin Mary were especially rejected, as having grown out of paganism and as being altogether alien from Christianity. For as paganism was wanting in the hope of a resurrection, it had hit upon the fancy worthy of itself, of attempting by a mockery of this sort to represent the absent as present.[1] Far should it be from the Christian church to follow this invention of men who were under the guidance and actuation of evil spirits.[2] Whoever undertook to represent the saints, dwelling with God in eternity, by that dead and accursed art, foolishly invented by pagans, was guilty of blaspheming them. The art of the painter is here described as an altogether pagan device; and hence Christians must be forbidden to borrow, from what was so foreign from their faith, any testimony in favor of that faith; just as Christ himself refused the testimony of demons, commanding them to be silent. The worship of God in spirit and in truth is set over against the use of images; as also what St. Paul says, 2 Cor. 5: 16, "Though we have known Christ after the flesh, yet now henceforth know we him no more," and what he says touching the opposition between faith and open vision, 1 Cor. xiii. Furthermore, extracts from the older fathers, expressing opposition to images, were read before the synod; nor would genuine testimonies of this sort be wanting in Christian antiquity. At the same time, a great deal which is conceived wholly in the spirit and tone of the iconoclasts of this age, may have been either interpolated by them, or else falsified so as to answer their purpose. Such deception to promote the honor of God and advance the truth, would on their principles be considered perfectly allowable.[3] Accordingly, it was now settled, that every image of whatsoever material, produced by the wretched art of painting, should be banished from the Christian church.[4] No person henceforth should be allowed to follow so godless an art. Whoever for the future should presume to manufacture such an image, to worship it, to place it up, or conceal it, in a church or a private dwelling, should, if an ecclesiastic, be deposed; if a monk or layman, be expelled from the communion of the church and otherwise punished, according to the imperial laws.

The synod must no doubt have learned, that the zeal against the idolatrous worship of images had misled many to destroy such vessels

[1] Ἐλπίδα γὰρ ἀναστάσεως μὴ ἔχων (ὁ ἑλληνισμὸς) ἄξιον ἑαυτοῦ παίγνιον συνεσκόπησεν, ἵνα τὰ μὴ πάροντα ὡς πάροντα διὰ τῆς χλεύης παραστήσῃ.

[2] Δαιμονιοφόρων ἀνδρων εὕρημα.

[3] Many bishops, who had attended this council, and who referred back to it at the second council of Nice, here declared, that they had been deceived at the former, by passages from the older church fathers, torn from their connection and falsely quoted. It was purposely contrived, they said, that the works of the fathers themselves should not be placed before them, but only isolated extracts. The declaration of two of those bishops: ἐκεῖ βίβλος οὐκ ἐφάνη, ἀλλὰ διὰ ψευδοπιττακίων ἐξηπάτων ἡμᾶς. Concil. Nic. act. V. Harduin. IV. f. 300. So it was said, also, that an interpolated letter of Nilus was read before the council. A bishop says: ἡ ἐπιστολὴ αὕτη ἡ ἀναγνωσθεῖσα, πρώην φαλσευθεῖσα ἀπώλεσε καὶ ἐπλάνησεν ἡμᾶς. act. IV. f. 187. Really the deception, as described at this council, must have been gross enough; nor is it very difficult to believe of such men. as these bishops, that they might be guilty of a falsehood to justify their own conduct.

[4] Ἀποβλητὸν εἶναι καὶ ἀλλοτρίαν καὶ ἐβδελυγμένην ἐκ τῆς τῶν χριστιανῶν ἐκκλησίας πᾶσαν εἰκόνα ἐκ παντοιας ὕλης καὶ χρωματουργικῆς τῶν ζωγραφῶν κακοτεχνίας πεποιημένην.

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and furniture of the churches as happened to be ornamented with figures of religious objects, and for the same reason to attack the churches themselves; or even that covetousness had done the same thing under similar pretexts. The synod itself confesses, that such disorders had occurred.[1] And it may therefore be believed — though coming as it does from the mouth of a zealous defender of image-worship it is the less deserving of credence,[2] — that a certain bishop was accused before this ecclesiastical assembly of having trodden under foot a sacramental cup, because it was ornamented with figures of Christ and the virgin Mary. And it may undoubtedly be true, as the story relates, that the passionate proceeding of this bishop was pardoned on the score of his zeal for the honor of God; while his accusers were excommunicated from the church as defenders of idols.[3] Such incidents would only contribute to place the iconoclasts in a still more hateful light before the people. It would therefore naturally be considered by the synod a matter of great importance to guard against such proceedings for the future. For this reason the council ordained, that no person should be allowed, without special permission from the patriarch or the emperor, to make any alteration in church vessels, church hangings, etc. on the ground of their being ornamented with figures.

Following the example of the older general councils, this council closed its proceedings with a more detailed confession of faith, containing a development of the orthodox doctrines hitherto received, with the corresponding formulas of condemnation; the doctrine concerning Christ's person being so constructed as that the polemics against images of Christ might be immediately derived therefrom. Its import was as follows: Christ, in his glorified humanity, though not uncorporeal, was yet exalted above the limits and defects of a sensuous nature; too exalted therefore to be figured by human art, in an earthly material, after the analogy of any other human body.[4] We here discern the point of opposition between the views entertained by image-worshippers and by iconoclasts. The former considered the figures of Christ important as a practical confession of Christ's true humanity, and of the revelation of the divine life in the true human form — and the contrary seemed to them a denial of the incarnation of the Logos or of his true human nature. But the iconoclasts looked upon figures of Christ, wrought by the hand of man, as a degradation of the glorified Christ, a denial of his super-earthly exaltation. On this principle and from this point of view, the anathema was pronounced on those, who sought to express by sensible colors the divine form of the Logos in his incarnation, who did not, from the whole heart, with a spiritual eye, worship him who outshining the splendor of the sun, sits on the throne of majesty at God's right hand. The anathema was also pronounced on

[1] Concil. Nic. II. act. VI. f. 422. *καθὼς τοιαῦτα ὑπό τινων ἀτάκτως φερομένων προγέγονεν.*

[2] The story is in the Life of St. Stephen, in the Analecta Graeca published by the Maurinians (T. I. p. 480).

[3] *Ἐκδικήται εἰδώλων.*

[4] *Οὐκέτι μὲν σάρκα, οὐκ ἀσώματον δὲ, οἷς αὐτὸς οἷδε λόγοις θεοειδεστέρου σώματος, ἵνα καὶ ὀφθῇ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκκεντησάντων καὶ μείνῃ θεὸς ἔξω παχύτητος.* Concil. Nic. II. act. VI. Harduin. IV. f. 423.

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all who delineated in colors dumb and lifeless images of the saints which could serve no profitable end; instead of striving rather to produce living pictures of them by imitating the virtues exhibited in the story of their lives. It is, at the same time, to be observed, that the council thought fit to pronounce the anathema also on those, who refused to acknowledge the virgin Mary as the mother of God, exalted above the whole visible and invisible creation, and to seek her intercession with sincere faith; as also upon those who refused to acknowledge the dignity of the saints, and implore their intercession. From this fact alone we might conclude that the party of the iconoclasts must have had some special reason, in the circumstances of the times, for introducing such articles into their creed; and we might be led to conjecture that they had been accused by their antagonists of denying the homage due to Mary and the saints. But actual proofs are also to be found, that such charges against the iconoclasts were circulated among the image-worshippers. Of the emperor Constantine, for example, it is related, that to bring the worship of Mary into discredit, he once held out a purse of money, and asked how much is it worth? Being answered, that it must be of great value, he poured out the contents and holding it up again, repeated the question. The answer was now the reverse, and he said: Just so is it with the worth of Mary before and after the birth of Jesus; she now possesses nothing to distinguish her above other women.[1] He is said to have rejected the practice of invoking the intercession of Mary and the saints.[2] He is also said to have disapproved the practice of calling a man a saint; and to have treated the relics of saints with contempt. It is reported of the iconoclasts generally, that avoiding the phrase in common use: "We are going to this or that saint," viz. his church, they preferred to say: "We are going to Theodore, or to this or that Martyr or Apostle."[3] Such reports cannot, indeed, be received with much confidence; for the image-worshippers were very ready to set any story afloat which might serve to fix on their opponents the stigma of heresy;[4] but at

[1] See, besides the Byzantine historians, the Life of St. Nicetas, in the appendix to the first volume of the month of April, in the Actis Sanctorum of the Bollandists, § 28.

[2] Constantine at least gave occasion for the remark, that he was not accustomed to begin or conclude his addresses in the usual manner, with an invocation to Mary and the saints,—and this made the charge appear credible. The monk Theosterictos, a scholar of Nicetas, says in his account of his life, that he had read thirteen addresses of the emperor, in which this introduction or this conclusion was wanting. See this Life in the Actis Sanct. Month April, Vol. I. appendix, f. 28. § 29. *αὐτὸς ἐγὼ ἀνέγνων τριακαίδεκα λογίδεια, ἅπερ παρέδωκεν ταῖς δυσὶν ἑβδομάδαις, πρεσβείαν μὴ ἔχοντα.* Even the author of the violent tirades against this emperor and against the iconoclasts (in the opp. Johannis Damascene. T. I. f. 613) who probably wrote in Constantine's own time, says of him, that he fought against the worship of Mary, of the martyrs and the saints, and affirmed the martyrs had benefited none by their sufferings but themselves. This author indeed considered it necessary to defend against his remarks, the honor and dignity of the saints.

[3] See the Life of St. Stephen in the Analecta, pag. 481. *Οὐχὶ ἐκ πάντων ἁγίων, δικαίων, ἀποστόλων καὶ μαρτύρων τὸ ἅγιον ὑμεῖς ἐξεποιήσατε καὶ ἐδογματίσατε λεγοντες: ποῦ πορεύῃ; εἰς τοὺς ἀποστόλους. Πόθεν ἥκεις; ἐκ τῶν τεσσαράκοντα μαρτύρων. Ποῦ δὲ καὶ εἰς; εἰς τὸν μάρτυρα Θεόδωρον.*

[4] One of these, indeed, involves a contradiction, viz. when it is said (in Nicetas' account of his life), that Constantine was willing to call Mary the *θεότοκος*, but not the Holy.

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least, the spirit which gave birth to this controversy against images, the deeper principle at the bottom of the whole movement, would, in its negative tendency, lead on to further results.

At this council, Constantine, a monk, and bishop of Syleum in Phrygia, was consecrated patriarch of Constantinople; an elevation for which he was no doubt indebted to the zeal he had manifested against image-worship. The emperor himself presented him to the people, and, at the same time, published the decrees of the council pronouncing the anathema against all worshippers of images. He was now determined to enforce universal obedience to the decisions of the council. In every place, images were not only to be taken down, and every one who concealed them at home or distributed them about secretly, brought to punishment, as transgressors of the imperial laws; but all figures of religious objects were to be removed from the ecclesiastical books,[1] and walls of churches embellished with pictures were to be washed over with paint. Governors of provinces and other official dignitaries courted the emperor's favor by exhibiting their zeal against images. Thus many a series of paintings, decorating the walls of churches, and representing the story of Christ, from his birth to his ascension and the effusion of the Holy Spirit, were destroyed. As a substitute for these, it was deemed better to paint the church walls with fruit-trees, animals, and the sports of the chase.[2] Nevertheless, vast numbers, especially of the female sex, could not be deprived of these treasures; but secretly transmitted them as precious legacies and indispensable helps to devotion in their families; and to objects thus secretly preserved, and preserved only at the greatest hazard, the attachment became so much the stronger.[3]

The decrees of this self-styled general council were subscribed, it is true, by the majority of the bishops; but in return, a more violent resistance was experienced by the emperor from a class of men who possessed great power through their influence on the populace, namely, the monks; many of whom were reverenced as saints. At the head

[1] Leo, bishop of Phocæa (Φωκία), remarked at the second council of Nice, that in the city where he resided. above three hundred books had been burned on account of images. Demetrius, a deacon at Constantinople, declared, that when the oversight of the furniture of the church was committed to him, (as σκευοφύλαξ) he found, from the church inventory, that two books with silvered images were missing; and on inquiry he ascertained that they had been burned by the iconoclasts. Act. Concil. Nic. II. Act. V. Harduin. IV. f. 310.

[2] See the Life of Stephen, l. c. p. 446. The author of this biography says of the alteration made by the emperor in a church of the virgin Mary at Constantinople, which contained that series of pictures: Ὀπωροφυλάκιον καὶ ὀρνεοσκοπεῖον τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐποίησεν. l. c. 454.

[3] When the monk Stephen, of whom we shall say more hereafter, was thrown in prison on account of his zeal for the images at Constantinople, the wife of the keeper, who honored him as a martyr, came to him secretly, and begged to be allowed the privilege of waiting upon him and of furnishing him with food. The monk would not consent, supposing that she belonged to the party of the iconoclasts. But the woman declared she was ready to convince him of the contrary to his own eyes, if he would but conceal it from her husband and the other keepers. She then brought from her chamber a casket locked, in which was concealed an image of the virgin Mary holding the child Jesus, and images of Peter and of Paul; prostrating herself before these, and performing her devotions, she then gave them up to Stephen, that he might pray before them, and in so doing remember her. See the above mentioned Life, p. 503. The same thing might be done by many pious and devout women.

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of these stood monk Stephanus, who dwelt in the famous grotto of Auxentius, on a lofty mountain near the Bithynian sea-shore. Other monks flocked to him in great numbers, whom he inflamed with his own zeal, or, if they felt themselves unequal to the trial, advised to take refuge in those districts of the East and West, where they would escape the reach of the emperor's arm. Constantine endeavored, at first, by marks of favor and distinction, to induce Stephanus to subscribe the decrees of the council; thinking it important to secure the authority of a person so generally respected, on account of the influence it would have on other monks, and on the people at large. With this design he despatched to him a person of high rank, with a present of dried figs, dates, and other fruits, on which the monks were used to subsist; but Stephanus declared, he could not be bought to deny his faith; that he was ready to die for the image of Christ; that he never would accept of a present from heretics.[1] It was of no avail to banish the monks, or to imprison them; they would not give up; they unanimously persisted in their opposition to the iconoclasts, and industriously circulated the stories of wonderful cures wrought by images. It was necessary to compel them to obedience by violence; and the most cruel tortures were employed. Such as refused to subscribe the decrees of the synod were publicly scourged without mercy; were deprived of their noses, ears, or hands, or had their eyes bored out. Three hundred and forty-two monks, collected from different districts and thrown together in one prison in Constantinople, were tortured in this manner.[2] It is true, the insulting language in which the monks spoke of the emperor, as a renegade from the faith, afforded at least some pretext for punishing them, not on the score of their religious opinions, but as guilty of disloyalty, as in the instance of the venerated monk Andrew, surnamed, from the grotto in which he usually lived, the *Calybite*, who died under the lash, because he had called Constantine a second Julian, or Valens.[3] The famous monk Stephanus, when summoned before the emperor, drawing a piece of coin from his cowl, said, What punishment must I suffer, should I trample this coin, which bears the emperor's image, under my feet? Judge from it, what punishment he deserves who insults Christ and his mother, in their images. So saying, he threw down the money and trod it under foot; upon which the emperor ordered him to be imprisoned for daring to insult the imperial image.[4]

No doubt the example of venerated monks, suffering every evil for the sake of their opinions, which they maintained with unbending firmness, must have operated more powerfully on the people, than the influence of the multitude of worldly-minded bishops, with whom it was but too evident the interests of religion went for nothing, since they were only trimming their sails to the court breeze. A contemporary writer, who composed a discourse in defence of image-worship, gives us a picture of these bishops, which seems to have been drawn from

[1] See the account of the Life of Stephen, p. 457.
[2] See the Life of Stephen, p. 500.
[3] See Theophanes Chronograph. f. 289
[4] The Life of Stephen, p. 499.

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the life.[1] In replying to the objection, that images ought not to be tolerated, because such idolatrous use was now made of them by the populace, he says: "If such errors prevail among the people, it is the fault of the clergy, who exist for nothing else but to instruct the ignorant how they ought to believe and to perform their devotions. But the bishops of these times care for nothing but horses, flocks of sheep, and fields; how they may get the most for their grain, their wine, their oil, wool, and silk. They neglect their people, or do more for their bodies than for their souls." Such bishops were but poorly calculated to work a change in men's religious convictions.

But the emperor Constantine might easily be hurried, by the peculiar bent of mind which engaged him in this controversy against images, to carry his opposition against the prevailing views to an extreme. He looked upon the monks as the chief promoters of idolatry, of *obscuration* — for he styled them children of darkness.[2] He would have been glad to see the whole race of monks exterminated at a blow.[3] But as martyrdom only served to increase the veneration for them among the people, he would have been still more pleased if by any device, however low, he could make them appear ridiculous to the multitude.[4] Nothing so excited his indignation, as to see men and women of rank embracing the monastic life; and as these, as well as the persons who influenced them, exposed themselves to violent persecutions, so nothing gave him greater pleasure than to succeed in prevailing upon monks to return to the world. Such persons might safely calculate on being raised to some lucrative or honorable post, — and to exchange the monkish cowl for secular apparel, was to exchange darkness for light.[5] The same religious turn of life, which was promoted by the extravagant veneration of relics, by the stories of miracles they had performed, and by the superstition which expected help from them, the same it was that inspired also the zeal for image-worship. It was, therefore, wholly in accordance with the other proceedings, that, inasmuch as the popular devotion was strongly directed to the relics of St. Euphemia, which were shown to the people as having miraculously distilled balsam, Constantine should order the casket which contained them to be thrown into the sea.[6] But indeed the popular faith in the pretended miracle was too deeply rooted, to be destroyed by such violent measures. The people were now assured that the emperor had made way with the relics on purpose to destroy such irrefragable miraculous testimony to the power of the saints and the lawfulness of their worship.

[1] Orat. adv. Constantin. Cabalin. in the works of John of Damascus, I. f. 622.

[2] *Σκοτίας ἐνδύματα, σκοτενδύτους.*

[3] He called the monks, people whom nobody ought to remember, *τοὺς ἀμνημονεύτους.*

[4] Thus he compelled certain monks to appear in the circus, with a woman in their arms, to excite the ridicule of the people. Theophan. f. 293.

[5] As one of them expressed himself, a certain Stephen (not the saint), whom the emperor prevailed upon to make this change, and whom he afterwards appointed to a place at his court: *σήμερον, δέσποτα, τοῦ σατανικοῦ φάραγγος δία σου ἀφαρπαχθεὶς τὸ φῶς ἐνδέδυμαι.* The Life of Stephen, p. 486.

[6] Theophanes, p. 294.

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Afterwards, it was pretended to be revealed in a vision, that the relics had come ashore on the island of Lemnos.

As image-worship agreed with the prevailing character of the devotion of this age, so it was generally the case that the more pious class were zealous image-worshippers. Hence the emperor would not be disposed to favor such as were given to piety, according to its usual form in this period. Now, although but little reliance can be placed on the reports of men, who were interested in representing the emperor, whom they hated, as a heretic, especially when they bear such evident marks of exaggeration, yet perhaps there was some foundation for the story, that if a man stumbled, or received a sudden blow, and, as is usual in such cases, cried out "Help, mother of God;" if a man joined in the observance of vigils at church, or frequented the public service on week days, he was punished as the emperor's enemy, and reckoned by him among the friends of darkness.[1] Opposed as Constantine was to the prevailing sensuous tendency of the religious spirit, and feeling a repugnance to everything that bordered upon idolatry, it was in character with his whole bent of mind, that he should find something offensive in the designation of Mary as Mother of God. Nevertheless, he was well aware of the danger to which he would expose himself, if he should seem to be injuring, on this side, the interests of the true faith, and derogating from the honor due to the virgin; and hence he ventured no further than slightly to hint his wishes. In a confidential interview with the patriarch Constantine, he asked him, perhaps without any distinct knowledge of the Nestorian controversy, what would be the harm of calling Mary Mother of Christ, instead of Mother of God? But the patriarch, embracing him, said, "God forbid, sire, that thou shouldst harbor such thoughts as these. Dost thou not see how Nestorius is condemned by the whole church?" The emperor fell back at once, observing that he had asked the question simply for the sake of information, and bidding the patriarch never to mention it.[2] But the patriarch was not so reserved. From imprudence, or motives of personal ill-will, he informed others of what the emperor had said; and this probably was the first cause of the disgrace into which he soon fell with that monarch, which was followed by a series of humiliations and sufferings, terminating only by his death on the scaffold. For the rest, we may gather from this incident, with what a wary eye the emperor watched the public opinion respecting his orthodoxy; and we may conclude, that even though he was inclined to think and speak of the saints and of the virgin Mary as was reported of him, yet he would be carefully on his guard against allowing such expressions to get wind. Nor would it be wonderful, supposing some such remark of the emperor about the virgin Mary once got abroad, if, by passing from mouth to mouth, it became considerably magnified.

Thus by a course of despotism, consistently carried out, during a

[1] Theophanes, p. 296.

[2] Theoph. f. 291

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reign of more than thirty years (down to A. D. 775), Constantine flattered himself that he had struck the final blow to image-worship. Every citizen of Constantinople had been placed under oath never again to worship an image.[1]

Under this long reign there had risen up, it is true, a new generation, of whom a part, at least, had never seen an image, but had been nurtured in principles hostile to images. Yet by all his violent proceedings, the emperor could not hinder image-worship from being secretly propagated in a multitude of families; and that religious bent of mind, which could not be revolutionized at once by outward appliances, furnished an ever-present foot-hold for the return of this practice; and nothing was needed but a favorable change in the government, to enable the party (which still had many adherents among the people, of all ranks excepting the army, but who were only kept back by the persecutions) to come forth, with greater zeal than ever, from their concealment. The way was prepared for this, under the very eye of the emperor, whose nod was law. His son Leo had married an Athenian lady, Irene, — from a family ardently devoted to image-worship. Wanting herself the essential temper of Christianity, she was the more inclined to set the essence of religion in externals. Superstition could at once pacify her conscience, and afford a prop to her immoralities. Yet Constantine, in giving her as a wife to his son, had endeavored to secure himself on this side, by making Irene swear that she would renounce images.[2] No oath, however, could bind Irene, in a case where she believed the honor of God was concerned, and she might regard even perjury as a pardonable crime, when committed for so holy an end.

The emperor Leo, who succeeded to the throne in 775, was firmly attached, it is true, to the same principles with his father; but he possessed neither the energy, nor the despotic sternness, of the latter, being in truth of a milder temperament. The cunning and ambitious Irene contrived already to accomplish much which served to prepare the way for a revolution, without attracting the emperor's notice. The monks who, under the preceding reign, were obliged to conceal themselves, could again come forth from their hiding-places. Those of them who were honored as saints, and who had not been seen for a long series of years in Constantinople, where in general the monastic life had almost wholly disappeared, ventured once more to show themselves in public;[3] and, with a proportionate joy and en-

[1] Theophanes, f. 292. According to this account, the emperor had required a similar oath to be taken also in other parts of the empire. In the Life of Stephanus (f. 443, 44), the writer seems to speak of Constantinople only. Perhaps it was mere exaggeration, that they were obliged also to swear that they would have no fellowship with monks, nor even salute them, but call every monk an *obscurer*. It seems as if it might be gathered from the Acts of the second council of Nice (see on a future page), that the *bishops*, at least, were *everywhere* obliged to take this oath.

[2] According to the report of *Cedrenus*, the emperor Leo afterwards, on discovering Irene's true way of thinking and acting on this point, reminded her of the oath she had taken.

[3] Probably, to judge from the order of the events, here belongs what Theodorus Studita says in his life of the abbot Plato, concerning the reappearance of the venerated monks at Constantinople: ἄρτι ὡς-

thusiasm, they were received into the families, where their memory had been cherished as of persons to be venerated, or where their ancient friends still lived. The more pious gathered round them, and they began once more to exercise an important influence. This influence served, indeed, to kindle a zeal for the sensuous forms of devotion, as well as for image-worship; but what was better, it served also to excite a new zeal for active Christianity, to restore its quiet practice, which had been disturbed, and to bring entire families from the ways of vice to a Christian life and conversation.[1] The empress so contrived it, also, that many of the monks were promoted to the more considerable bishoprics. They were, probably, fast friends to image-worship, but doubtless yielded, for the present, in the way of accommodation to circumstances (*οἰκονομία*), so as to have it in their power afterwards to do more for the sacred cause. The emperor already begun to be regarded as a friend of Mary and of the monks; and it was expected — since one was connected with the other — that he would come out also as a friend of images; — but this hope was disappointed. The empress Irene had combined with several of the chamberlains, and other persons of the court, to bring about the restoration of images; and at court image-worship was already practised, without the knowledge of the emperor. But by discovering two images concealed under the pillow of the empress, he came upon the track of the whole design.[2] The members of this combination of image-worshippers were seized, scourged, exposed to public disgrace, and imprisoned. But Leo having died early in the year 780, could take no precautionary measures against the course which might be pursued in the future by his surviving partner; or perhaps he had been lulled into security by the false pretensions of the cunning Irene.

Irene having assumed the government, in behalf of her minor son Constantine, resolved to do everything in her power for the restoration of image-worship; but political considerations induced her to proceed with caution, so as not to ruin the whole cause; for under the preceding reigns, not only had the episcopal chairs been filled by such alone as adopted the decrees of the iconoclastic council of Constantinople, many of whom were zealous opponents of image-worship, but what was a greater difficulty — since the majority of the bishops of the Greek church were ever wont to follow obsequiously the direction of the court — the *army* was, for the most part, strongly devoted to the principles of their successful general, Constantine Copronymus; and the empress had to fear, therefore, the resistance of an armed force. On this account, it was necessary to prepare the way by cunning, for the execution of her designs. In the same proportion

περ τινῶν φωστήρων ἐπιφαινομένων μονασ-τῶν τοῖς ἐν ἀστει. See Acta Sanct. Mens. April T. I. Append. f. 49. § 17.

[1] See the abovementioned Life, § 18: *ἀφ' οὗ ἐπεδήμησεν τοῖς ἐν ἀστει, ὅλους οἴκους μετέπλασεν καὶ μετεστοιχείωσεν εἰς βίον ἐνάρετον*

[2] This is mentioned by Cedrenus as occurring in the fifth year of Leo's reign; Stephanus relates only the punishment of those connected with the court, on account of their worship of images.

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as monachism had been despised under Constantine Copronymus, it was now honored. The monks obtained the most important offices of the church. In direct contrast with the reign of Constantine — the way was now open for all, even those of the highest ranks, to become monks; and such as exchanged the splendor of the world for the monastic life, were held in especial esteem. The empress was, doubtless, by natural disposition and independent of all outward aims, by virtue of her peculiar religious turn, a warm friend of the monks. She placed the greatest reliance on their intercessions and their blessings; and the monks confirmed her in these feelings, her zeal for the honor of the images leading them to overlook her many vicious qualities. Yet, at the same time, it was certainly her intention to employ the monks, as the most zealous and influential agents she could choose, for promoting the image-worship; nor did she calculate wrongly. She would now be anxious, also, to have a patriarch at Constantinople who would fall in with her own views, and whom she could use as an instrument for accomplishing her designs. But she was either too timorous or too cunning, to follow the method usually pursued, by removing at once the patriarch Paulus, who had thus far attached himself to the party of the iconoclasts, and substituting another, of the opposite opinion, in his place; for by so doing, she would give to the still important party of the iconoclasts a head; while the patriarch, substituted in his place, would appear to many no better than an interloper. Circumstances, which she cunningly took advantage of, came opportunely to her aid, so that she was enabled to avoid all these evil consequences.

Paulus, who was then patriarch of Constantinople, induced by a severe fit of sickness, retired, in the year 784, from the palace of the patriarchate to a monastery. The empress complained of this step, and demanded the reasons which had led him to think of renouncing the patriarchal dignity. He said he could find no peace for his conscience, since he had denied the truth; that through the fear of man alone he had ceased testifying for the universal tradition of the church, valid, in all times, against the heresy of the iconoclasts; that he had retired to a monastery for the purpose of doing penance; and he urgently entreated the empress to nominate in his place an orthodox man, who, it might be hoped, would find means of reconciling the church of the imperial city with the other head churches, from which it had been severed by the prevailing heretical tendency, and of securing the victory once more on the side of truth; and he recommended, as his successor, Tarasius the first secretary of state.[1] As this event gave the first decisive impulse to all that was done from that moment for the restoration of image-worship; as the event was appealed to with great earnestness, and as if from a preconcerted understanding; and pains were taken to spread the story far and wide;

[1] The accounts in Theophanes, Cedrenus, in the life of Tarasius by Ignatius c. I. in the Actis Sanct. published in the Latin translation Mens. Februar. T. III. f. 577, and in the imperial *Sacra* addressed to the bishops of the second council of Nice. Harduin. Concil. IV. f. 38.

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a suspicion is naturally awakened, that the whole thing had been contrived by the empress and her advisers, for the purpose of operating on the minds of the multitude, and of preparing the way for the succeeding steps. But however disposed we might be to conjecture that the empress had hinted to the patriarch, it would be better for him, under the pretence of sickness, to retire to a monastery, and by this voluntary abdication, avoid the harder fate of being deposed; such a conjecture is met by the fact, that the death of Paulus, which occurred soon afterwards, renders his previous sickness probable. It must be taken, then, as the substantial truth, that the patriarch was really induced by sickness to retire to his monastery; a step indeed, which must appear altogether natural, when viewed in connection with the peculiar turn of Christian life and manners that prevailed in the Greek church. We may accordingly look upon the transaction in the following light — this voluntary step of the patriarch Paulus was laid hold of by the empress, and the case represented, as if the patriarch had retired from compunctions of remorse on account of his previous denial of the truth. But it may also be supposed that the same reflections, which awakened by his sickness, led him to retire to the convent, might awaken in him remorse for the course he had pursued with regard to images. This, in a weak man, would be extremely natural; especially if we consider, that he had been trained up to the worship of images, and had yielded in the preceding reign, to the dominant tendency, merely through feebleness of character;[1] that the new spirit of image-worship which, through the influence of the court and of the monks, began once more to be powerful, had its effect on his mind; and that to all this was added the impression that his end was near. From the feeble character of this individual, we may also account for it, that though equal liberty had for several years, been granted to both parties, he had nevertheless hesitated to decide before in favor of image-worship, and to use the authority of his patriarchal rank for its restoration. The truth was, perhaps, that he stood in too much fear of the still powerful party of the iconoclasts, supported as they were by the imperial body-guard. But if he really was the the first to recommend the emperor's secretary Tarasius as a suitable person to succeed him, he did so, no doubt, in conformity with a plan concerted by the court; — or else this recommendation of Tarasius by the expiring patriarch was merely a story, invented for the purpose of first drawing the attention of the people to a man so far removed by his position from the spiritual order, and of palliating the irregularity of his choice. Such irregularity was indeed by no means a singular occurrence in the Byzantine empire, where sudden transfers from high civil posts to the service of the church might often be witnessed. But still, in the present case, where a man had

[1] This is confirmed by a fact which Theophanes reports, viz. that in the reign of the emperor Leo he had struggled against accepting the patriarchate, because of the tendency, then prevailing at Constantinople, to oppose images, and that he was forced to accept it against his will. But it may be, that Paul's later conduct first induced him to give this shape to the story, in order to palliate his earlier behavior.

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been selected as the fit instrument for achieving a sacred work, it would doubtless seem to stand in need of some palliation.[1] It was certainly a concerted plan, that Tarasius, when offered the patriarchal dignity, should decline accepting it; that he should need to be urged, and should be called upon to state his objections publicly, before the assembled people. He said that, in the first place, he feared to pass directly from business altogether secular, with unwashen hands, into the sanctuary. But in this, he felt bound to submit to the divine call, as made known to him through the will of the queen regent. His greatest fear, however, and a difficulty which seemed to him insurmountable, was, that he must preside over a church, anathematized as heretical by all the other head churches of the world. He could not undertake to bear the burden of such a condemnation, the consequences of which he proceeded to set forth in such language as was calculated to make a deep impression on the minds of his audience. For these reasons, then, he declared, that he could not, with a good conscience, accept the office; unless it were upon the condition that all would unite with him in a petition to the queen regent, that she would take the proper measures for restoring union with the other head churches, and for convening, with their concurrence, an ecumenical council, by which the unity of doctrine might everywhere be reëstablished. His address was received by the multitude with marks of approbation; yet many who plainly saw the design lying at the bottom of the whole affair, and who no doubt were attached to the party of the iconoclasts, declared, that there was no need of a new council.[2] But Tarasius took up the matter again, remarking, that it had been an emperor, Leo, who banished the images from the churches, and the council of Constantinople had found the images already banished; the matter therefore was still *sub lite*, since the ancient tradition had been arbitrarily attacked. And so it was settled, that a general council should, with the concurrence of the other patriarchal churches, be convened.

Accordingly a correspondence was once more set on foot, first with pope Hadrian I, who was invited to send delegates to a church-assembly, to meet at Constantinople. Hadrian declared himself satisfied with the orthodoxy professed by Tarasius, and with the zeal he manifested for the restoration of image-worship; but it was only out of regard to this, and to the present emergency, that he was willing to overlook the irregularity in the election of one, who had been elevated with so little preparation to the highest spiritual dignity. He sent two delegates to Constantinople, who were to act as his representatives at the council. It was now desired, that the synod should be held not merely under the presidency of the two first patriarchs, but that nothing might be

[1] It is singular, at the same time that it confirms what is said above, that in the *Sacra* addressed to the second council of Nice, this recommendation of Tarasius is not mentioned; but it is simply said, that by all experienced men in the affairs of the church who had been consulted on the subject of a worthy patriarch, Tarasius was unanimously selected.

[2] See Vit. Taras. c. III, and the address of Tarasius, in the acts of the second council of Nice, Harduin. IV. f. 26. In the latter passage, it is said: *τινὲς δὲ ὀλίγοι τῶν ἀφρόνων ἀνεβάλλοντο.*

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wanting, which could be reckoned among the marks of an ecumenical council, and that it might stand with decided prominence above the council of the iconoclasts — it was determined that all the five patriarchs should take a share in the presidency. Yet although it happened at the present time, by peculiar circumstances, that the orthodox Melchitite, and not the Monophysite party, had succeeded in elevating a man of their own number to the patriarchate of Alexandria,[1] and that there was therefore no difficulty in the way so far as this was concerned, nevertheless a great difficulty still remained, arising from the domination of the Saracens in Egypt and Syria, who for political reasons, were not accustomed to allow of any negotiations betwixt the churches within their dominions, and those of the Roman empire. The patriarch Tarasius did indeed, send delegates with letters, to the three other patriarchs; but these delegates met on their journey a company of monks who informed them, that under existing circumstances the object they had in view could not possibly be accomplished. If they were determined to proceed onward, they would not only involve themselves in the greatest perils without effecting their purpose, but by exciting the suspicions of the Saracens, might bring down the heaviest calamities upon the already severely oppressed Christian communities in these districts.[2] Since, then, they found it impossible to accomplish the object for which they were sent, they were obliged to content themselves with the best substitute for it which the circumstances would allow. The monks chose two of their own number, *John* and *Thomas*, whom they represented as being Syncelli of the patriarchs, and as possessing an exact knowledge of the prevailing doctrines in the orthodox churches of Syria and Egypt; and these — with the little authority they possessed — were made to present themselves before the council as plenipotentiaries and representatives of the three patriarchs, so as to give it the false appearance of having been held with the concurrence of all the five patriarchs.[3]

[1] Comp. Walch's Geschichte u. s. w. Theil 10, S. 516.

[2] See the writing of these monks, which gives an account of the whole matter, and is wrongly cited in Harduin. IV. f. 137, as a writing of the patriarch.

[3] It is remarkable that Theodore Studita, with whom the authority of this council would stand high, inasmuch as they reïntroduced image-worship, and who sometimes speaks of it as an ecumenical council, still intimates, that it did not strictly deserve the title ecumenical, and lays open the whole trick in the case of the so called representatives of the three patriarchs — the object of which he rightly explains as having been to command that respect from the people brought up in the principles of the iconoclasts which would be due to the authority of an ecumenical council. He says (l. I. ep. 38: *οὐδὲ γὰρ οἱ κεκαθικότες ἀντίπρόσωποι* their representatives) *τῶν ἄλλων πατριαρχῶν, ψευδές.* He states in the next place, certainly without truth, that even the papal delegates had come to Constantinople on other business, and not on account of the synod, and that they were compelled in spite of the instructions they had received, to stand as plenipotentiaries and representatives of the pope. For this reason, on their return home, they were deprived by the pope of their spiritual offices. He then proceeds to say of the other patriarchs: *οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ἐκ μὲν ἀνατολῆς, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῶν ἐνταῦθα προτραπέντες καὶ ἐλχθέντες, οὐχ' ὑπὸ τῶν πατριαρχῶν ἀποσταλέντες, ὅτι μηδὲ ἐνόησαν, ἢ ὕστερον, διὰ τὸ τοῦ ἔθνους δέος δηλονότι* (fear of the Saracens) *τοῦτο δὲ ἐποίουν οἱ ἐνταῦθα, ἵνα τὸν αἱρετίζοντα λαὸν μᾶλλον πείσωσιν ὀρθοδοξεῖν ἐκ τοῦ οἰκουμενικὴν δῆθεν ἀθροισθῆναι σύνοδον.* He states, that this council is considered in the Roman church merely as a *σύνοδος τοπική.* To be sure, the more rigid Theodore had reason to be dissatisfied with this church

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In the year 786 this church-assembly was opened at Constantinople. The plan, however, had not been well concerted. The majority of the bishops, having been created partly in the time of Leo, and partly in that of his successor Constantine, still maintained their hostility to images, and among them were many zealous opponents, many from families that had long since banished images from their households, so that, from childhood, they had been accustomed to abominate them as idols.[1] But still, owing to the servile spirit then reigning in the Greek church, they would not have ventured upon so stout a resistance to the will of the court, unless they had counted upon a powerful support from the army, and especially from the imperial body-guard who cherished along with the lively remembrance of Constantine Copronymus, a steady attachment to his principles. These bishops, with whom many of the laity[2] were associated,[3] held secret meetings previous to the opening of the council, for the purpose of devising measures for frustrating the patriarch's plans, and preventing the meeting of a council which they regarded as wholly unnecessary. The patriarch, who heard of this, reminded them that he was bishop of the capital, and that they were guilty of an infraction of the ecclesiastical laws, by holding meetings without his consent, and exposed themselves to the loss of their offices. They now, indeed, relinquished their meetings; but still they endeavored to carry on their operations in secret. Meantime, the empress with her body-guard, made her entrance into Constantinople — but the latter instead of being men who could be relied upon to support the measures of the government, were on the contrary leagued with the bishops of the opposition. On the evening of the thirty-first of July, the day before the one appointed for the opening of the council, an excited company of them assembled in the baptistery of the church where the council was to be held, with noisy shouts, one exclaiming this thing another that, but all uniting in the cry that there should be no council. The empress did not on this account falter in her purpose. On the first of August, the council was opened. But when the ecclesiastical law was read, that no general council could be held without the assistance of the other patriarchs, (a law by which the decrees of the other council of the iconoclasts were afterwards declared to be null and void,) a large body of soldiers, perhaps at the instigation of the bishops of the opposition, assembled with wild and furious shouts before the doors of the church; when the empress deeming it best to yield to force, in order to conquer by cunning,

assembly, on account of their lenient treatment of the bishops who had belonged to the party of the iconoclasts, and of those convicted of simony; see below.

[1] So said several of the bishops at the second council of Nice, actio I. Harduin T. IV. f. 60. *ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ αἱρέσει ἡμῶν γεννηθέντες ἀνετράφημεν καὶ ηὐξήθημεν.*

[2] *Ἐτύρευον μετὰ λαϊκῶν τινῶν πολλῶν τὸν ἀριθμόν.* Harduin. IV. f. 25.

[3] They were bishops from different countries; yet Phrygia, the original seat of this party, seems to have held the same precedence now. We find named among the heads of the conspirators against images, Leo bishop of Iconium in Phrygia; Nicolaus bishop of Hierapolis in the same province; Hypatios bishop of Nice in Bithynia; Gregory bishop of Pisinus in Galatia; Georgius bishop of Pisidia; Leo bishop of the island of Rhodes, and another Leo bishop of the island of Carpathus (Scarpanto) See Harduin. l. c. f. 47.

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sent one of her officers of the household to inform the assembled council, that they must dissolve, and yield to the violence of the multitude. The will of the Lord would afterwards soon be accomplished.[1] The empress directed that the multitude, who were joined also by several of the bishops, should rave and shout against such as presumed to attack the authority of the seventh ecumenical council, until noon, when hunger caused the people to disperse. Thus the uproar subsided; and the cunning Irene, pretending that the soldiers of the guard were needed abroad, drew them away from the city; when they were broken up, and a new guard formed in their stead, on whom reliance could be placed. All the necessary preparations having been made, the general council was convened one year later, in 787; not at Constantinople, where disturbances from the party of the iconoclasts were always to be feared, but at Nice, where it might derive additional authority from the remembrance of the first Nicene council. The number of the members composing this council was about three hundred and fifty. The empress, in her proclamation for the council, declared, it is true, that every one there should express his convictions with freedom;[2] but she had assured herself beforehand, that the bishops, hitherto hostile to images, would now yield to the prevailing spirit. If everything had not been already agreed upon and settled before the deliberations took place, it would have been impossible so quickly to despatch the whole business, in six sessions from the twenty-fourth of September to the sixth of October; so that in the seventh and last session held at Nice on the thirteenth of October, nothing remained, but for the decisions to be formally published, and subscribed by all. The history of those six sessions, shows too, that further deliberations were not needed on the employment and worship of images.

At this council, many passages from the older church teachers, sometimes forged from the earlier, and sometimes genuine from the later times, were read and quoted as testimonies in favor of images; miracles said to have been wrought by images were rehearsed from the lives of saints; nor were those wanting who affirmed they had witnessed such themselves. A presbyter testified, that on his return home from the council of Constantinople in the preceding year, he had been visited by a severe fit of sickness, and was cured by a figure of Christ.[3] Individual bishops, one after another, and then numbers of them together, came forward and renounced the errors of the iconoclasts, and desired to be reconciled with the Catholic church. Others appeared, who pretended now to have thoroughly examined the whole subject, and to have arrived at a sure and settled conviction,[4] — bish-

[1] Harduin. Concil. IV. f. 28. According to the declaration of Tarasius himself at the opening of the second Nicene council (l. c. f. 34) there were then but few bishops *decidedly* in favor of image-worship; he says of these events: *ἐκινήθη πολύανδρος ὄχλος θυμοῦ καὶ πικρίας γέμων, χεῖρας ἡμῖν ἐπιβαλεῖν, ἐξ οὗ χειρὶ θεοῦ ἐρρύσθημεν, ἔχοντες εἰς συμμαχίαν καί τινας εὐαριθμήτους ἐπισκόπους.* Among the few, who boldly stood by the side of Tarasius was the abovementioned venerable abbot Plato, whose life was written by Theodore Studita. See Acta Sanct. T. I. April. Appendix § 24. f. 50.

[2] L. c. Harduin. f. 38.

[3] See Harduin. IV. f. 211.

[4] L. c. f. 39.

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ops who, with a disgusting want of self-respect, bore voluntary testimony to their own stupidity and ignorance.[1] Whole bodies of them exclaimed, we have all sinned, we have all been in error, we all beg forgiveness.[2] One of those bishops, who now professed to repent of their former hostility to images, declared he had become convinced, by the declarations of Scripture and of the fathers, that the use of images was in accordance with the apostolic tradition. Tarasius asked him, how it could happen that a bishop of eight or ten years' standing, as he was, should now, for the first time, be convinced of the truth; to which he had the effrontery to reply, "The evil has existed for so long a time, and acquired so great an influence, that perhaps we were led into the error in consequence of our sins;[3] but we hope in God to be delivered." Several others[4] excused themselves on the ground that they were born, brought up, and educated in that sect; and it might doubtless be true of many, who had formed their opinions when the government allowed nothing to be said in favor of images, and who had not been able to examine the arguments on both sides, that they would now be easily convinced by the arguments of the image-worshippers. One of the bishops, Gregory of Neo-Cæsarea, said, "I am anxious to learn how my lord the patriarch and the holy synod shall decide"—afterwards he added, "Since this whole assembly speak and think alike, I am persuaded they have the truth."[5] A very easy matter, to be sure, for men of this stamp, to whom the voice of the majority was always the same as that of truth, to change their opinions with each change of the times. Some who, under the reign of Constantine Copronymus, had been compelled to swear that they would renounce image-worship, now felt, or pretended to feel, scruples of conscience about professing other principles. The way was made clear for these by a decree of the council, who decided that it was no perjury to violate an oath made in contradiction to the divine law.[6] Among the bishops who avowed their repentance, were some that had borne a part in the conspiracy of the iconoclasts the year before. These now declared: "We sinned before God and the church;—we fell through ignorance."[7] The same Gregory of Neo-Cæsarea, whose disgraceful confession has just been quoted, was one of the most forward leaders of the iconoclasts at the council of Constantinople; but the other party exulted to see such members of that council present also at this, and compelled to bear witness of their own disgrace, and to condemn their own teaching.[8] Those bishops who were willing to certify their orthodoxy by signing a formal recantation, were not only restored to the fellowship of the church, but permitted, though not without some demurring, to retain their episcopal stations. That the

[1] L. c. f. 41. *Τῆς ἄκρας μου ἀμαθίας καὶ νωθρείας καὶ ἠμελημένης διανοίας ἐστὶ τοῦτο.*

[2] L. c. f. 62.

[3] L. c. f. 48.

[4] L. c. f. 60.

[5] *Ἠνίκα πᾶσα ἡ ὁμήγυρις αὕτη τὸ ἓν λαλεῖ καὶ φρονεῖ, ἔμαθον καὶ ἐπληροφορήθην, ὅτι ἡ ἀλήθεια αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ νυνὶ ζητουμένη καὶ κηρυσσομένη.* f. 77.

[6] L. c. f. 208.

[7] F. 48.

[8] L. f. 128.

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council, in opposition to the practice of the church in similar cases, should treat with so much indulgence the men who had been at the head of the iconoclasts, and the chief managers of their intrigues, was a policy which no doubt seemed to be justified by the circumstances of the times. The party of the iconoclasts was still too powerful to be slighted altogether; and men were glad to adopt any means whatsoever, which served to deprive that party of its heads and principal adherents. But the fierce zealots among the monks were not to be satisfied with this policy of the court party.[1]

As to the form of the recantation adopted in this case, the following particulars in it deserve to be noticed. The anathema was pronounced on all such as despised the doctrines of the fathers according to the tradition of the Catholic church; on all who said, that on points where no distinct and certain instruction is given by the Old or New Testament, we are not bound to follow the doctrines of the fathers, of the ecumenical synods, or the tradition of the Catholic church.[2] From this, it may be conjectured, that many of the iconoclasts, when opposed by the authority of the church tradition, were in the habit of replying, that even this, separate from the authority of Scripture, could not be considered by them as any decisive authority — a mark of the protestant tendency which proceeded from this party.[3] At the suggestion of one of the Roman delegates, an image was brought into the assembly, and kissed by all the members.[4] In the seventh session, to determine what constituted images, and what reverence was due to them, it was resolved, that not only the sign of the cross, but also images drawn with colors, composed of Mosaic work,[5] or formed of other suitable materials, might be placed in the churches, on sacred vessels and vestments, on walls and tables, in houses and in the streets, as well as images of Christ, of the virgin Mary, of angels, and of all holy and devout men. But the great injustice that was done to the advocates of the image-worship, by broadly accusing them of idolatry, appears from the following express determination of the council:— "Bowing to an image, which is simply the token of love and reverence, ought by no means to be confounded with the adoration which is due to God alone."[6] The same was true also of the cross, the books of the evangelists, and other consecrated objects. To this symbolical expression of the feelings was reckoned likewise the strowing

[1] This appears afterwards in the case of Theodorus Studita. The monks made it a matter of complaint against the majority of the bishops in this council, that they had obtained their official stations by simony. See the letter of the patriarch Tarasius to the abbot John. Harduin. IV. f. 521. *Τούτων οὕτως ὄντων ἐνεκάλεσαν τῇ συνόδῳ τὸ πλέον μέρος τῶν εὐλαβῶν μοναχῶν, καὶ ἡμεῖς δὲ προεγινώσκομεν τὴν ἔγκλησιν ταύτην· ὅτι οἱ πλείονες τῶν ἐπισκόπων χρήμασιν ὠνήσαντο τὴν ἱερωσύνην.* This agrees with the remarks of an image-worshipper respecting these bishops, which we have already cited. Thus their dependence on the dominant court-party becomes still more evident.

[2] L. c. f. 42.

[3] See one of the anathemas pronounced in the eighth session, f. 484. *Εἴ τις πᾶσαν παράδοσιν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν, ἔγγραφον ἢ ἄγραφον, ἀθετεῖ, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.*

[4] See Act. V. f. 322.

[5] *Εἰκόνες ἐκ ψηφίδος.*

[6] F. 456. *Ἀσπασμὸν καὶ τιμητικὴν προσκύνησιν ἀπονέμειν, οὐ μὴν τὴν κατὰ πίστιν ἡμῶν ἀληθινὴν λατρείαν, ἣ πρέπει μόνῃ τῇ θείᾳ φύσει.*

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of incense and the burning of lights.[1] The honor paid to an image was to be referred to the object which the image represented.

The synod having completed its business in seven sessions, the patriarch, with the whole assembly, was directed to repair to Constantinople. Here, on the twenty-third of October, was held the eighth session, in the imperial palace of Magnaura; and this was attended by the empress herself, accompanied by her son Constantine, and surrounded by an immense multitude of the people, for whom the impression of this grand assembly was no doubt especially designed. The empress commanded that the decrees which had been passed should be publicly read; she then asked the bishops whether these decrees really expressed their common conviction; and all having declared, with repeated exclamations, that they did, she caused the decisions to be placed before her and her son Constantine, and both subscribed them. When this was done, the assembled bishops repeatedly shouted, in the usual form, Long live the orthodox queen-regent.

Thus, after so long and violent a contest, the worship of images once more gained the victory in the Greek church. But the means to which, as we have seen, it was necessary to resort in order to achieve this victory, proves that the image-breakers still formed a strong and important party. And, of course, it was impossible that, by such means, a tendency of spirit which had taken so deep a hold of a portion of the people, could be suppressed at once. Reactions would ensue from the party oppressed, by means of which, as we shall see at the opening of the succeeding period, a new series of violent conflicts against image-worship would finally be introduced.

It only remains for us to cast a glance at the part taken by the Western church in these disputes. The negotiations between the popes and the iconoclast emperors, show to what extent the worship of images had become dominant in the church of Rome; but it was otherwise with the church of the Franks. The only question which here suggests itself is, whether in the Frankish church image-worship was opposed from the beginning, — since we find that in the time of Gregory the Great, Serenus, bishop of Massilia, was a violent opponent of images, — or whether this tendency of the religious spirit was first called forth in the Frankish church by the progress of culture in the Carolingian age? We should be able to come to a more certain decision of this point, if any distinct account were still to be found of the first proceedings, with regard to images, in the Frankish church, under the reign of Pipin. By occasion of an embassy, sent by the Greek emperor Constantine to king Pipin, the points of dispute then generally existing between the Greek and Latin churches, and consequently the dispute about images, were discussed

[1] In the letter also addressed by Tarasius, in the name of the council, to the empress, the *προσκύνησις κατὰ λατρείαν* is distinguished from the other kinds of *προσκύνησις* — e. g. from that kind of obeisance which it was the custom to pay to the emperor. Hence it is added, in the spirit of Byzantine adulation, *Ἔστὶ γὰρ προσκύνησις καὶ ἡ κατὰ τιμὴν καὶ πόθον καί φόβον, ὡς προσκυνοῦμεν ἡμεῖς τὴν καλλίνικον καὶ ἡμεωτάτην ὑμῶν βασιλείαν.* Harduin. IV f 476.

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in an assembly of bishops and seculars at Gentiliacum (Gentilly), in 767; but in none of the historical records which mention this assembly, do we find a word respecting the conclusion arrived at on the subject of images. It only remains, therefore, to draw from what afterwards followed a probable inference, with regard to preceding events. As pope Paul the First signified to the king his satisfaction with what had been done at this assembly, in which, moreover, papal delegates took part,[1] we might be led to conclude that image-worship was here approved. But this conclusion, however, would not be warranted by the facts; for it is by no means clear, that the pope's approbation had any special reference to the matter in question. The business transacted at this assembly related not only to other doctrinal matters beside this, but also to a disputed question of a *politico-ecclesiastical* nature, of great interest to the pope. The Greek emperor had endeavored to obtain from the king of the Franks the restoration of those possessions in Italy wrested by the latter from the Longobards, and presented to the church of Rome or to the patrimony of St. Peter's. This Pipin had refused. Now the pope, in expressing to the king his satisfaction at this refusal,[2] might well be induced to pass a milder judgment on the decisions of the synod with regard to images; especially since, at all events, the Frankish church would have to agree with the Roman, in opposing the Greek destruction of images. It may have been the case, also, that this common opposition to the then Greek church, was more sharply expressed by the assembly; while, on the other hand, the peculiar points of opposition to the doctrine of the Romish church were presented in a more covert and gentle manner. If the tendency of religious spirit, which, on this particular subject, now made its appearance in the Carolingian age, had been altogether new in the Frankish church, it must have met there with some degree of resistance; but of this we find not the least indication.

We are more exactly informed respecting the part taken by the Frankish church in these controversies, under the reign of Charlemagne. This emperor himself stood forth as a zealous opponent of the second Nicene council, and of the principles expressed by that council on the subject of image-worship. The hostile relations which now arose between the emperor Charles and the empress Irene, who had retreated from her first advances towards betrothing her son Constantine to the Frankish princess Rothrud, might be supposed to have an influence on his manner of expressing himself against that council; and various sarcastic remarks might seem to betray a temper somewhat ruffled by outward occasions of excitement. But cer-

[1] The words of the pope: Agnitis omnibus a vobis pro exaltatione sanctae Dei ecclesiae et fidei orthodoxae defensione peractis laetati sumus. See Cod. Carolin. ep. 20. Mansi Concil. T. XII. f. 605.

[2] The pope had said to the king, when speaking of the answer to be given to the Greek messengers by this council (see Cod. Carolin. ep. 26. Mansi T. XII. f. 614), he hoped that he would answer nothing nisi quod ad exaltationem matris vestrae Romanae ecclesiae pertinere noscatis, and that he would on no account take back again what he had once given to the apostle Peter. This hope the pope now saw fulfilled.

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tainly the emperor's conduct may be satisfactorily explained from the spirit of purer piety which animated him and his ecclesiastical advisers, and from the impression which the language of Byzantine superstition and Byzantine exaggeration, so fond of indulging in a fulsome verbiage, would make on the simpler feelings of the pious Frankish monarch. Three years after the close of this last Nicene council, therefore in 790,[1] there appeared, under the emperor's name, a refutation of that council;[2] and although there can be no doubt that he composed this celebrated work, entitled "The Four Caroline Books" (quatuor libri Carolini),[3] as he intimates himself, not without some assistance from his theologians, who perhaps furnished him with the matter, and had some share in elaborating it, especially Alcuin,[4] yet we may easily believe concerning a prince, who exercised so independent a judgment on religious matters, and who even directed the attention of Alcuin himself to important corrections, which might be made in his writings, that this work, which he published under his own name, was not merely read in his presence, and found, or made to coincide with his own views, but took from him, in a great measure, the form in which it finally appeared. He says himself, that zeal for God and the truth[5] had constrained him not to keep silence, but to appear publicly against prevailing errors.

In this work, while he distinguishes the use from the abuse of images in church-life, he combats the fanaticism of the iconoclasts as well as the superstition of the image-worshippers, attacking both the assemblies which represented these tendencies and laid claim to the character of ecumenical councils. It was objected to the iconoclasts, that they were bent on utterly exterminating those images which had been appointed by the ancients for the decoration of the churches, and for

[1] As is said in the preface itself (p. 8. ed. Heumann).

[2] He himself says: quod opus aggressi sumus cum conniventia sacerdotum in regno a Deo nobis concesso catholicis gregibus praelatorum.

[3] Which work was first published by J. Tillius (Jean du Tillet, afterwards bishop of Meaux), in the year 1549.

[4] That Alcuin, whom the emperor Charles was in the habit of consulting on all contested points of doctrine, and whom he employed as an author, must have had some share in the work, appears evident, particularly, from the striking resemblance of one passage in the Carolinian books (IV. c. 6. pag. 456, 457, ed. Heumann) with a passage in Alcuin's Commentary on the Gospel according to John (l. II. c. IV. f. 500, ed. Froben), if we consider that he published this commentary not till *ten* years after the appearance of the Carolinian books; since it is clear from the letter ad soror. et fil. which is prefixed to the commentary, that these books appeared complete in the year of pope Leo's escape from the conspiracy which had been formed against him, and of the transfer of the imperial crown to Charlemagne. The most important objection to the supposition that Alcuin assisted in the composition of this work, is the chronological one, brought forward, after Frobenius (see T. II. opp. Alcuin. f. 459), by Gieseler, that Alcuin was then absent on a visit to England. But even if this were so, still he could, while absent, assist the emperor with his pen; and that he did so, is confirmed by a tradition found in the English annalist, Roger of Hoveden, of the 13th century, relating to the year 792, which states that Alcuin wrote and transmitted to the king of the Franks a letter against the decrees of the second council of Nice, in the name of the English bishops and princes. Though this report comes from too late a period to possess the force of a trustworthy testimony, and also contains an anachronism, yet some ancient tradition may be lying at the foundation of it.

[5] Zelus Dei et veritatis studium.

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memorials of past events;[1] that they unwisely placed all images in one and the same category with idols; and that the members of their council had given to Constantine the honor which is due to Christ alone, in saying he had delivered them from idols, yet the council of the iconoclasts is treated with more lenity than that of the image-worshippers; and the well meant, though misguided zeal of the former party for the cause of God, called forth by the excessive superstition of the latter, was acknowledged. In opposition to the harsh expressions which had been used against them at the second Nicene council, it is affirmed, that they had by no means involved themselves in so great a sin, by stripping the churches, through a mistaken zeal, of the images which served to embellish them.[2] With far greater acrimony, the emperor expresses his opposition to the principles of the second Nicene council, as well as to the arguments by which they were defended; and here the interest for a more spiritual piety manifests itself in a remarkable manner. While to images no other end is assigned, than to serve as ornaments to the churches, or as means for perpetuating the memory of events; and while the use or the abuse of them for these ends, is declared to have no further bearing on the interests of Christian faith;[3] every other way of regarding or of using images, is opposed in the most decided manner; and it plainly appears how entirely foreign from the author of this work was that enthusiasm for art and for images, which we observe among the Greeks. He calls it absurd and foolish[4] to maintain, as had been done at the second Nicene council, that images exhibited visibly to the eye the walk and conversation of the saints, when in fact their virtues and merits were seated in the soul, and could not be represented in sensible materials and by colors, could not be made objects of sensuous perception. Can anything be known — he asks — about their wisdom, their eloquence, their profound knowledge, by the outward sense of sight?

It is represented, indeed, in this work as being the true end of images to perpetuate the memory of holy deeds; yet not in any such sense, as that they were needed to bring up to remembrance that which should be ever present to the religious mind; but in the sense that, as sensible representations of things which, even without such outward memorials, were present to the religious consciousness, they served to embellish the churches. And accordingly the image-worshippers were censured for maintaining that images were *necessary*, to perpetuate and to call up the memory of holy things. To ascribe to them *so much* importance as this, seemed in direct contradiction to the spiritual nature of Christianity. They who so expressed themselves, confessed to

[1] Imagines in ornamentis ecclesiae et memoria rerum gestarum ab antiquis positas c. V.

[2] See l. I. c. 27. l. IV. c. 4. In abolendis a basilicarum ornamentis imaginibus quodammodo fuerunt incauti, had erred from imperitia, not from nequitia.

[3] L. II. c. 21. Utrum in basilicis propter memoriam rerum gestarum et ornamentum sint, an etiam non sint, nullum fidei catholicae afferre poterunt praejudicium, quippe cum ad peragenda nostrae salutis mysteria nullum penitus officium habere noscantur.

[4] Quantae sit absurditatis quantaeque dementiae

[5] See l. I. c. 17. p. 100.

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a singular blindness; they acknowledged so poor a memory, as that, without the help of images, they must be afraid they should be withdrawn from the service of God and from the worship of his saints. They acknowledged themselves incapable of so raising the mind's eye above sensible things, as to draw from the fountain of eternal light, without help from the material creation.[1] As the spirit of man is supposed to stand in such fellowship with him after whose image it was created, as to be competent to receive into itself, without the mediation of any created thing whatever, the image of the truth itself which is Christ; so it is the height of madness to affirm, that this spirit needs a memento, in order not to forget him. This would be a proof of criminal weakness, and not of that freedom, which must be regarded as the characteristic mark of the Christian standing-ground.[2] The faith of a Christian should not cling to sensible things; it must be looked for only in the heart. The meaning of this is, that the faith of Christians has respect to that which is invisible; and that it must, with the heart, rise to that which is invisible; — in proof of which he quotes Rom. 8: 24 and 10: 8. The following is one of the prominent ideas constantly reverted to in this work: God, who fills all things, is not to be adored or sought after in sensible images, but should be ever present to the pure heart.[3] "Unhappy memory — it is said in another place[4] — which in order to think of that Christ, who should never be absent from the good man's heart, needs the presence of an image, and which can enjoy the presence of Christ only by seeing his image painted on a wall or on some sensible material; for such a remembrance nourished by images, comes not from that love of the heart, which inwardly constrains us to think of Christ, but is thrust upon us from without, even as we are compelled to present before our souls the very objects we hate, as soon as we behold them in a painting. Of such people it is verily to be feared, that should they by some sickness lose their eyesight, or by some accident, be deprived of their image, they would utterly forget that Saviour, whose memory ought ever to be present to their minds. We Christians, who with open face beholding the glory of God are changed into the same image, from glory to glory, 2 Cor. 3: 18, are no longer bound to seek the truth in images and pictures,— we who through faith, hope and charity, have attained by his own help to the truth which is in Christ.[5] In opposition to the second Nicene council, which had compared the images of Christians with the Cherubim and the tables of the law in the Old Testament, the different points of view of the Old and of the New Testament were distinctly set forth. "We, who follow not the letter which killeth but the spirit which maketh alive, who are not the fleshly but the spiritual Israel, — we who look

[1] Magna se coecitate obrutos esse fatentur, qui vim illam animae, quae memoria nuncupatur, ita se vitiatam habere demonstrant, cui nisi imaginum adminiculum suffragetur, ab intentione servitutis Dei et veneratione sanctorum ejus recedere compellatur: nec se idoneos arbitrantur, mentis oculum supra creaturam corpoream levare ad hauriendum aeternum lumen, nisi creaturae corporeae adjutorio fulciantur, l. II. c. 22.

[2] Cum hoc infirmitatis sit vitium, non libertatis indicium.

[3] Non est in materialibus imaginibus adorandus vel quaerendus, sed in corde mundissimo semper habendus, l. III. c. 29.

[4] L. IV. c. 2. pag. 432.

[5] L. I. c. 15. p. 89.

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not at the things which are seen, but fix our minds upon those which are unseen, rejoice to have received from the Lord mysteries greater not only than images, which contain no mysteries at all, but even greater and more sublime than the cherubim and the tables of the law; for the latter were the antitypes of things future; but we possess truly and spiritually what had been prefigured by those symbols."[1] The image-worshippers, as we have seen, were wont to compare images, in reference to the higher things they represented, with the sacred Scriptures. In opposition to this, the far greater importance of the sacred Scriptures, as a means of cultivating and promoting the Christian life, is most distinctly set forth. Holy Scripture is a treasure richly stored with all manner of goods: he who comes to them in a devout temper of mind, rejoices to find that which he sought in faith.[2] By the Nicene council, as well as by the image-worshippers generally, images were compared with the sign of the cross. But even this was attributing too much importance to them. The sign of the cross is here set quite above images — not, to be sure, without falling into a like error with the image-worshippers; since the outward symbol and the idea represented by it are not, as they should have been, kept distinctly apart. Under *this* banner, and not by images — it is said — the old enemy was vanquished; by these weapons, not by showy gauds of color, the power of the devil was destroyed; by the former and not by the latter, the human race was redeemed; for on the cross, not on images, hung the ransom which was paid for the world. The cross, and not a picture, is the sign of our king, to which the warriors of our army constantly look.[3] The comparing of images at that council, with relics of the saints, and the requiring a like reverence to be paid to them, is also noticed with disapprobation. Thus, no small injury was done to the saints;[4] since raiment which had been worn by the saints, and things of the like kind, ought to be reverenced, because by contact with their persons they had acquired a sacredness which begat respect. Images had been sanctified by no such contact; but were made as it happened, sometimes beautifully, sometimes not, according to the skill of the artist, or the tools and materials he employed. To show reverence for the bodies of saints, was a great means of promoting piety. *They* reigned with Christ in heaven, and their *bodies* were destined to rise again from the dust. To show such reverence for images, which had never lived, and could never rise again, but must be consumed by fire or by natural decay, was quite another thing.[5] Considered in this point of view, not only the act of prostration (προσκύνησις), defended by the image-worshippers, was condemned as a transfer of the adoration belonging to God alone to a created object,[6]

[1] I. c. 19. p. 107.
[2] L. II. c. 30.
[3] L. II. c. 28. p. 215.
[4] L. III. c. 24.
[5] L. III. c. 24.
[6] Adorationem soli Deo debitam imaginibus impertire aut segnitiae est, si utcunque agitur, aut insaniae vel potius infidelitatis, si pertinaciter defenditur. See p. 379, i. e. if a man allows himself to be hurried, no matter how, into an act of this sort, it is either folly, or ignorance. But if, when made aware of the falsehood, he still obstinately defends it, this is madness or unbelief, want of the right faith in God.

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and as a species of idolatry, but every mode of testifying that reverence or love to lifeless images which, for the reasons above stated, might be shown to the bones of the saints, was rejected as unbefitting and irrational. It was denounced as a foolish thing to express those feelings for lifeless images, which could properly be referred only to living beings;[1] and the multifarious customs in regard to this matter, which had sprung up among the Greeks, were sharply rebuked. "You may painfully study attitudes — it is said to the image-worshippers — while making your supplications, with incense before your images; *we* will carefully search after our Lord's commands in the *books* of the divine law. You may keep lights burning before your pictures; we will be diligent in studying the Holy Scriptures."[2] But here the emperor introduces an objector: "You deride those who burn lights and strow incense before dumb images, and yet you yourselves burn lights and incense in churches, which are but senseless buildings." To this he replies: "It is one thing to light up the places consecrated to God's worship, and in these places to present to God the incense of prayer and sensible incense; it is quite another, to set lights before an image that has eyes and sees not, to burn incense before an image that has a nose but smells not. It is one thing, solemnly to honor the house of God's majesty built by believers, and consecrated by the priests; and quite another irrationally to bestow presents and kisses on images formed by the hand of some painter; for churches are the places where believers congregate; where their prayers are heard by a merciful God; where the sacrifice of praise is offered to the Most High, and the sacrament of our salvation (mass) is celebrated; where troops of angels assemble when by the hands of priests the community of believers present their offering; where the word of God comes to water the thirsty heart." The emperor objects to the Greeks, that, as he had been informed by his own embassadors and those of his father, while they bestowed much pains on the fitting up of images, they let their churches go to decay; and to which he contrasts the magnificent endowment of the churches in the Frankish empire.[3]

As the Greeks were inclined to bestow the greatest attention on the outward ceremonial of image-worship, even to the neglect of the more practical duties of Christianity, we see how just a conception the emperor had formed of the actual condition of the Greek church, when we find him reminding them, that while the sacred Scriptures nowhere enjoin image-worship, they do teach that men should eschew evil and follow after that which is good.[4] With regard to the nice distinctions

[1] Aliud est hominem salutationis officio et humanitatis obsequio adorando salutare, aliud picturam diversorum colorum fucis compaginatam sine gressu, sine voce vel caeteris sensibus, nescio quo cultu, adorare, l. I. c. 9.

[2] L. II. c. 30.

[3] L. IV. c. 3. Pleraeque basilicae in eorum terris non solum luminaribus et thymiamatibus, sed etiam ipsis carent tegminibus, quippe cum in regno a Deo nobis concesso basilicae ipso opitulante, qui eas conservare dignatur, affluenter auro argentoque, gemmis ac margaritis et caeteris venustissimis redundent apparatibus.

[4] Deum inquirendum docuit (Script S.) per Domini timorem, non per imaginum adorationem, et eum, qui vult vitam et cupit videre dies bonos, non imagines adorare, sed labia a dolo et linguam a malo

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by which it was sought to justify or palliate the worship of images, he says all this might be well enough among the learned, but it would answer no good purpose with the multitude. Though the educated, who reverenced images not for what they are but for what they represent, might escape superstition; yet they must ever prove an occasion of stumbling to the rude and uncultivated, who reverenced and worshipped in them only what they saw. And if our Saviour denounces so heavy a curse on him who should offend one of these little ones, how much heavier must this curse fall on him, who either forced a large portion of the church into image-worship, or threatened those with the anathema who rejected it.[1]

In refutation of the appeal to miracles said to have been wrought by images, the emperor remarks: "It was not clear from unimpeachable testimony, that such miracles had actually been wrought — perhaps the whole was a mere fiction. Or if such things had actually happened, still they might only be works of the evil spirit, who by his deceptive arts sought to beguile men into that which is forbidden.[2] Or even if we were bound to recognize in these cases wonderful works proceeding from God himself, yet even this would not suffice to set the propriety of image-worship beyond question; for if God wrought miracles by means of sensible things to soften the hearts of men, yet he did not intend by so doing to convert those sensible things into objects of worship — as might be shown by many examples of miracles from the Old Testament."[3] Nor would the emperor allow, that any weight was to be given to the evidence of a vision of angels in a dream, to which one member of the Nicene council had appealed. No doubtful matter could be settled by a dream; for it was impossible, by any evidence, for one man to prove to another that he had actually seen what he pretended. Therefore dreams and visions ought to be carefully sifted. Dreams inspired by the divine Spirit did, indeed, occur in the sacred Scriptures; these, however, were but individual cases. Dreams, again, needed to be distinguished in respect to their origin; in respect to the question, whether they proceeded from divine revelation, or from the person's own thoughts, or from temptations of the evil spirit;[4] commonly, however, they were deceptive. And as it concerned the vision of an angel, it behooved, even where such a vision had been vouchsafed, to follow the direction of St. Paul, and try the spirits, whether they were from God; and this was to be known, according to the instruction of our Lord, from their fruits. Now as image-worship is an ungodly thing, it could not have been a good spirit, from whom the exhortation to such worship proceeded.[5] As we have already said, reference was often made, in defending image-worship, to the picture of Christ sent to king Abgarus. But

instituit cohibere. Nec picturam colere docuit, sed declinare a malo et facere bonitatem, I. 23.

[1] L. III. c. 16.

[2] Ne forte calliditatis suae astu antiquus hostis, dum mira quaedam demonstrat; ad illicita peragenda fraudulenter suadeat.

[3] III. c. 25.

[4] Veniunt nonnunquam ex revelatione, multoties vero aut ex cogitatione aut ex tentatione aut ex aliquibus his similibus. III. c. 25.

[5] L. III. c. 26.

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neither the truth of this story, nor even the genuineness of the pretended correspondence between Christ and king Abgarus, was acknowledged in the Carolinian books.[1]

It is true, the worship of saints was not by any means placed, in these books, in the same category with the worship of images, the former being acknowledged to be a truly Christian act; at the same time, however, it was circumscribed within the limits which the Christian consciousness demands. While, at the second Nicene council, images which it was pretended had wrought miraculous cures, were compared with the brazen serpent, the advice here given is: "Let those who are afflicted with any bodily disease, repair to images and look up to them, that so, when they find they are not cured by thus looking, they may return and trust the Lord, that through the mediation of the saints they will be restored to health by him, who is the Author of all health and of all life.[2] Men ought not to believe that the saints, who in their life-time sought not their own glory, but often disdained the marks of honor which it was intended to show them, were pleased or benefited by such overwrought and foolish testimonies of respect.[3]

Although this book appeared under the name of an emperor, yet the Byzantine habit of idolizing royalty was castigated in it with great severity; for the vestiges of the old apotheosis were still retained in the titles and honors bestowed on the Byzantine emperors. The Greek image-worshippers had, in fact, appealed to the custom of prostration, usually observed before the images of the emperor. By this occasion, the emperor Charles was led to express himself strongly against such a custom. "What madness — said he — to resort to one forbidden thing, for arguments to defend another!"[4] He then goes on to represent this custom as having sprung from, and as being a remnant of, that pagan idolatry, which ought to be utterly abolished by Christianity.[5] It was the duty of Christian priests to take their stand against customs so repugnant to Christianity. So, too, the mentioning of the empress and emperor in the acts of the council, under the title of *divine* (θεῖοι), as well as the citation of the imperial rescripts by the name of *divalia* (θεῖα γράμματα) was expressly condemned, as savoring of paganism.[6] The low flattery of the bishops who compared the emperors, as restorers of the pure Christian doctrines, with the apostles, is severely reproved;[7] and the occasion is seized for drawing out the contrast in full between the emperors and the apostles.[8] As these bishops had at the same time, asserted, that the emperors were en-

[1] See l. IV. c. 10.

[2] I. 18. Solus Deus adorandus, martyres vero, vel quilibet sancti venerandi potius, quam adorandi. l. IV. c. 27.

[3] L. III. c. 16.

[4] Nam quis furor est, quaeve dementia, ut hoc in exemplum adorandarum imaginum ridiculum adducatur, quod imperatorum imagines in civitatibus et plateis adorantur et a re illicita res illicita stabiliri paretur? III. 15.

[5] Cum apostolicis instruamur documentis, nullam nos dare debere occasionem maligno, cum talem gentilibus occasionem demus mortalium regum imagines adorando et ab his exempla sumendo.

[6] L. I. c. 3. Qui se fidei et religionis Christianae jactant retinere fastigium, qui et intra ecclesiam novas et ineptas constitutiones audacter statuere affectant et se Divos suaque gesta Divalia gentiliter nuncupare non formidant.

[7] O adulatio cur tanta praesumis?

[8] Tanta est distantia inter apostolos et imperatores, quanta inter sanctos et peccatores. l. IV. c. 20.

lightened by the same Spirit with the apostles it is observed on this point, that the emperors were here in no respect distinguished from other Christians; for that spirit was none other than the Holy Spirit; and it was very clear that all true Christians possessed the Holy Spirit; for St. Paul, Rom. 8: 9, says, He that hath not the Spirit of Christ is none of his.

The synod is censured, again, for having allowed themselves to be guided and instructed by a woman; for having suffered a woman to take part in their meetings, though in direct contrariety to the natural destination of the female sex, and to the law given by the Apostle Paul commanding that women should be silent in the church assemblies. The woman was to teach and admonish only in the family circle — to this alone the passage in Titus 2: 3, referred.[1]

We remarked in the history of the church-constitution, that the emperor Charles ascribed to the popes a primacy over all other churches, and a certain right of superintendence over all ecclesiastical affairs; and that in ecclesiastical matters he was always glad to act in concert with them. Accordingly we find this way of thinking, and this effort plainly manifesting itself in the Carolinian books, though in all other respects, the emperor expresses himself with so much freedom, evidently departing, in important points, from the principles of the Roman church.[2] In this work, he notices the fact, that while in the Frankish church the unity of *doctrine* with that of Rome was always preserved, so by occasion of a visit which pope Stephen made to the Frankish church, unity was restored also to their church Psalmody.[3] He then remarks, that by his own efforts, this conformity to the psalmody of the church of Rome was still further promoted, not only in Frankish churches, but also in Germany, Italy, and among some few of the northern tribes which by his means had been converted to the Christian faith.[4]

As he remarks here, however, that all should seek help from the Romish church next *after Christ*, it is evident, that he was accustomed to refer his Christian convictions in the first instance to Christ; and in regard to what he believed he had found to be Christian truth by the illuminating influences of the Spirit of Christ — as for example, in the convictions he entertained on the subject of images, — he could not be moved to give up anything to the authoritative word of a Roman bishop. Accordingly he presented by the hands of abbot Angilbert, his refutation of the second Nicene council to pope Hadri-

[1] Aliud est enim matremfamilias domesticos verbis exemplis erudire, aliud antistitibus sive omni ecclesiastico ordini vel etiam publicae synodo quaedam inutilia docentem interesse, cum videlicet ista, quae domesticos dehortatur, eorum et suum in commune adipisci cupiat profectum, illa vero in conventu ventosae tantum laudis et solius arrogantiae ambiat appetitum. III. 13.

[2] He says here, l. I. c. VI. p. 51, respecting the relation of the other churches to the Roman, omnes catholicae debent observare ecclesiae, ut ab ea post Christum ad muniendam fidem adjutorium petant, quae non habens maculam nec rugam et portentosa haeresium capita calcat et fidelium mentes in fide corroborat.

[3] Ut quae (ecclesiae) unitae erant unius sanctae legis sacra lectione, essent etiam unitae unius modulationis veneranda traditione.

[4] See l. I. c. VI. p. 52, 53.

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an.[1] The latter, judging from the standing-point of the Roman church-teachers, of course could not agree with him on this subject; and he transmitted to the emperor a formal reply[2] which, in point of theological depth, cannot be compared with the "Carolinian books," and assuredly was not calculated to shake so deep-rooted a conviction.[3] At the assembly held at Frankfort on the Main, in 794, these contested points were discussed in the presence of papal legates; and by the second canon of this council the adoration of images (adoratio et servitus imaginum) was condemned. It was however doing injustice to the second Nicene council, to accuse them of maintaining, that the same worship ought to be paid to images of the saints as to the holy Trinity;[4] a doctrine against which that council had taken special pains to guard. Perhaps the bishops purposely avoided entering into too nice investigations and determinations with regard to this matter, lest a controversy might be provoked between the Frankish church and the papal legates who attended the council.

III. Reaction of the Sects against the Dominant System of Doctrines.

We have yet to speak of a reäction of the Christian consciousness, within the church, against this ecclesiastical system which had been formed by the combining of Christian with foreign elements — a reäction on the part of rising and spreading sects that stood forth in opposition to the dominant church — presenting a series of remarkable phenomena of the religious spirit, extending through the mediæval centuries, and accompanying the progressive development of the church theocratical system. We discern the commencement of this reäction in the period where we now are; having already noticed the germ and premonitory symptoms of it in the contests which Boniface had to maintain with the opponents of the Romish hierarchy in Germany. But it was from the Greek church especially, that an impulse proceeded which continued to operate with great force in promoting the development of this opposition.

In spite of all persecutions by fire and sword, the remains of those sects, which arose in the early period of the Christian church from the commingling of Christianity with dualistic doctrines of the ancient East, had been still preserved in those districts, where they were natives, and could be constantly supplied with fresh nourishment from Parsism. Their opposition, however, to the dominant church, would necessarily be modified, in many respects, by the changes which had taken place in that church itself. Originally this opposition had its

[1] It still remains uncertain, whether the emperor sent his book against the council of Nice to the pope before or after the meeting of the assembly at Frankfort.

[2] Mansi Concil. T. XIII. f. 759.

[3] The object which the pope had in view, as he avows, in writing this refutation, ad incredulorum satisfactionem et directionem Francorum, was one which he certainly could not effect by such arguments.

[4] Ut qui imaginibus sanctorum, ita ut d. Trinitati servitium aut adorationem non impenderet, anathema judicarentur.

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ground in an oriental mode of thinking that made Christianity subordinate to its own ends, and was directed against the peculiar and fundamental doctrines of the Christian faith. And while it is true that, even at present, the sects which had sprung up and grown out of this beginning, never so far denied their original one-sided tendency, as to embrace the Christian truth in its purity and completeness; still the opposition was now directed against *one* of the main elements in the corruption of Christianity; and against many of those doctrines, which being grounded in this corruption, were alien from primitive Christianity. These sects having, from the first, stood out against the union of Christianity with Judaism, now entered into the contest against those doctrines and institutions in particular, which had grown out of the mixture of Jewish with Christian elements; and in so far, this opposition might serve to prepare the way for the purification of the church.

Thus we meet with a sect in this period, which had sprung up in the way above described, and which flourished in the districts reckoned sometimes to Armenia, sometimes to Syria, where such tendencies had always been preserved. The followers of this sect were known by the name of *Paulicians*. It is an hypothesis of both the authors to whom we are indebted for the most important information we possess respecting this sect,[1] though neglected by all succeeding writers, that this sect was an offshoot of Manichæism; and that it took its origin from a woman, Callinice by name, who lived in the district of Samosata, somewhere about the fourth century, and whose two sons, Paul and John, were considered as the founders of the sect. From the former of these, it is said, moreover, that the sect took its name; and it was the opinion of *one* party, that the name *Paulicians* was derived in the first place from a combination of the names of both the founders, in the form *Παυλοιωάνναι*.[2] But we have strong reasons for doubting the truth of this whole account.[3] In the first place, as it regards Manichæism; the truth is that in this period, there was a universal inclination to call everything of a dualistic tendency, Manichæan; while no one seemed correctly to understand the distinctive marks which separated the Gnostic from the Manichæan tenets. We find nothing at all however, in the doctrines of the Paulicians, which would lead us to presume, that they were an offshoot from Manichæism;[4] on the other hand, we find much which

[1] Peter of Sicily, sent by the Greek emperor Basilius Macedo to Tephricain, Armenia, to treat for the exchange of prisoners, (see the history of the Paulicians published by the Jesuit Rəder, Ingoldstadt, 1604,) and Photius in his work against the Manichæans, which in substance differs but little from the former, published in the Anecdota graeca sacra et profana, ed. J. C. Wolf. Hamb. 1723. T. I. et II.

[2] See Photius l. I. c. II. l. c.

[3] On this point, as in most of what we have to say concerning this sect, we must agree with the ably discriminating and well-thought essay of Gieseler. See the Theologischen Studien und Kritiken B. II. Heft. I. 1829.

[4] Nothing is to be observed in their opinions or practices akin to Manichæism or Parsism except in what Johannes Ozniensis, of whom we shall say more hereafter, says concerning them, when in his tract against the Paulicians, p. 87, he ascribes to them a certain adoration of the sun. This, however, does not well harmonize with the other doctrines of the sect.

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contradicts such a supposition; as for example, the fact that they considered the creation of the world as the creation of a spirit at enmity with the perfect God, — of a Demiurge, in a sense of the Anti-Judaizing Gnostics; while Mani considered the creation of the world as a purifying process, ordained and instituted by the Supreme Being himself. In the organization of the sect, we look in vain for the distinction, which belongs to the very essence of Manichæism, of a twofold standing, the esoteric and the exoteric, — that of the "elect" and that of the "auditors." Although Photius sometimes hints at a distinction of esoteric and exoteric among the Paulicians, yet it is certainly one altogether foreign from the spirit and character of this sect; and there was a disposition gratuitously to foist upon them such a distinction, partly because contradictions were detected in their doctrines, which considered from their own point of view had no existence, partly because it was taken for granted, that whatever was peculiar to the constitution of the Manichæan sect, would hold good also of the Paulicians. On the contrary, we may confidently reckon it among the characteristics of the Paulicians, that they knew of no higher distinction than to be in the true sense of the word Christians; that they recognized no loftier position than that of a χριστιανός or χριστοπολίτης; and hence, too, nothing higher, than the complete and pure knowledge of the truths belonging to this position. To separate these from all debasing mixtures, and to give them universal spread, was their highest aim. The Scriptures were prized by them at a vastly higher rate, than they could be according to the principles of Manichæism; and it is certain, that when they sought to attach themselves so closely to the sacred Scriptures they did so, not in the way of accommodation to the universal Christian principle, — not barely as a means by which to procure the readier access for their tenets to the minds of other Christians; but it is evident, even from the manner in which their teachers write to the members of the sect, and from the order and denominations of their ecclesiastical officers, that they designed and strove to derive their doctrines from the New Testament; and particularly from the writings of the Apostle Paul. Far more do the Paulicians, in this respect, as well as in their prevailing practical tendency generally, agree with the sect of Marcion.[1] Now since the Marcionite sect, as we learn from what Theodoret says respecting the vast number of Marcionites in his diocese, was widely disseminated in those districts, we might consider the Paulicians as being an offshoot from this Gnostic party, with which they had the closest resemblance. Indeed, we know from the reports of Theodoret and Chrysostom, that these later Marcionites, being drawn for the most part from uneducated country-people, were extremely ignorant in common matters, and not much better informed with respect to the doctrines of their own master.

[1] It may also be remarked, that in the Anathemas published by Jacob Tollius, (Insignia itinerar. ital. p. 106.) with the sects of the Bogomiles and Euchites are named not the Paulicians but the *Marcionites* — we have here then the recognition of a sect from the Marcionites.

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We might be allowed to suppose, then, that an effort at reform, awakened among these degenerate Marcionites by some special cause or other, and particularly directed, by the spirit of Marcionitism, to the restoration of primitive Christianity as taught in the epistles of St. Paul, had preceded the Paulician sect. Else we must suppose — which would not be an impossible thing — that a reforming effort had been awakened, by the study of the New Testament Scriptures, among the founders of this sect, lingering remnants of old Gnostic parties, and that this effort, uniting Gnostic elements with a practical Christian piety, derived from this study of the New Testament, took of its own accord a direction similar to Marcionitism. As to the story about Callinice; while there is no good reason for rejecting, as an absolute fiction, the tradition that two men, Paul and John, sons of a Callinice, who was a follower of Manichæism or Gnosticism, labored in these districts for the spread of some such opinions;[1] yet it cannot be regarded as a matter of the least importance, as affecting the question concerning the Paulicians; and as to any connection between these sons of Callinice and the Paulician sect, we have every reason to regard it as no better than a fiction. It is certain that the Paulicians themselves did not hesitate to condemn the sons of Callinice, and Mani also, with whom they were arbitrarily associated.[2] Nor can it justly be affirmed, that this was but a pretence, an accommodation, devised for the purpose of concealing their real opinions; for very far were they from allowing themselves to be moved, by worldly fears or considerations, to any false pretensions, with regard to the persons whom they regarded as the true founders or teachers of their sect.[3] As it was assuredly nothing but the traditional name Paulicians, which led men to suppose there must have been some particular person by the name of Paul, from whom the sect derived its origin, so it happened that there were many who traced the name of the sect to a later Paul, an Armenian, who was undoubtedly *one* of the teachers of the sect,[4] though not the individual from whom its name was really derived, that name being, in all probability, of a much earlier date. Thus it is manifest, that no one of these explanations of the name Paulicians rested on any historical basis, but that all of them

[1] Gieseler thinks the whole story about the sons of Callinice ought to be regarded as a fable. The Paulicians were constantly appealing to St. Paul and St. John, as the two genuine apostles — this constant appeal to St. Paul being, in truth, the occasion of their name, Paulicians. This circumstance, as also the reluctance which men felt to allow the Paulicians the honor of being named after two apostles, led to the invention of the story that the sect was founded by two false teachers, Paul and John. This explanation, however, is quite too artificial; and although the Paulicians did attribute a special authority to the Gospel of John, yet it is by no means clear, that they attached themselves so closely to that apostle as they did to the apostle Paul.

[2] See Photius, l. I. c. 4. p. 13. l. c.

[3] Petrus Siculus affirms, it is true, that the Paulicians were genuine disciples of Mani, of the sons of Callinice, *εἰ καὶ κενοφωνίας τινὰς ταῖς πρώταις ἐπισυνῆψαν αἱρέσεσι*, yet he allows that the Paulicians themselves leaned solely on the authority of later teachers, and acknowledged no others. See p. 40.

[4] Photius says (l. I. c. 18.) of this Paul: *ἐκ τούτου δὴ τοῦ Παύλου μερὶς οὐκ ἐλαχίστη τῆς ἀποστασίας καὶ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἕλκειν μᾶλλον ἢ ἐκ τῶν τῆς Καλλινίκης παίδων τὸ μυσαρὸν τῶν Μανιχαίων ἔθνος νομίζουσιν.*

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grew out of the hypothesis, that the name must necessarily have been derived from some false teacher, who established a new and distinct epoch. But the form of the word by no means suggests a derivation of that sort; since by every rule of analogy it should have been, if so derived, *παυλικοί* or *παυλιανοί* (Paulians). At the same time, it is most probable that the form *παυλικοί* lies at the root of the name, and that from this, *παυλικίανοι* was afterwards derived. And we may perhaps rest in the conclusion, that as this sect, like the earlier Marcionites, opposed St. Paul to St. Peter, and, attaching themselves to the former, were for restoring the true Pauline Christianity, they were hence called Paulicians, as in truth we find it intimated by Photius himself.[1] And at some later period, it was attempted to trace the origin of the name to some individual who was the founder of the sect.

Constantine, who taught in the latter half of the seventh century, chiefly under the reign of Constantine Pogonatus, might, with far more propriety, be considered the original founder of the sect, which appeared in this period under the name Paulicians. He belonged to some Gnostic, probably to a Marcionite sect, which had spread from Syria and Armenia into these districts, and resided in the village of Mananalis, not far from Samosata. It deserves to be noticed, as a fact which undoubtedly had some influence on the nature of his attainments and the character of his Christian life, that at a time when he had either not read the Scriptures of the New Testament at all, or only in scattered fragments, he received a complete copy of them as a present from a certain deacon, in gratitude for the hospitable entertainment he had met with in Constantine's house, when returning home from captivity, probably among the Saracens. Constantine now earnestly applied himself to the study of these Scriptures, which, and more particularly the epistles of St. Paul, made a deep impression on his mind, and gave a new direction to his thoughts and to his life. Certainly we must ascribe to the hateful spirit, which gave a false and invidious explanation to everything done or said by a heretic, that Constantine and his followers were accused of hypocritically pretending to derive their religious opinions from the New Testament, in order to escape the sword of the executioner, or in order to gain access, by means of this deception, to the minds of those whom they wished to proselytize. On the contrary, we are bound to presume, that the fundamental ideas which he found presented in those Scriptures had a powerful influence on his mind, so that he felt himself constrained to stand forth as a reformer, not only as it related to the dominant church, but also to the sect of which he was a member. At the same time, however, he was, in spite of himself, governed by the principles of his sect, by dualism, which he could not be induced to renounce. Studying the Scriptures of the New Testament, with a mind already preoccupied by these principles, he believed that he

[1] L. II. c. 10, p. 190. From the apostle Paul *οὐ ψευδεπώνυμοι παραγράφονται*; though he is wrong in saying, that they called themselves by this name.

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found the same principles enforced in what he there read, respecting the opposition of darkness to light, flesh to spirit, world to God. It was by a Christianity drawn from the writings of St. Paul, and in part of St. John, but apprehended under the forms of the Gnostic dualism, that the Paulicians were, from this time onwarad, bent on bringing about a renovation of the church, a restoration of the pure apostolic doctrines. To designate his profession, as an apostolic reformer, Constantine took the name of Silvanus; and so it became the custom afterwards, for the more distinguished teachers of this sect to call themselves by the names of the several companions of St. Paul — a custom which may be rightly regarded as marking the distinct aim which they had before them. They professed to be simply the organs of the Pauline spirit, like those who were the companions of St. Paul in his labors. Constantine labored twenty-seven years, from about 657 to 684, with great activity, for the advancement of his sect. Its further spread drew upon it a new persecution. In the year 684, or one of the other last years of the reign of Constantine Pogonatus, that emperor sent Simeon, an officer of his household, into those districts, empowering him to punish with death the leader of the sect, and all recusants, and to bring such as were disposed to recant to the bishops, for the purpose of being more fully instructed by them in pure doctrine. Constantine, if we may credit the account given by opponents, was, at the command of Simeon, stoned to death by faithless disciples, at the head of whom was his own ungrateful adopted son, Justus.[1] But the major part of those who were handed over to the bishops, persisted in maintaining their old opinions; upon which Simeon undertook to deal with them, and bring them over to the pure doctrines of the church. But as he was a layman, and therefore somewhat at a loss for arguments, as well as more unprejudiced, he was struck with the remarkable appearance of Christian sincerity in their behavior, and more and more attracted by the principles of the Paulician sect. With these impressions, he returned to Constantinople. But after remaining there three years, under his former relations, tired of the constraint of living in a society, where he was forced every moment to conceal or deny his real convictions, he secretly repaired to Cibossa, in Armenia, where the remnant of Constantine's followers were still to be found. He there became head of the party, and took the apostolic name Titus. After laboring three years as presiding officer of the sect, and inducing numbers to join it, he and his followers were accused before the bishop of Colonia, by the same treacherous Justus who had acted so prominent a part in the stoning to death of Constantine. At the suggestion of this bishop, the emperor Justinian II. directed, in the year 690, a new examination into the tenets of the sect, the result of which was that Titus, and many others besides, died at the stake.

One of the individuals who escaped death on this occasion, by the

[1] It is reported, that the memory of Constantine's death was preserved, by the name given to the spot where it occurred, Σωρός. Photius I. 16.

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name of Paul, was now placed at the head of the sect; and he appointed as his successor his oldest son Gegnæsius, whom he named Timothy. From this time, the sect was divided into two parties. The schism grew out of the antagonism betwixt a Catholic and a Protestant principle. Gegnæsius held that spiritual gifts were communicated by tradition, and connected with the regularity of succession. On this ground, he founded his claim to be regarded as the principal leader of the sect. But his younger brother, Theodore, refused to acknowledge any such principle, maintaining that such outward mediation was unessential, and that he had received the spirit immediately from the same divine source with his father.[1] Under the reign of Leo the Isaurian, new complaints were lodged against the Paulicians at Constantinople, and the emperor ordered Gegnæsius to appear at the capital and undergo a trial. The examination was committed to the patriarch, before whom Gegnæsius contrived to answer all the questions proposed to him respecting his orthodoxy in a satisfactory manner; attaching, however, quite a different sense from the true one to the formularies of church orthodoxy. The patriarch asked him why he had left the Catholic church. Gegnæsius replied, that he had never entertained the remotest wish of forsaking the Catholic church, within which alone salvation was to be found. But by the Catholic church, he meant only the Paulician communities, called, as they believed, to restore the church of Christ to its primitive purity. The patriarch demanded why he refused to give the mother of God the reverence which was her due? Gegnæsius here pronounced the anathema himself on all who refused reverence to the mother of God, to her into whom Christ entered, and from whom he came, — the mother of us all. But he meant the invisible, heavenly city of God, the celestial Jerusalem, mother of the divine life, for admission of the redeemed into which Christ had prepared the way, by first entering it himself as their forerunner. He was asked, why he did not pay homage to the cross? Gegnæsius here pronounced the anathema on all who refused to venerate the cross; but by this he understood Christ himself, called by that symbolical name. Furthermore, he was asked why he despised the body and blood of Christ, and refused to partake of it? The reply to this also was satisfactory; but by the body and blood of Christ, he was accustomed to understand the doctrines of Christ, in which he communicated himself. So also he answered the question respecting baptism, but by baptism he understood Christ himself, the living water, the water of life. This trial having been reported to the emperor, Gegnæsius received from his sovereign a letter of protection, securing him against all further complaints and persecutions.

We might readily conjecture, that the emperor Leo, that determined enemy of images, was disposed to befriend the Paulicians; and that the issue at this trial, which was so favorable to their cause, was brought about by his influence; for a certain affinity existed between

[1] Phot. I. 18. *Μὴ πατρόθεν ἐκ τοῦ λαβόντος δευτέρᾳ δόσει μετασχεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς πρώτης δωρεᾶς καὶ ὅθεν ὁ πατὴρ ταύτην εἵλκυσεν.*

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the spiritual tendency of the Paulicians and that of the iconoclasts. The Paulicians too were violently opposed to image-worship: they always began by attacking this superstition, accusing the dominant church, on this ground, of idolatry; and perhaps — as seems to be indicated by an Armenian controversial tract against the Paulicians which has recently come to light[1] — the attack on image-worship was the occasion by which many were first led to separate from the dominant church, and then, invited by the spirit of reform which manifested itself in that sect, to unite with the Paulicians. It cannot be assumed, however, that all iconoclasts would, as a matter of course, be favorably disposed to the Paulicians; for that the fact was not so appears evident from the example of the later iconoclast emperors. And it is well known, that the iconoclasts were the more eager to show their attachment to the church orthodoxy on all points but one, and to remove all suspicion on this score in proportion as the disposition was strong to charge them with heresy. From these considerations, it must still remain uncertain whether the emperor Leo *purposely* favored the Paulicians. But if the report which has come down to us respecting the trial of Gegnæsius agrees with the truth, it can still hardly be supposed, that the patriarch would have made it so easy for that heresiarch to deceive him, unless he had some good reason for allowing himself to be deceived. If he had not, he would, without doubt — especially as the deceptive arts of the Paulicians were, to some extent, understood — have proposed such questions to Gegnæsius, as would have compelled him to distinct explanations.

On the death of this Gegnæsius, after an active service of thirty years, he was succeeded by his son Zacharias; who was opposed, however, by another heresiarch, by the name of Joseph, so that a new schism arose among the Paulicians. This Joseph was compelled, by threatening dangers from the Saracens, to transfer the seat of his labors to Antioch in Pisidia; and the sect now spread beyond the boundaries of Armenia into the countries of Asia Minor.[2] Joseph was succeeded by a certain Baanes, who from the Cynic mode of life which he adopted and encouraged, received the surname of "filthy," (ὁ ῥυπαρός), which brought him and his party into bad repute. But

[1] We mean the polemical tract of John of Oznun, so called from his native city Oznun, in the province of Tascir, in Greater Armenia, where he was born A. D. 668. Subsequent to the year 718, he became Catholicos or primate of the Armenian church. His works were published in 1834 by the Mechitarists of the island of St. Lazari near Venice, with Aucher's Latin translation. In his discourse against the Paulicians, John says, whenever they met with inexperienced and simple people, they first began with speaking against images. See p. 76. He says (p. 89), that many iconoclasts, when ejected from the Catholic church, joined the Paulicians. It were to be wished, that the historical allusions of the words: "ad quos Paulicianos iconomachi quidam ab Alvanorum Catholicis reprehensi advenientes adhaeserunt," might be traced out in the original sources by those acquainted with Armenian literature.

[2] Unless the account of the Byzantine historian, Cedrenus, places at too early a period what happened not till later, a seat had already been prepared in Thrace for this sect, under the emperor Constantine Copronymus; for this historian, in the eleventh year of the reign of Constantine, relates that the emperor, after having reconquered the Armenian province Melitene, transplanted many Paulicians to Constantinople and Thrace.

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at this time, near the beginning of the ninth century, the sect, which had been so rent by inward divisions and injured by the influence of bad teachers, began once more to lift its head under the auspices of a new reformer who rose up in their own body.

Sergius came from the village of Ania, not far from the town of Tavia, in Galatia, and was won over to the sect while yet a young man.[1] He was led to join it by a singular incident, worthy of being noticed, because it shows how numbers might be induced by the defective instruction of the clergy, which failed to satisfy their religious needs, to join the Paulicians. He once met with a woman belonging to this sect, who asked him, in the course of their conversation, whether he had ever read the gospels. Sergius replied in the negative, adding that this was a thing which belonged exclusively to the clergy — that the mysteries of holy Scripture were too exalted for laymen. Hereupon the woman said, "The holy Scriptures are intended for all men, and they are open to all; for God wills that all should come to the knowledge of the truth. But the clergy, who forbade them to be studied by the laity, wished to withhold from the latter the mysteries of the divine word, lest they should become aware of corruptions which the clergy had introduced into them. For the same reason, it was only single portions of Scriptures, torn from their proper connection, which were publicly read in the churches." She then asked him, whom it was our Lord meant, Matt. 7: 22, where he speaks of those, who would plead that they had wrought miracles and prophesied in his name, but whom he would nevertheless refuse to acknowledge as his; or who were the sons of the kingdom, of whom our Lord says, that they should be thrust out of it, Matt. 8: 12. They are those — said she — whom you call saints, of whom you say that they perform miraculous cures,[2] expel evil spirits, whom you honor, while you neglect to honor the living God. These words made a deep impression on the mind of Sergius. He diligently studied the writings of St. Paul. He obtained from them a better knowledge of what belongs to a vital Christianity, and came to perceive more clearly the difference between the godlike and the ungodlike, the spirit and the flesh. On the ground of this antithesis, distinctly expressed as his point of departure, he combatted the confounding of Christianity with the world in the effete *churchism* of the state religion; but at the same time he grounded this practical antagonism on the theoretical one of the Gnostic dualism.

He set himself up as a teacher, under the name of Tychicus; and labored for thirty-four years with great zeal and indefatigable

[1] Petrus Siculus, who treats (p. 54) of Sergius, says nothing about his having sprung from a family connected with the sect. But Photius (p. 95) says, that his father Dryinos was a member of the sect, and that Sergius, therefore, had been instructed in its doctrines from his childhood. Yet his own report of the conference of Sergius with the Paulician woman, contradicts this statement, and would lead us rather to suppose that Sergius then belonged to the Catholic church.

[2] The question comes up, how did the Paulicians understand this? Did they mean that the story about the miracles of the saints were fictitious; or that they really performed such works, but did so by the power of the Demiurge whom they served?

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activity, traversing every part of Asia Minor, for the advancement and confirmation of the Paulician communities, and for the spread of the Paulician doctrines; and it was certainly not without justice that, speaking from his own point of view, he could say, in one of his epistles to a Paulician community: "I have run from East to West, and from North to South,[1] till my knees were weary, preaching the gospel of Christ."[2] He seems to have imitated the example of St. Paul, also, in refusing to receive the means of support from others, and striving to maintain himself by the labor of his own hands. To this end he followed the trade of a carpenter.[3] Even his opponents would not refuse to Sergius the praise of strict morality, and of those kind and gentle manners which win the heart, and by which he was enabled to conciliate even his bitterest enemies.[4] He gained many followers, especially by his peculiar mode of first presenting before them simply the doctrines of practical Christianity — which by other teachers were made to give way to a mere formal orthodoxy — until he had won their confidence; when, having gained this advantage, he proceeded gradually to inveigh against the dominant church.[5] Owing to the manner, also, in which Sergius himself had been first drawn to this sect, many of the laity would be easily attracted to him and to his disciples, especially when they heard them repeating the hitherto unknown words of the evangelists and of St. Paul, and exposing to view the contradiction between these teachings and many of the ordinances of the church.[6] Even among monks, nuns, and ecclesiastics, he found many willing auditors.[7] But conscious of laboring as a reformer, he was, no doubt, accustomed, when speaking of himself, to adopt a tone which, making every allowance for the hyperbolical language of the East, cannot be pronounced entirely free from the charge of a self-exaltation, inconsistent with the essence of Christian humility. He thus writes to one of the communities: "Suffer yourselves to be deceived by no man; but be assured that you have received these doctrines from God; for we write you out of the full conviction of our hearts. For I am the porter, and the good shepherd, and the leader of the body of Christ, and the light of the house of God. I, too, am with you always, even unto the end of the world;[8] for though I may be absent in the body, yet

[1] Which words are important, as serving to fix the geographical point from which his labors commenced and extended.

[2] Ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν καὶ μέχρι δυσμῶν καὶ (ἀπὸ) βορρᾶς καὶ (μέχρι) νότου ἔδραμον κηρύσσων τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῖς ἐμοῖς γόνασι βαρήσας. Pet. Sic. p. 60., where the words are cited more fully and accurately than in Photius l. I. p. 112.

[3] Phot. l. I. p. 130.

[4] Καὶ ταπεινὸν ἦθος καὶ δεξιώσεως κατεσχηματισμένος τρόπος καὶ ἡμερότης οὐ τοὺς οἰκείους ὑποσυναίνουσα (should doubtless read ὑποσαίνουσα), μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς τραχύτερον διακειμένους ὑπολεαίνουσά τε καὶ συλαγωγοῦσα. Phot. l. I. c. 22. pag. 120. Of course, all these good traits in a heretic were but a hypocrite's mask, worn for the purpose of enabling him more easily to carry on his deception.

[5] Phot. I. p. 108.

[6] Peter of Sicily says, p. 6: χαλεπὸν τὸ μὴ συναρπασθῆναι ὑπ' αὐτῶν τοὺς ἁπλουστέρους, διότι πάντα τὰ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου καὶ τοῦ ἀποστόλου λόγια διαλέγονται.

[7] So Peter of Sicily reproaches him for leading astray many monks, priests, and Levites. See p. 62.

[8] Photius I. 21, p. 115, cites the words only thus far; but the epithet, which Sergius here applies to himself, is somewhat

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I am with you in the spirit;"[1] — and to the same community, at Colonia in Armenia, he writes: "Even as the primitive communities received their shepherds and teachers, so you also have received the illuminating torch, the clear-shining light, the guide-post to salvation."[2] He then quotes in proof Matthew 6: 22, which he probably understood somewhat as follows; — that by virtue of the soundness of the eye within them, of the sense for divine realities awakened in their minds, they had recognized and received him as the true light.

If we placed certain reliance on the reports of opponents, we should be compelled to believe that Sergius pushed his self-exaltation to the extreme of self-deification; for it is said that he called himself the Paraclete and the Holy Ghost. But accusations of this sort cannot be received without suspicion; for to say nothing of the intrinsic improbability of the thing, it is plain, from those expressions of the Paulicians in which men were disposed to find such predicates applied to Sergius, how widely remote from their obvious meaning was the way in which they were interpreted. The Paulicians were accused of praying in the name of Sergius, as of the Holy Spirit. They were accustomed, for example, to seal up and conclude their petitions with the phrase, "The intercession of the Holy Spirit will be favorable to us."[3] But assuredly in this formula, imitated after the words in Romans 8: 26, it is not Sergius who is designated by the name Holy Spirit; but either a mediating intercession of the Holy Spirit, as nearly related to the supreme God, is pre-supposed; or, according to St. Paul, the inward prayer of believing aspiration is considered as a prayer of the Holy Spirit himself, of the Spirit of God dwelling in, and praying from, the hearts of believers. If, then, there is any ground for the assertion, that Sergius set himself up as the Holy Spirit, and the Paraclete,[4] it could only amount to this, that Sergius represented himself, not as the Holy Spirit, but as the Paraclete; while his opponents, making no distinction between the two, misinterpreted the language of Sergius, as if he understood the Paraclete to be the same as the Holy Spirit. The truth was, however, that he distinguished these two forms of expression; and, by the Paraclete, he understood, like Mani, an enlightened teacher promised by Christ, who should separate the doctrines taught by him from all foreign mixtures, and open their true sense; and as such a teacher he meant to be regarded himself. But as Sergius did not think himself to be the first or the only reformer of a corrupted Christianity,

softened by its connection with what follows, which is to be found in Peter of Sicily, p. 64.

[1] *Μηδεὶς ὑμᾶς ἐξαπατήσῃ κατὰ μηδένα τρόπον, ταύτας δὲ τὰς ἐπαγγελίας ἔχοντες παρὰ θεοῦ θαρσεῖτε, ἡμεῖς γὰρ πεπεισμένοι ὄντες ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ἡμῶν ἐγράψαμεν ὑμῖν, ὅτι ὁ θυρωρὸς καὶ ὁ ποιμὴν ὁ καλὸς καὶ ὁδηγὸς τοῦ σώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ ὁ λύχνος τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ θεοῦ ἐγώ εἰμι καὶ μεθ' ὑμῶν εἰμι πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας ἕως τῆς συντελείας τοῦ αἰῶνος. Εἰ γὰρ καὶ τῷ σώματι ἄπειμι, ἀλλὰ τῷ πνεύματι σὺν ὑμῖν εἰμι· λοιπὸν χαίρετε, καταρτίζεσθε καὶ ὁ θεὸς τῆς εἰρήνης ἔσται μεθ' ὑμῶν.*

[2] He calls himself *λαμπάδα φαεινὴν, λύχνον φαίνοντα.*

[3] *Ἡ εὐχὴ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἐλέησει ἡμᾶς.* Phot. I. 114.

[4] See Phot. l. I. p. 111.

and therefore could not have called himself, in this sense, the promised Paraclete, by whom believers were to be first led to the consciousness of divine truth, freed from all elements of error; we must suppose that, while he recognized the earlier teachers of the Paulicians in their capacity as teachers, he still designated himself as the *great* Teacher whom Christ promised, and by whom a reformation was to be effected in the entire church, and that he subordinated them, as his fore-runners, to himself. We might trace this in his designating them as simply *ποιμένας καὶ διδασκάλους* (pastors and teachers), while he calls himself the resplendent lamp (*λάμπας φαεινή*), the shining light (*λύχνος φαίνων*), the light-giving star (*λυχνοφανὴς ἀστήρ*).[1] But opposed to this view is the fact, that he represented the apostle Paul as the great teacher, by whom alone Christianity was to be exhibited in its true light; that, compared to Paul, he placed himself only on a level with Tychicus, and that he aspired at nothing higher than to be an ambassador and disciple of St. Paul, holding forth not the doctrines of his own wisdom, but those of his master.[2] It is, then, the most probable supposition, that Sergius did not wish to be regarded as either the Paraclete or the Holy Spirit; but that certain expressions, in which he represented himself as the organ of the Holy Spirit, or as a Paraclete for the restoration of pure Christianity, led, by a misconception of their import, to the abovementioned false accusations.[3]

The active labors of Sergius fell within a period which at first was favorable to their success. It was when the Greek emperor Nicephorus, who reigned near the beginning of the ninth century, refused to be employed as a tool of the hierarchy for the persecution of the Paulicians; but promised them, particularly in Phrygia and Lycaonia, freedom and security in the exercise of their religious faith.[4] It may be doubted whether this emperor was determined to this milder treatment of the Paulicians by his impatience of the domination of the clergy,[5] or by different principles from those which ordinarily prevailed

[1] See Phot. I. 98.

[2] Ἃ *διαγγέλλει μὴ τῆς αὐτοῦ σοφίας εἶναι, τοῦ δὲ διδάξαντος καὶ ἀπεστάλκοτος Παύλου παραγγέλματα.* Photius himself notices the inconsistency of Sergius, in assuming such lofty epithets, and yet representing himself as standing in this subordinate relation to St. Paul. He offers the following, not very natural, explanation. Sergius, he says, spoke of himself in the latter way, when addressing the Exoterics, or persons who were yet to be gained over to the sect; and, in the former, in addressing those who were already initiated into the mysteries. See l. I. p. 111. This far-fetched explanation is at once refuted by the fact, that all these epithets are undoubtedly taken from epistles of Sergius addressed to *entire communities.*

[3] Some such misconception, probably, gave occasion also to the anathema which is to be found among those directed against the Bogomiles, or Euchites; if by Tychicus, there mentioned, we are to understand Sergius. He is there accused of applying what is said in Scripture, of God the Father, and of the Holy Spirit, to his own spiritual father, to one of the Coryphæuses of this sect, and of perverting the language, as follows: *Τυχικῷ, τῷ πάσας τὰς περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς ἔτι δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ῥήσεις εἰς τὸν πνευματικὸν αὐτοῦ πατέρα παρερμηνεύσαντι.* See Jacobi Tollii insignia itinerarii Italici. p. 114.

[4] See Theophanes Chronograph. f. 413, ed. Paris.

[5] Though we are never warranted to place any reliance on the stories told by the Byzantine historians, his bitter enemies, concerning his connection with the Paulicians.

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respecting the proper mode of dealing with false teachers; for it is certain that at this time there was in the Greek church a better-disposed minority, who considered it an unchristian procedure to persecute heretics with the sword; and who declared it contrary to the vocation of priests to be the occasion of bloodshed, it being their duty simply to lead the erring, if possible, to repentance. It was this minority, who, when Michael Curopalates, the next emperor, was induced, by the influence of Nicephorus, patriarch of Constantinople, to threaten these heretics with the punishment of the sword, endeavored, by arguments of this kind, to avert the execution of the order.[1] And one of the most zealous defenders of the church faith, and fanatical supporters of image-worship, Theodore, abbot of the students' monastery at Constantinople, may be considered the representative of this Christianly disposed minority.[2] To Theophilus, a bishop of Ephesus, who had declared that to kill the Manichæans was a glorious work, he writes, "What sayst thou?[3] — Our Lord has forbidden this in the gospels, Matt. 13: 29, lest in rooting out the tares, the wheat might be gathered up with them. Let both grow together until the harvest. How then canst thou call the rooting up of the tares a glorious work?" He then quotes, in confirmation of his views, a fine passage from the homilies of Chrysostom on the gospel of Matthew;[4] after which he goes on to say: "Nor ought we to pray *against* the teachers of error: much rather are we bound to pray *for* them, as our Lord when on the cross prayed for those who knew not what they did. At this late day men should no longer appeal to the examples of Phineas and of Elijah; for it was necessary to distinguish the different stages of the Old and of the New Testament: — and when the disciples would have acted in that spirit (against the Samaritans) Christ expressed his displeasure that they should depart so far from that meek and gentle Spirit, whose disciples they ought to have been." Citing the passage in 2 Tim. 2: 25, he remarks, "We ought not to punish, but to instruct, the ignorant. Rulers, indeed, bear not the sword in vain; but neither do they bear it to be used against those, against whom our Lord had forbidden it to be used. *Their* dominion is over the outward man; and it is incumbent on them to punish those who are found guilty of crimes against the outward man. But *their* power of punishing has no reference to what is purely inward; — this belongs exclusively to their province, who have the cure of souls, — and these can only threaten spiritual punishments, such for example, as exclusion from the fellowship of the church."[5]

[1] The Chronographer Theophanes, who mentions the fact, p. 419, charges those who maintained this ground with being altogether at variance with the sacred Scriptures. To prove this, he cites the example of Peter, who caused the death of Ananias and Sapphira merely for a falsehood; of Paul, who says, Rom. 1: 32, they who do such things are worthy of death, though he is here speaking only of sins of the flesh. Πῶς οὐκ ἐναντίοι αὐτῶν εἶεν οἱ τοὺς πάσης ψυχικῆς καὶ σωματικῆς ἀκαθαρσίας ἐμπλέους καὶ δαιμόνων λατρείας ὑπάρχοντας λυτρούμενοι τοῦ ξίφους.

[2] Of this remarkable man we shall have more to say in the following volume.

[3] In his Letters, II. 155.

[4] Hom. 47.

[5] Σωμάτων γὰρ ἄρχοντες, τοὺς ἐν τοῖς σωματικοῖς ἁλόντας ἐξὸν αὐτοῖς κολάζειν, οὐχὶ τοῖς ἐν τῇ (it should read οὐχὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς) κατὰ ψυχήν· τῶν γὰρ ψυχῶν ἀρχόν-

Yet, such individual voices could avail nothing against the dominant spirit. Iconoclasts and image-worshippers concurred in the adoption of persecuting measures against these sects, which, in the meanwhile, continued to increase and spread; as was apparent under the successors of Nicephorus, the emperors Michael Curopalates (Rhangabe), and Leo the Armenian. The common zeal manifested by himself and those heretics against image-worship could not move the emperor Leo the Armenian to adopt any milder measures against the Paulicians; but perhaps he was desirous of proving his zeal for the pure doctrines of the church, by persecuting that obstinate sect. Thomas, bishop of Neo-Cæsarea in Cappadocia, and the abbot Paracondaces, were appointed inquisitors over the Paulicians. Those who manifested repentance were to be placed in the hands of the bishops for the purpose of being instructed and reconciled to the church; the rest were to be put to the sword. The cruelty with which these inquisitors executed their commission, provoked the Paulicians who resided in the city of Cynoschora in Armenia,[1] to a conspiracy against them, by which both were cut off. After this, the Paulicians fled to the parts of Armenia subject to the Saracens, by whom they were received in a friendly manner, as enemies of the Roman empire. The Saracens assigned to their use a town called Argaum.[2] The favorable reception which these had met with, and the persecutions in the Roman empire, induced a constantly increasing multitude to take refuge in the same parts; and Sergius also, their leader, fixed his residence in this place. Here they gradually formed a considerable force; and making inroads into the Roman provinces, dragged away many as captives, whom they endeavored to make proselytes. Sergius disapproved of this, and endeavored to dissuade his people from the practice; but his advice was disregarded. He could testify that he had neither part nor lot in all this calamity. Often had he exhorted them not to make prisoners of the Romans: — they refused to hear him.[3] After having pursued his labors here for several years, Sergius, while employed alone on one of the adjacent mountains, felling timber for his carpenter's trade, was attacked by a certain Tzanio of Nicopolis, a fierce zealot for the church-doctrine, and assassinated, A. D. 835.[4]

In reference to the *doctrines of the Paulicians*, the two only sources of information furnish but very meagre accounts; and from these, it is impossible to form anything like a complete and well-defined notion of their character. As writers assumed, that the Paulicians descended from the Manichæans, the mode of understanding and re-

των τοῦτο, ὧν τὰ κολαστήρια ἀφορισμοὶ καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ ἐπιτιμίαι. See f. 497.

[1] *Οἱ λεγόμενοι Κυνοχωρῖται*, Phot. I. p. 128. *Οἱ κατοικοῦντες κυνὸς τὴν χώραν*, Petr. Sicul. p. 66, which communities are designated by Sergius as the Laodicean.

[2] *Ἀργαοῦν*, perhaps Arcas, see Gieseler, l. c. p. 94, — unless the fact was that this town, which is described as lying on a mountain, received its name from the mountain Argaeus, and is one not elsewhere mentioned. The inhabitants are called by Petrus Siculus, *Ἀργαοῦται*. To this community Sergius gives the name of Colossians. Petr. Sic. p. 66.

[3] *Ἐγὼ τῶν κακῶν τούτων ἀναίτιός εἰμι, πολλὰ γὰρ παρήγγελλον αὐτοῖς, ἐκ τοῦ αἰχμαλωτίζειν τοὺς ῥωμαίους ἀποστῆναι, καὶ οὐχ ὑπήκουσάν μοι* Petr. Sic. 62.

[4] See, respecting the chronology, Gieseler's remarks in the above mentioned Essay, p. 100.

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presenting their doctrines would easily be made to wear a false color of Manichæism. Their system was certainly founded on dualistic principles; the creation of the sensible world, for example, was referred only to the evil principle, which they are said to have represented as the Demiurge. But since in all the older Gnostic systems, the Creator of the world was considered a distinct being from the evil principle, while in the Paulician system, the Demiurge as the principle of evil was opposed to the kingdom of the supreme and perfect God, it may be doubted whether this distinction between the Creator of the world and the evil principle was really held by them. The doctrine of the Paulicians, as it is described,[1] viz. that the evil spirit or the Demiurge sprang into existence out of darkness and fire, may doubtless have some reference to such a distinction; for this two-fold nature presupposes two elements, whose combination formed the essence of the Demiurge, darkness, the proper principle of evil, and fire, the principle of the sidereal world, both opposed to the spiritual life — as in the Clementines, and in the doctrine of the Tzabeans or disciples of John. Thus the Paulicians, like Marcion, may have supposed three fundamental principles, or two absolute fundamental principles, and a middle one. At all events, they themselves considered the distinction between a Demiurge, the author of the sensible creation, and the perfect God, from whom nothing proceeds but the spiritual world, and who cannot reveal himself in the world of sense, as the characteristic mark of their sect as compared with the Catholic church; — for they accused the latter of confounding together the Demiurge and the perfect God, and of worshipping the former only. In their disputes with Catholic Christians, they said to them: you believe in the Creator of the world; but we believe in him of whom our Lord says — "ye have neither heard his voice at any time, nor seen his shape," after the manner in which the Creator of the world revealed himself in the Old Testament, John 5: 37.[2] Photius says,[3] "that the Paulicians did not all in like manner exclude the perfect God from participating in the work of creation. Some ascribed to the good God the creation of the heavens; to the evil principle, the creation of the earth and of all that exists betwixt the heavens and the earth; others considered the heavens themselves as a work of the Demiurge." It is probable, then, that the Paulicians, affirmed or denied that the perfect God was the Creator of the heavens according to the different senses which they attached to that word. If by heaven was meant the visible firmament, the starry heaven, this the Paulicians reckoned as belonging to the creation and kingdom of the Demiurge, and opposed to it the creation and the kingdom of the perfect God. But if by heaven was meant the spiritual heaven, beyond the sidereal world, the region of things divine, this they regarded as a creation and kingdom of the perfect God. The good God and the Demiurge had each his own appropriate heaven.[4] We may thus account for it,

[1] Phot. II. 3.
[2] See Pet. Sic. p. 16.
[3] II. 5.
[4] According to the statement of Mar-

that Photius, by neglecting to distinguish the different senses of the term "heaven" in the Paulician system, mistook a different mode of expression for a difference of opinions. But at the same time, it is probable, that a difference of opinions really existed within the sect at an early period; growing out of the more or less decided manner in which the dualistic system was received, just as we find that different opinions were entertained on this point among kindred sects of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. According to the Paulician system, the corporeal world proceeded wholly from the Demiurge, who formed it out of matter, the source of all evil. But the soul of man is of divine origin, containing in it a germ of life akin to the essence of the supreme God. Thus human nature consists of two opposite principles; but *this union* of the soul with a body foreign to it by nature in which all the sensual passions have their root, this banishment of the soul into a sensible world which fetters and confines its higher essence, — a world which has proceeded from an entirely different creator — this cannot have been the work of the supreme and perfect God. It can only be the work of that enemy, the Demiurge, who seeks to bring down the divine germs of life into his own kingdom and there hold them fast. Such being the Paulician system of the universe, we must suppose they had a corresponding theory of the origin and nature of man. Either starting with the doctrine of a preëxistence of souls, they must have held that the Demiurge was constantly drawing away these souls from the higher world to which they properly belong, and confining them in this material world; or like the older Syrian Gnostics, they must have held that the Demiurge had at the beginning charmed the divine germs of life into the phenomenal forms of the first man, a being created after some image of the higher world that hovered before him, — which germs of life now proceeded to develope themselves in humanity, giving birth to human souls. An important source of our knowledge respecting the opinion of Sergius on this point, is contained in a fragment of one of his letters preserved by Photius and Peter the Sicilian, but which, unfortunately, in the mutilated state in which it has come to us, is extremely obscure. "The *first* fornication, in which from Adam downward we are all ensnared, is a benefit; but the *second* is greater (namely a greater fornication or sin,) of which St. Paul says: "He that committeth fornication sinneth against his own body," 1 Corinth. 6: 18.[1] To understand the real meaning of Sergius in these singular words, we must take them in connection with what he afterwards writes, though not in this immediate context.[2] From remarks that afterwards occur, we find that Sergius here interprets the term *πορνεία* (fornication) in a

cion's doctrine by the Armenian bishop Esnig, of the fifth century, which Professor Neumann has translated in Illgen's Zeitschrift für die historische Theologie IV. B. I. Stück, the perfect God has his seat in the third heavens.

[1] Ἡ πρώτη πορνεία, ἣν ἐκ τοῦ Ἀδὰμ περικείμεθα, εὐεργεσία, ἡ δὲ δευτέρα μείζων ἐστὶ, περὶ ἧς λέγει καὶ ὁ Ἀπόστολος· ὁ πορνεύων εἰς τὸ ἴδιον σῶμα ἁμαρτάνει. See Phot. I. p. 117. Petr. Sicul. p. 68.

[2] The words: ἡμεῖς ἐσμὲν σῶμα χριστοῦ εἴ τις δὲ ἀφίσταται τῶν παραδόσεων τοῦ σώματος τοῦ χριστοῦ, τουτέστι τῶν ἐμῶν, ἁμαρτάνει, ὅτι προςτρέχει τοῖς ἑτεροδιδασκαλοῦσι καὶ ἀπειθεῖ τοῖς ὑγιαίνουσι λόγοις.

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spiritual sense, as denoting the fall from the Supreme God, from the true body of Christ, i. e. the fall from the true Christian church, subsisting among the Paulicians, and from the purely Christian doctrines handed down in that sect, — the falling back into the corrupt church, which belongs to the Demiurge. Now if the whole should, in like manner, be interpreted spiritually, we must understand what is said of Adam's *πορνεία* in the same sense; and since Adam's disloyalty to the Supreme God could be in no way a benefit either to him or to his posterity, even according to the system of Sergius, this disloyalty can only mean a rebellion against the Demiurge. And we should then have the following train of ideas: The Demiurge endeavored to hold the first man in complete bondage. He was not to come to any consciousness of his higher nature, lest he should begin to aspire after something beyond the kingdom of the Demiurge. Hence the command which forbade him to eat of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil. But Adam was disobedient; and this disobedience of his, this *πορνεία*, by which he broke his bond of servitude to the Demiurge, was the cause whereby he and his race attained to the consciousness of their higher nature, transcending the kingdom of the Demiurge; — and therefore, he might rightly describe it as a benefit; since it was the necessary preparation for the redemption, afterwards to follow. Still, however, the phrase *περικείμεθα τὴν πορνείαν* (we are enveloped in the fornication) does not seem to harmonize so well with this spiritual mode of explanation; inasmuch as the phrase denotes something that is worn about, or that cleaves to the person. We should, have to understand it, then, metonymically. The consequences of this "fornication" of the first man, which turned out to be a benefit to him and to his posterity, passed over to us — which however would not be a very natural interpretation of the words. Nor in strict propriety, are we bound or warranted to explain everything spiritually in order to meet the sense of Sergius; for however forced and tortuous the methods of allegorizing interpretation which we may expect to find in writers of this class, still it could hardly be supposed even of Sergius, that he would understand those words of St. Paul as by themselves considered denoting spiritual fornication. This would be too preposterous. Most probably, he understood the words in the first place literally; as warning against "fornication" in the proper sense; a warning which would not appear superfluous even to those strict upholders of moral purity, the Paulicians.[1] But then in conformity with the principles of the allegorizing mode of interpretation, he added a spiritual exposition of the same words, as denoting the fall from pure doctrine, a spiritual "fornication."[2]

By these remarks we might be led to infer that Adam's *πορνεία* also,

[1] It is manifestly perverting the language of Servius, to infer from it as Petrus Siculus does, that Servius did not consider the *πορνεία* to be a sin, but sought to justify it. We see from this example, what reason we have to be cautious in admitting all that is said against the Paulicians.

[2] It should be borne in mind, that Petrus Siculus after citing the first words, says, *ἐπάγεις λέγων*, therefore does not cite the words in their entire connection, but has left out something intervening.

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refers primarily to that of the body. We might then understand him as follows: Sergius considered the carnal connection of Adam and Eve as a *πορνεία*, as the eating of the forbidden fruit; which sin, however, was still a benefit, since it led to the evolution and the multiplied individualization of the germ of divine life in humanity. Or we must suppose, that he considered the union of the soul with a body formed out of matter, as a *πορνεία;* in which case, the connection of thought would be as follows: The Demiurge succeeded in enticing a heavenly soul down into the corporeal world; and from this, sprung all other human souls. This soul was the mother of all spiritual life in humanity. Now since according to this view as well as the other the spiritual life in humanity was evolved to multiplied and manifold individuality, and since by this means also the way was prepared for the destruction of the kingdom of the Demiurge, this *πορνεία* might be regarded as a benefit. The phrase *περικείμεθα τὴν πορνείαν* certainly agrees peculiarly well with this explanation; for the "enveloping of the soul with the body," repeated at the birth of every man, might thus be described as a *περικεῖσθαι τὴν πορνείαν.*

The assumption of an original relationship of the soul to God, constitutes an essential difference, very important in its consequences, between the Paulician and the strictly Marcionite doctrine. Hence the Paulicians held to an enduring connection between these souls originally related to God, and the supreme God, from whom they sprung, — a connection not to be dissolved by the power of the Demiurge. They supposed an original revelation of God, implicitly contained in every soul banished into the creation of the Demiurge — a power of reäction against the Demiurge's influence. The God of the spiritual world enlightens every man that comes into this world; — so they explained the words in the introduction to John's gospel.[1] To this, doubtless, they referred all manifestations of the sense of truth in human nature. It depends on man's will, whether to yield himself up to the power of sin, and so continually to depress the germ of divine life in his soul, or to follow out that awakening revelation of God, and so unfold to ever increasing freedom and power the germ of divine life within him. But however low man may sink, still, by virtue of his nature thus related to God, he cannot be utterly dispossessed of that eternal revelation of God. The enemy — say the Paulicians — has not so completely enthralled even the souls of those, who have voluntarily abandoned themselves to his power, that their darkened minds are left without the power of ever turning to a ray from the light of truth; for the good God always was, is, and shall be; there can never be a time in which he may not reveal himself.[2]

We may easily gather, from what has been said, that the doctrine of redemption would hold an important place in the Paulician system.

[1] See Photius l. II. p. 169.

[2] Photius l. II. c. 3. *Οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' οὕτω κατεκράτησεν οὐδὲ τῶν ἐκόντων προδεδωκότων ἑαυτοὺς τῆς ψυχῆς ὁ ἐχθρὸς, ὡς μηδαμῇ πρὸς μηδεμίαν ὅλως τῆς ἀληθειας αἴγλην τοὺς ἐσκοτισμένους ἐπιστρέφεσθαι, ὅτι ὁ ἀγαθὸς θεὸς ἦν ἀεὶ καί ἐστι καὶ ἔσται.*

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Single rays of the revelation of the incomprehensible God,[1] falling upon the darkness of souls held bound in the kingdom of the Demiurge, would not suffice to raise their imprisoned souls to perfect communion with the Supreme Being, and to perfect freedom. The good God must reveal himself in some better way to mankind, in order to prepare them for communion with himself, and to release them from the dominion of the Demiurge. This was done by the Redeemer. Of the views entertained by the Paulicians respecting the person and nature of Christ, no exact accounts have, indeed, been preserved. But thus much is certain, They taught that he came down as a heavenly being, from the heaven of the good God, from that higher world, which is the source and fountain of all divine life, — the celestial city of God, — and that he ascended again, after having completed his work on earth, to his heavenly abode, for the purpose of placing the faithful in union with the same.[2] The doctrine of the Paulicians touching matter, and the material body, would not allow them to attribute to our Saviour a body of this earthly material, since this would be inconsistent with his perfect impeccability, and since the divine cannot enter into any sort of fellowship with the kingdom of darkness. Still they did not fall into absolute Docetism; but, like the Valentinians, they seem to have ascribed to our Saviour a body resembling the earthly only in appearance, a body of higher stuff, which he brought with him from heaven, and with which he passed through Mary as through a channel, without receiving any portion of it from her.[3] And here we must remember, that the native country of the Paulicians was Armenia. Now, in the Armenian church, Monophysitism was the predominant faith, but the system was understood and received in two different ways. It had its moderate and its extreme party.[4] The former made use of the following formulary: Christ subsists *of* two natures; and they taught that by virtue of the actual union of the two natures, it was necessary to suppose in him but *one* nature, as well as one person; — the one nature of the incarnate Logos; — and by so doing, they were enabled to distinguish without separating the divine and human predicates, intimately united in this one nature — and in this way to approximate somewhat more nearly to the Catholic system of faith. On the contrary, the followers of the other, ultra-Monophysite view, on account of their extreme statements, particularly their Aphtharto-Docetism, were charged by the other party with embracing Docetic errors.[5] They feared to concede a resemblance of essence between the body of Christ and other human bodies; — to ascribe to the Redeemer passiones secundum carnem sive per carnem.[6] They would not say:

[1] It is described as the *ἀόρατος* and *ἀκατάληπτος*. Phot. II. 147.

[2] Hence the expression: *ἡ παναγία θεοτόκος, ἐν ᾗ εἰςῆλθεν καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ὁ κύριος.*

[3] *Δι' αὐτῆς ὡς διὰ σωλῆνος διεληλυθέναι.* Phot. I. 7.

[4] See Vol. II. p. 553.

[5] See the tract of John Ozniensis against these ultra-Monophysites: Joannes Ozniensis contra phantasticos, p. 111.

[6] L. c. Ne forte duas naturas in uno Christo innuere videamur, sed ipsummet verbum divinum erat, quod utraque tum humana tum divina obibat.

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ex virgine incarnatus, but *in* virgine.[1] Now, in these ultra-Monophysite forms of phraseology, the doctrine of the Paulicians concerning the person of Christ, might easily find a point of attachment.

Nor had the Paulicians, in this view of the matter, any inducement or occasion to fall in with the worship of Mary; on the other hand, they must have felt themselves more imperiously called upon to combat it, in proportion as a superstition so hateful to them became attached to this theory. To turn away their opponents from this object of idolatrous veneration, they appealed to those passages of the gospel history, which seem to intimate, that Mary bore other sons after the birth of Jesus,[2] a kind of argument which, if they considered marriage intercourse and the begetting of children irreconcilable with perfect holiness, must have been considered decisive, at their own point of view. Peter the Sicilian says,[3] they were so spiteful against Mary, as not to allow her a place even among the good and virtuous. From this we may infer, that they resorted to various passages of the gospel history for the purpose of setting the religious character of Mary, for example, the weakness of her faith, in an unfavorable light.

Entertaining such notions as they did of the nature of Christ's body, the Paulicians could not, of course, suppose, that it was capable of being affected by any kind of suffering. Christ, by virtue of his divine dignity, was raised above suffering. In all probability they taught, that the Demiurge, finding that the life and labors of Christ threatened destruction to his kingdom, incited his servants to crucify him; but that his purpose was frustrated, because Christ, by virtue of the higher nature of his body, was secure against all outward injury. Perhaps, however, like the Manichæans, they at the same time ascribed a symbolical import to the crucifixion of Christ,—holding that Christ, with his divine life, descended into the kingdom of the Demiurge, and diffused himself through it. This would appear probable, from the fact, that the Paulicians were always ready to venerate the cross as a symbol of Christ, stretching forth his hands in the form of the cross.[4] But *the sufferings* of Christ could, according to their doctrine, have contributed nothing to the work of redemption; nor, is it, indeed, probable, that the idea of God's punitive justice, which required that Christ should suffer, had any place in their system. They were opposed to the worship of the cross, the worship of a mere bit of wood, an instrument of punishment for malefactors,[5]—the sign of a curse, Gal. 3: 13. Nothing of this sort could

[1] L. c.

[2] Phot. I. 22.

[3] Pag. 18. Μηδὲ κἂν ἐν φιλῇ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνθρώπων τάττειν ἀπεχθῶς ἀπαριθμήσει.

[4] Καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς εἰς σταυροῦ σχῆμα τὰς χεῖρας ἐξήπλωσε, and in the anathemas published by J. Tollius, the Paulicians are described as νοοῦντες ἀντὶ σταυροῦ τὸν χριστὸν, ὃς ἐκτείνας, φασὶ, τὰς χεῖρας τὸν σταυρικὸν τύπον διεχάραξε. Insignia itiner. Ital. pag. 144.

[5] The expression κακούργων ὄργανον, in Photius (I. c. 7. p. 23.), is obscure. Properly it should mean an instrument used by bad men. Thus, they who threaten others with such tortures, would be considered as the κακούργοι; but this does not

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have been said by the Paulicians, in case they received the doctrine of Christ's redemptive sufferings.

They were for restoring the life and manners of the church to apostolic simplicity. They maintained that by the multiplication of external rites and ceremonies in the dominant church, the true life of religion had declined. They combatted the inclination to rely on the magical effects of external forms, particularly the sacraments. Indeed, they went so far on this side as wholly to reject the outward celebration of the sacraments. They maintained that it was by no means Christ's intention to institute the baptism by water as a perpetual ordinance, but that by baptism he meant only the baptism of the Spirit, for by his teachings he communicated himself, as the living water, for the thorough cleansing of the entire human nature.[1] So too they held, that the eating of the flesh and drinking of the blood of Christ consisted simply in the coming into vital union with him through his doctrines, his word, which were his true flesh and blood. It was not sensible bread and sensible wine, but his words, which were to be the same for the soul that bread and wine are for the body, which he designated as his flesh and blood.[2] Yet, if we may credit the report of Photius,[3] the Paulicians, when attacked by any serious illness, were in the habit of placing upon themselves a cross of wood, which, when they recovered, they threw aside. Nor can there be any doubt that they allowed their children to be baptized by priests who lived among them as captives; though they affirmed that all this might profit the body but not the soul. If this be so, we must try to reconcile it with the doctrines of the Paulicians in some such way as follows.[4] They heard a great deal said of the wonderful efficacy of the cross, and of baptism in the healing of diseases. Many of the uneducated Paulicians may have witnessed with their own eyes appearances of this sort, which they attributed to causes that had no existence. Now as they ascribed to the Demiurge a power over the sensible world, so they might say here, as perhaps also in the case of the pretended miracles of the saints, that these outward works, performed by the servants of the Demiurge, possessed a virtue from him which extended to the relief of the body; though it could not reach the inner life, which lay beyond the Demiurge's province. But even if we admit that Photius does not report in this story a blind rumor, yet we must doubtless understand what he says as true only of individuals, and uneducated persons, who in the hour of distress were involuntarily governed once more by the ancient faith; at any rate, it is impossible to derive from his language any connected theory applying to the conduct of the Paulicians generally.

They undoubtedly considered the confounding together of Christian, Jewish and political elements as the cause of the corruptions of the

give so good a sense, as when we take it elliptically to mean an instrument for the punishment of evil doers.

[1] Phot. I. 9.

[2] Phot. I. 9. Petr. Sic. 18, *Ὅτι οὐκ ἦν ἄρτος καὶ οἶνος, ὃν ὁ κύριος ἐδίδου τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ δείπνου, ἀλλὰ συμβολικῶς τὰ ῥήματα αὐτοῦ αὐτοῖς ἐδίδου, ὡς ἄρτον καὶ οἶνον.*

[3] I. c. 9. p. 29.

[4] In like manner Gieseler.

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dominant church; they were desirous of bringing back the simplicity of the Apostolic church; hence they styled themselves the Catholic church, Christians, *χριστοπολῖται*,[1] as contradistinguished from the professors of the Roman state religion (*ῥωμαίους*). They strove to follow the pattern of apostolic simplicity in all their ordinances, and carefully avoided everything that approached to a resemblance of Jewish or pagan rites. Hence they never called their places of assembly temples (*νάοι* or *ἵερα*,) which suggested the image of Jewish or pagan temples — but gave them the more unpretending name of oratories (*προςευχαί*),[2] from which too we may gather, that with them prayer constituted the most essential part of divine worship. Among other corruptions of the Christian element, they certainly counted also the Christian priesthood, founded on the pattern of that of the Old Testament. They recognized it as belonging to the peculiar essence of Christianity, that it aimed to establish a higher fellowship of life among men of all ranks and classes, tolerating no such distinctions as the existing ones between clergy or priests and laity. They had among them, it is true, persons who administered ecclesiastical offices, but these like the rest were to be looked upon as members of the communities. They were distinguished from others neither by dress, nor by any other outward mark.[3] The names, also, of their church officers were so chosen, as to denote the peculiarity of their vocation, which was to administer the office of spiritual teaching, to the exclusion of all sacerdotal prerogatives. Hence they rejected the name *ἱερεῖς* and also *πρεσβύτεροι*, since even this latter was too Jewish for them, suggesting to their minds the presbyters of the Jewish sanhedrim assembled for the condemnation of Christ.[4] At the head of the sect stood the general teachers and reformers, awakened by the Spirit of God, such as Constantine and Sergius. These were distinguished by the title of apostles or prophets. Sergius counts four of them.[5] Next followed the class called *διδάσκαλοι* and *ποιμένες* (teachers and pastors); then the itinerant messengers of the faith, *συνέκδημοι*, — companions of those divinely illuminated heads over the entire sect, trained under their influence, and regarded as living organs for the communication of the spirit which proceeded from them: next, the *νωτάριοι*, copyists, probably so called,[6] because it was their business to multiply and disseminate the religious records, which embodied the doctrines of the sect; for they considered it as a matter of the greatest moment that all under the enlightening influences of the divine Spirit, should have it in their power to draw directly from the genuine records of the doctrines of Christ; and it is probable that on these

[1] The name *χριστοπολῖται* in the anathemas of the Euchites in Tollius, p. 122.

[2] Phot. I. 9.

[3] Phot. I. p. 31. *Οὔτε σχήματί, οὔτε διαίτῃ, οὔτε τινὶ ἄλλῳ τρόπῳ βίον σεμνότερον ἐπιτελοῦντι τὸ διάφορον αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος ἐπιδείκνυνται..*

[4] Phot. I. p. 31. *Διότι τὸ κατὰ Χριστοῦ συνέδριον οἱ ἱερεῖς καὶ πρεσβύτεροι τοῦ λαοῦ συνεστήσαντο.* Petrus Siculus names (p. 20) among the peculiarities of the Paulicians, *Τὸ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀποτρέπεσθαι, ὅτι οἱ πρεσβύτεροι κατὰ τοῦ κυρίου συνήχθησαν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐ χρὴ αὐτοὺς ὀνομάζεσθαι.*

[5] Photius, p. 116.

[6] Gieseler aptly compares them with the *γραμματεῖς* of the New Testament.

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notaries devolved more especially the duty of expounding the Scriptures. As no other individual, after the death of Sergius, attained to such eminence of authority, as to enjoy the confidence of all as a prophet called to guide the whole community, so it was his immediate disciples, the *συνέκδημοι* (associate itinerants), who, in the possession of an equal authority, now took the first place in the general superintendence of the sect. To these latter, the preservers and expounders of the written word were originally subordinate.[1] But at a later period, when the generation of those immediate disciples and bearers of the Spirit, were removed by death, the notaries, who had most carefully studied the written records of the religion, in search of a rule for the trying of spirits, and who were most practised in expounding their sense, acquired the highest authority. Subordinate to the learned in the Scriptures, were those who only spoke by immediate inspiration. The knowledge obtained by the study of the religious records stood in higher repute than immediate inspiration without such knowledge.[2] In addition to these officers, we find a class called *ἄστατοι*, the meaning of which term cannot be so exactly determined. The word reminds us of *ἀστατεῖν*, in 1 Cor. 4: 1, from which probable it was formed, to denote the life of missionaries, travelling from one place to another and exposed to manifold persecutions. Hence we may gather, that this title was employed to designate a higher class of the *συνέκδημοι*. This accords perfectly with the account given of them by Photius,[3] who says they were the *elect* portion of the disciples of Sergius.[4] One of them led the Cynochorites in the above mentioned conspiracy against the emperor's commissioners; but in so doing, he certainly departed from the principles of his master.

In respect to the morality of the Paulicians, we find that their opponents — among whom may be reckoned Johannes Ozniensis,[5] accuse them of allowing themselves in unnatural lusts and incestuous connections. It is obvious to remark however, that little reliance can be placed on such accusations coming from the mouths of excited adversaries. Such bad reports concerning the religious meetings of sects accounted heretical are to be met with, in every age of the church. Nor was there wanting in the present case, the no less common charge of infanticide, and of magical rites performed with the blood of children. We have already observed how a single phrase found in a letter of Sergius, was so misconceived or intentionally perverted, as to make it appear that he considered fornication (*πορνεία*) to be a trifling sin. In like manner, the contempt of the Paulicians for the laws of the Old Testament respecting hindrances to marriage grounded on certain degrees of relationship, may have been the sole reason of their being accused of denying that any degree of consanguinity

[1] Phot. I. c. 25, p. 134.

[2] In the anathemas in Tollius, p. 144, Ὧν (*συνεκδήμων*) *οἱ προβαθμιώτεροι Νωτάριοι κατονομαζόμενοι τὴν τῶν βδελυκτῶν Ὀργίων ἐνεχειρίζοντο ἐπιμέλειαν.*

[3] P. 128.

[4] *Τῶν τοῦ Σεργίου μαθητῶν οἱ λογάδες.*

[5] L. c. p. 85.

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constituted a valid obstacle to marriage. We must certainly admit, however, that the Paulicians were liable to be so far misled, by their contempt of the Demiurge's laws as to despise the delicate scruples of a pure moral sentiment on this subject.[1] Yet we should consider again, that the opponents themselves of the Paulicians distinguish Baanes, whose principles were here notoriously loose, and his followers, from the rest of the Paulicians; that Sergius took decided ground, as a reformer, against the pernicious influence of Baanes; that the opponents themselves of the Paulicians acknowledged the pure moral spirit of Sergius, though, after their usual manner, they represented the whole thing as hypocritical pretence. And though it may have been true with regard to a part of the *Armenian* Paulicians, as intimated by Johannes Ozniensis in the passage we have referred to, that among them the principles of Parsism coöperated with the influence of Baanes, yet this cannot be charged as a fault belonging to the whole sect. Certain it is, that the Paulician doctrines, as a whole, not only required, but were calculated to foster, a spirit of sober and strict morality; for the great practical principle which flowed directly from their theory was, freedom for the repressed consciousness of God, deliverance to the divine germ of life, held imprisoned by the power of sense, so that it might proceed to unfold itself without let or hindrance. If immoral tendencies were to be found, it cannot be doubted that they were offshoots, growing out of a departure from the original spirit and tendency of the sect. Indeed the more natural result from a principle like that above described would be a rigidly ascetic system of morality, such as we find in earlier and later sects of a kindred character. No trace, however is to be found, at least in the sources of information we possess, of the existence of such a system among the Paulicians; and perhaps they were led, by that spirit of practical Christianity which had been infused into their reformers by the study of the New Testament Scriptures, into a more free direction of life than was common among older sects of a kindred character. It is certain, that they protested against the multiplied statutes and ordinances of the dominant Greek church. While in the latter, the apostolic decrees concerning the eating of things strangled, etc. were held to be still obligatory, the Paulicians, on the contrary, refused to be bound by any such scruples which they probably ascribed to Jewish prejudice. Hence they were accused of defiling themselves by the eating of things forbidden. They treated the church fasts with contempt, nor did they hesitate to use cheese and milk as food in such seasons of fasting as were observed by their sect.[2]

It was particularly objected to the Paulicians that they carried to the utmost extreme the principle of justifying falsehood when employed for righteous ends. Photius affirms that they denied their faith with-

[1] As Gieseler remarks.

[2] Among the anathemas directed against the Paulicians, is the following (Tollius pag. 146): *ἀνάθεμα τοῖς τῇ βρώσει τῶν θηρίων τῶν θνησιμαίων μολυνομένοις καὶ τοῖς πᾶσαν μὲν ἐκτρεπομένοις χριστιανικὴν νηστείαν, κατὰ δὲ τὸν καιρόν τῆς δοκούσης αὐτοῖς τεσσαρακοστῆς τυροῦ τε καὶ γάλακτος ἐμφορουμένοις.*

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out the slightest scruple, and approved of such denial though a thousand times repeated.[1] The ready equivocations resorted to by Gegnæsius, for the purpose of evading the confession of his faith at Constantinople,[2] may serve as an illustration of the laxity of their principles with regard to the duty of veracity. Indeed we find nothing more common, among theosophical sects, than the practice of justifying falsehood, when resorted to for the promotion of pious ends. But among such sects, this principle is ever found connected with the assumption, that only a certain class of superior natures are capable of attaining to the knowledge of pure truth. While Christianity, by founding a higher fellowship of life on the basis of a common religious consciousness, as opposed to the distinction of the exoteric and esoteric in religion which prevailed before its appearance, had established a new principle of truthfulness, and deprived partial falsehood of the prop on which it had hitherto leaned for support, free room was still found for the old indulgence of prevarication, wherever that fundamental principle of Christian fellowship was lost sight of, and the separating walls in religion, thrown down by Christianity, had been reërected. It cannot be said, however, of the Paulicians, that *they* denied Christianity its rights in this particular. In all men alike, they recognized the repressed consciousness of God, the imprisoned germ of a divine life, the point of access for the message of the same divine truth which was meant for the acceptance of all. This they showed by their active zeal in propagating the doctrines of their sect. If then, they gave great latitude to the principle that deception might be resorted to for the purpose of promoting God's glory and advancing the truth, still they most assuredly acknowledged the general duty of testifying the truth, since on no other ground than as it served to advance the truth, could they defend their lax principle of accommodation.

We have noticed already the high value set by Paulicians on the written records of the truth. Among these, however, they did not reckon the Old Testament; for they derived Judaism from the Demiurge. To the religious teachers of the Old Testament, they, like the older Gnostics, applied the words of our Saviour in John 10: 8.[3] They looked upon them, as teachers, who were sent not to guide souls partaking of a Godlike essence to the consciousness and free development of their higher nature, to the knowledge of the supreme God; but rather to lead them away from him to the worship of the Demiurge. That they denied, however, the existence of any connection whatsoever between the Old and the New Testament, seems hardly reconcilable with the manner in which, according to Photius, they explained the words in John 1:11. According to him, by the ἰδίοις (his own) they understood the λόγους προφητικούς (prophetic oracles). If these words were really so interpreted by them, we can only reconcile the two assertions, by supposing, that they looked upon the

[1] I. 8. p. 25.
[2] See above p. 249.
[3] See Phot. I. p. 24. Petr. Sic. p. 18.

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prophets as men, who, in their own intention, were solely bent on advancing the kingdom of the Demiurge, but who, unconsciously, and in spite of themselves, were made subservient to the purposes of the supreme God, and instruments to prepare the way for *him*, who was to deliver mankind from the Demiurge's kingdom. But as Photius does not quote the words of the Paulicians (perhaps of Sergius), in the precise form in which they were expressed, and as it is possible he may have misunderstood them, we might be led to suspect that the latter was really the case here. There is, however, another way of understanding these words of Sergius, which, to say the least, is far more congruous with the Paulician system, — and which accords also with their mode of interpreting John 1: 9. Regarding, as they did, the earthly world as a work of the Demiurge, altogether foreign from the province of the supreme God, — but recognizing the souls of men as allied to God, destined for, and capable of, receiving the revelation of the divine Logos, they would be led, in the most natural manner, to understand by *ἰδίοις* men, as such, — creatures bearing within them a slumbering consciousness of God.

Certain it is, according to what we have already remarked on a former page, that they gave especial weight to the authority of the apostle Paul; and his epistles must have been considered by them as the main sources of the knowledge of Christian doctrines. From a marginal gloss in Peter the Sicilian (p. 18), we find, at least in reference to the later Paulicians, that they, like Marcion, possessed also an epistle of Paul to the Laodiceans, whether this was the same as the epistle of Paul to the Ephesians, under another name, or an apocryphal epistle. They also regarded, with peculiar reverence, the very words of Christ recorded by the Evangelists. Hence, they did not scruple to imitate the Catholic Christians, in testifying their respect for the book of the gospels, by the ceremony of prostration *προςκύνησις* — they fell down before it, and kissed it; but to show that this act of veneration had no reference to the sign of the cross, usually marked on the books of the gospels, but that it was paid only to the book itself, they said, In so far as it contains the words of our Lord.[1] According to Photius, and to Peter the Sicilian,[2] it would seem that they received all the four gospels alike, as sources of the knowledge of the words of Christ; but a marginal remark to Peter the Sicilian affirms of the later Paulicians,[3] that they used only two gospels. This latter account is to be preferred, as more accurately defining the fact: nor is it difficult to explain how the other less exact account may have arisen. The Paulicians, when the words of Christ were quoted to them from any one of the gospels, were accustomed to acknowledge the authority of these declarations; indeed they were found to cite such declarations themselves, in their disputes with others. Hence it was inferred, that they attributed equal authority to all the four gospels. But it was quite consistent with this

[1] *Φασὶ δὲ τὸ βιβλίον προςκυνεῖν ὡς τοὺς δεσποτικοὺς περιέχον λόγους.* Phot. I. p. 33.

[2] See the same, p. 18.

[3] *Οἱ γὰρ νῦν μόνοις τοῖς δύο χρῶνται εὐαγγελίοις.*

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practice, that they should recognize only two of the gospels as absolutely trustworthy and uncorrupted fountains of religious knowledge, although they borrowed, or received as valid, from the other gospels,[1] whatever seemed to them to bear the impress of primitive Christianity. Those two gospels were first, that of Luke, — as in the case of Marcion, and for the same reason, on account of the reference to Paul,[2] — and secondly, the gospel of John, as is evident from the words of Christ, which they cite. This latter gospel would possess peculiar attractions for them, on account of its own distinctive character. What we have said with regard to their use of the other two gospels, must be applied, also, if we follow out the hint given by the marginal note above quoted, to their mode of using the other writings of the New Testament, excepting the epistles of St. Paul. But they wholly rejected the epistles of St. Peter, since they did not acknowledge him to be a genuine apostle, but counted him as one of the thieves and robbers, who corrupted the divine doctrines. Photius alleges[3] as the reason, Peter's denial of his master. We certainly believe that Photius did not draw here simply upon his own imagination, but that the Paulicians did really appeal, in their disputes, to Peter's denial of Christ, as one evidence of his unapostolical character, and of his untrustworthiness; for, as we have before remarked, even the Paulicians acknowledged that there was one way of denying the faith which involved a heavy crime, viz. when it was done from cowardice, which they certainly distinguished from a justifiable accommodation (*οἰκονομία*).[4] But this, surely, was not the special reason, on account of which they refused to recognize Peter as a genuine apostle. They were, doubtless, led to do this, for the same reasons which induced Marcion also to reject the apostolic authority of St. Peter. They regarded him as a *Judaizing* apostle, as an opponent of St. Paul, as one who was seeking to confound Christianity again with Judaism, which appeared evident from the incident mentioned in Galat. ii. But to represent Peter, who was so odious to them, as a man liable to be suspected from the first, they appealed, in their disputes, to his momentary denial of our Lord. "How can we — said they — have any confidence in a man, whom we find so cowardly and fickle-minded as Peter afterwards showed himself to be, when he preached Judaism instead of Christianity?"[5]

This sect, however, was but one form of the manifestation of a more deeply-seated antagonism;[6] that is to say, we perceive in it the

[1] But they could take greater liberties in getting round these latter. Hence the charge brought against Sergius, that he had falsified especially the Gospel of Matthew. See the Anathema II. against Tychicus, in Tollius, p. 114.

[2] In the marginal remark above referred to, *καὶ μᾶλλον (χρῶνται) τῷ κατὰ Λουκᾶν.*

[3] L. 24.

[4] Here we differ from Gieseler, who supposes that Photius incorrectly referred to the denial of Christ's person, what the Paulicians affirmed respecting the denial of the gospel truth by Peter, at Antioch.

[5] The further history of the Paulicians we reserve, till the next following period.

[6] Although the Paulicians, among the oriental sects opposed to the hierarchy, were the ones who made the greatest sensation, yet we are not to suppose, they were the only sect of this kind in this pe-

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reäction and counteraction — though modified, in this case, by the fusion with Gnosticism, and veiled under the Gnostic forms — the reäction and counteraction of the Christian consciousness, in its efforts to acquire freedom, against that confusion of Jewish and Christian elements which appeared in the later church; and we have here revealed to us the incipient stages of a remarkable reäction, which, as it begun to spread more widely in the succeeding centuries, unfolded itself in a continually widening circle, and in an ever-increasing multiplicity of details, in opposition to the perfected system of the ecclesiastical hierarchy.

riod. There were, doubtless, other sects also, deriving their origin from the Manichæans and Gnostics, whose offshoots will become better known to us in the following periods, — sects which have not been sufficiently distinguished from the Paulicians in this period. Thus, among the Byzantine historians, we find associated with the Paulicians a certain sect of Ἀθίγγανοι, — probably a sect who were accused of following certain Gnostic or Manichæan principles, because they held that the touch of many things was defiling: μὴ θίγῃς Colos. 2: 21.

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CHURCH HISTORY.

FOURTH PERIOD. FROM THE DEATH OF THE EMPEROR CHARLEMAGNE TO POPE GREGORY SEVENTH. FROM A. D. 814, TO A. D.

SECTION FIRST.

EXTENSION AND LIMITATION OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

As we have already remarked, in the history of the preceding period, it was the intention of the emperor Charles, that the circle of churches and of missionary establishments, about to be founded in Northern Germany, should extend beyond these limits into the countries occupied by Scandinavian and Slavonian tribes; and, in order to this, he had resolved to fix a metropolis for these northern missions in North Albingia. For this reason, he had refused to incorporate a church planted on the borders of the empire, near Hamburgh, and placed under the care of Heridac, a priest, with any of the neighboring bishoprics, meaning to reserve in his own hands the power of establishing there, for the purposes above-mentioned, an independent bishopric.[1] But the war in which he was then engaged with the Danes, and afterwards his death, prevented the accomplishment of these plans by himself; and they were first carried fully into effect, under peculiarly favorable circumstances, by his son and successor, Lewis the Pious. In Denmark certain feuds had arisen, touching the right of succession to the crown; and, on this occasion, his interference was solicited by one of the princes, Harald Krag, who ruled in Jutland. In answer to this application, he sent, in 822, an ambassador to Denmark; and, with the negotiations which ensued, was introduced a proposition for the establishment, or at least to prepare the way for the establishment, of a mission among the Danes. The primate of France, Ebbo, archbishop of Rheims, a man educated at the imperial court, and for a time the emperor's favorite minister, was selected by him for the management of this business. Ebbo who at

[1] Rimbert's Life of Anschar, c. 12. Pertz Monumenta Germaniae historica, T. II. p. 698.

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the court of his sovereign had often seen ambassadors from the pagan Danes, had for a long time before, felt desirous of consecrating himself to the work of converting that people.[1] Practised in the affairs of the world, and ardently devoted to the spread of Christianity, as well as confident of its triumphant progress, he was peculiarly qualified to unite the office of ambassador with that of a teacher among the heathen. Hatligar, bishop of Cambray, author of the Liber pœnitentialis,[2] was for a while associated with him; and the emperor made him the grant of a place called Welanao or Welna, probably the present Munsterdorf, near Itzehoe,[3] as a secure retreat, as well as a means of support during his labors in the north. He succeeded in gaining over king Harald himself, and those immediately about his person, to Christianity; though political reasons may no doubt have contributed somewhat to this success. In the year 826, the king, with his wife and a numerous train of followers, made a visit to the emperor at Ingelheim, where the rite of baptism was with great solemnity administered to him and to several others. The emperor himself stood godfather to the king, and the empress Judith, god-mother to the queen. All who submitted to baptism were magnificently entertained and loaded with presents. This would naturally serve as an allurement to many who were not to be influenced by purely religious motives. As king Harald was now about to return to his country, though far from being as yet firmly established in the Christian faith; as he was likely to be assailed in the midst of heathenism by so many temptations; and as moreover the time of archbishop Ebbo was too much occupied with the spiritual and secular concerns of his station, to enable him to bestow the requisite attention on the affairs of the mission, it was thought necessary to look out among the monks for some person suitably qualified to accompany the king in the capacity of a priest and teacher.

This duty was allotted to a young man already far advanced in the Christian life, who by faithfulness in the least, had proved himself worthy of being placed over affairs of greater moment — the monk Anschar or Ansgar, born not far from Corbie in France, in the diocese of Amiens, A. D. 801. In accordance with his natural disposition, which inclined him from childhood to retire apart for serious meditation and prayer, he was early given by his parents to the monastery of Corbie, which had attained a high reputation under the government of the abbot Adalhard, and where Paschasius Radbert, one of the learned men of his age, directed the studies of a flourishing school. Anschar, his most industrious pupil, afterwards became the assistant of his labors; where he remained until called to a more independent sphere of action. The occasion was as follows. Among the Saxons, now finally subdued after so many obstinate battles, the emperor Charles had already determined to found, along with other eccles-

[1] See Rimbert's Life of Anschar, c. 13. Afflatus Spiritu pro vocatione gentium et maxime Danorum, quos in palatio saepius viderat.

[2] See Vol. III. p. 275.

[3] See Langebeth's note on the Life of Anschar, in Scriptoribus rerum Danicarum Hafniae, 1772. T. I. p. 453.

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iastical establishments, monasteries, for the tillage of the land, and for the Christian education of the people, purposes for which these establishments had been found so well adapted in other parts of Germany. But the execution of this design met with too many obstacles in a country as yet hardly rescued from paganism. He confined his endeavors, therefore, in the first place, simply to preparing the way for the accomplishment of this object, by distributing the Saxons, whom in time of war he had taken as captives or as hostages, among the Frankish monasteries; so that, after having been trained there as monks, they might return and labor for the transplantation of monachism into their own country. The high reputation of the monastery at Corbie induced him to place an unusual number of the young Saxons under the care of that institution. The abbot Adalhard, who well understood the designs of his kinsman the emperor, was informed by one of these young Saxons, named Theodrad, of a tract of ground on his father's estate, abounding in springs of water, and well-adapted for the foundation of a monastery. This Saxon youth he sent home to his country, for the purpose of procuring from his friends a gift of the spot described, in order that a monastery might be founded there, —in which business he would be very likely to succeed. But Adalhard was soon afterwards prevented, by the pressure of political business[1] committed to his care, then by the disgrace into which he fell with the emperor Lewis the Pious, involving the loss of his abbacy, from prosecuting this plan. But another Adalhard, who succeeded him as abbot of Corbie, followed up the enterprise, and at the diet at Paderborn, in the year 815, obtained permission from the emperor to found a monastery in the spot above designated. Monks were sent there from the monastery of Corbie, and by them monasticism was first introduced into that region. The monastery soon acquired great fame among the people; many young men of noble parentage applied for admission into it, and many boys were placed there to be educated. But the country in which it was placed was too unfruitful to secure for it a sufficient support; the monks were obliged to struggle with the severest want, and indeed would have been wholly unable to sustain themselves, had they not been provided with food and clothing by the parent monastery of Corbie. After having thus maintained their post with difficulty for more than six years, they were delivered from a situation of the most extreme distress by the abbot Adalhard, who, recalled from his exile, and restored to his former situation, had acquired still greater influence then ever. He not only procured for them momentary relief, by sending them wagons loaded with provisions, but also secured to them a more lasting benefit by persuading the emperor to bestow on him as a gift for this purpose a more productive region of country in his own domains, not far from Hoxter, on the Weser; and to this place the monastery was removed in 822, where from its parent seat it received the name of Corvey.[2] Anschar was one of the monks

[1] The administration of the empire of Italy during the minority of the prince Pipin.

[2] See the account by an ancient author in Mabillon acta sanctorum. O. B. T. IV. P. I. and Pertz monumenta, II. p. 576.

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transferred from Corbie to this spot. He had the direction of the conventual school, and at the same time preached to the people, which doubtless served to prepare him for his later labors among the heathen.[1]

From early childhood Anschar was conscious of an attraction towards the godlike, which kept him from wasting his powers on frivolous pursuits. Voices of admonition and warning had come or seemed to come to him in visions and dreams. The glory of God, the blessedness of the life eternal had been presented to him in bright and inspiring images. Once, for example, he thought himself lifted up to the Source of light, whence all holy beings drew their supplies; and he gave the following account of what he witnessed: "All the ranks of the heavenly host, standing around in exultation, drew joy from this fountain. The light was immeasurable, so that I could trace neither beginning nor end to it. And although I could see, far and near, yet I could not discern what was embraced within that immeasurable light. I saw nothing but its outward shining, yet I believed that He was there, of whom St. Peter says that even the angels desire to behold Him. He himself was in a certain sense in all, and all around him were in Him. He encompassed them from without, and supplying their every want, inspired and guided them from within. In every direction alike he was all. There was neither sun nor moon to give light there, nor any appearance of heaven or earth. But the brightness of the transparent ether was such, that instead of being the least oppressive, it refreshed the eye, satisfying the souls of all with inexpressible bliss. And from the midst of that immeasurable light, a heavenly voice addressed me, saying, 'Go, and return to me again crowned with martyrdom.'" In the vision which beamed forth from the depths of his own consciousness in this symbolical representation, we see disclosed the inmost longings of his soul. We may presume that the accounts he had heard of the labors of missionaries among the German tribes, had awakened in him an irrepressible desire of preaching the gospel among the heathen, with a willingness even to sacrifice his life in his Master's cause. Two years afterwards he had another vision, while deeply engaged in prayer. He thought that Christ appeared to him, calling upon him to confess his sins, that he might receive absolution. He said, "Thou knowest all things; not a thought is hidden from thee." But the Lord replied, "It is true that I know all things; yet it is my will that men should confess to me their sins, that they may be forgiven." So after he had confessed his sins, Christ pronounced them forgiven — a word that filled him with inexpressible joy. At another time, when assured after the same manner that his sins were forgiven, he inquired, "Lord, what wouldst thou have me to do?" when he was told, "Go, preach the word of God to the tribes of the heathen."[2]

Thus by the history of his own Christian experience, and by the leadings of the divine Spirit which guided it, Anschar was already

[1] See Rimbert's account of his life, § 6. [2] Vita Anschar, § 9.

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fitted and waiting for this great calling, when summoned to undertake it. The abbot Wala of Corvey, on being consulted by the emperor Lewis, knew of no other person whom he could confidently recommend as qualified for the Danish mission. And when the emperor asked Anschar himself whether he was willing for God's glory to accompany king Harald to Denmark, he replied at once that he was both willing and anxious to go. His abbot Wala then declared, that he would by no means compel him by his monastic vow of obedience to undertake so formidable a work; but if he chose this vocation of his own free will, the abbot said he rejoiced at it, and cheerfully gave him permission to engage in it. Though many tried to intimidate and dishearten him, by dwelling on the hardships and dangers he must necessarily encounter, he adhered steadfastly to his purpose, and retiring to a neighboring vineyard, prepared himself in solitude, by prayer and study of the Scriptures, for the great undertaking. Only one monk, Autbert, a man of noble descent, volunteered to accompany him; but they found it would be necessary to wait upon themselves, for not a single domestic of the monastery was disposed voluntarily to offer his services, and the abbot refused in this case to interpose his authority.

The emperor called the two missionaries before him. He gave them church vessels, tents, and whatever else they needed for their journey, and dismissed them with exhortations to zeal and perseverance in their calling. At first they met with no very favorable reception from king Harald and his attendants; the latter being still too deeply sunk in pagan barbarism, to pay any due respect to the office of a missionary. But on their arrival at Cologne, whence they were to pass by the Rhine to Holland, and then to Denmark by the way of Dorstatum (Wyk te Duerstade), at that time a famous commercial town, the central depôt of the trade with the north, and of the commercial intercourse between pagan and Christian tribes, Bishop Hadelbod presented them with a convenient vessel for their voyage, which induced king Harald to join company with them, thus affording them an opportunity of winning his confidence and regard, a task in which the engaging manners of Anschar eminently qualified him to succeed.

The first two years, from the end of 826, Anschar spent in Denmark, where he is said to have converted many. The accounts, however, are too vague and indefinite to be entitled to much confidence. His most important proceedings which marked the wisdom of his course, was to purchase boys belonging to the nation, whom, with others presented to him by the king, he took under his own care, to educate and train as teachers for their countrymen. The work commenced from small beginnings. A school for twelve boys was the first Christian institution planted by Anschar, which, for the sake of security, he established on the boundaries at Hadeby or Schleswig. The unsettled condition of the country prevented him from doing more. By embracing Christianity, and forming connections with the Franks, Harald had rendered himself unpopular with his nation. In the year 828, he was expelled by his enemies, and driven to seek refuge in a Frankish feof which he had received as a present from the

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emperor. Nor was there any longer safety for Anschar in Denmark. Besides, he had lost his sole companion Autbert, whom sickness had compelled to return to Corvey, where he soon afterwards died. While the circle of Anschar's labors was becoming thus circumscribed, a new and larger field was opened to him, which he joyfully accepted. By intercourse with Christian nations, some seeds of Christianity had already been scattered in Sweden. Commerce especially had contributed to this event. Christian merchants had conveyed the knowledge of Christianity to Sweden, and merchants from Sweden becoming acquainted with Christianity at Dorstede, had many of them no doubt there embraced the faith. Others induced by what they had heard about Christianity, betook themselves to Dorstede, for the purpose of obtaining a better knowledge of the religion, or of receiving baptism.[1] In the expeditions, moreover, which they made to distant Christian lands, they had brought away with them numbers of Christian captives; by which means the knowledge of Christianity had already found its way to Sweden, and attracted more or less the attention of the people. Hence it came about, that certain envoys from Sweden, sent to the emperor Lewis on other business, informed him, that there were many among their people desirous of obtaining a better knowledge of Christianity, and of becoming incorporated with the Christian church; and the emperor was invited to send them priests. Accordingly the emperor applied to Anschar, proposing that he should undertake the mission to Sweden, with a view to ascertain, whether any opening presented itself for the preaching of the gospel in that country. Anschar declared at once, that he was ready to engage in any enterprise which might serve to glorify the name of Christ.

The Danish mission having been confided to the care of the monk Gislema, Anschar, accompanied by monk Witmar of Corvey, embarked on board a trading vessel for Sweden, in the year 829, taking with him various presents from the emperor to the king of Sweden, the object of which was to procure a readier acceptance for the proposals of the missionary. Attacked, however, on the voyage by pirates, they were glad to escape with their lives, after having lost nearly everything they carried with them. Many of the crew were now for abandoning the voyage; but Anschar would not allow himself to be discouraged. He declared it to be his settled resolution not to return till he had ascertained whether God was preparing the way for the preaching of the gospel in Sweden. They landed at Birka (Biorka,) on the Lake of Mälarn, a port near the ancient capital Sigtuna. Anschar obtained permission of the monarch to preach the gospel, and to baptize all such as were willing to embrace Christianity. They found also many Christian captives, who rejoiced in being allowed once more to partake of the communion. Among the first who came over to Christianity was Herigar (Hergeir,) a man of rank and

[1] See the passage from Anschar's life § 27, cited in full on a future page.

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the governor of a department. He became a zealous promoter of Christianity, and erected a church on his own freehold estate.

Having thus, after residing in the country a year and a half, prepared the way for the spread of the gospel, and accurately informed himself with regard to its future prospects, he returned, in 831, to the Frankish kingdom. The favorable prospects for the extension of Christianity in the North, disclosed by Anschar's report, induced the emperor Lewis to carry out the plan already projected by his father Charlemagne. He founded at Hamburg a metropolis, which was to serve as a centre of operation for the missions of the North, and got Anschar consecrated archbishop of North Albingia. The diocese being a poor one, and constantly exposed to the inroads of the pagan tribes of the North, he bestowed on him the monastery Turholt (Thoroult) in Flanders, between Bruges and Ypres, both as a place of refuge and as a source of revenue to defray the expenses of his station. To place this arrangement on a more stable foundation, he immediately despatched Anschar to Rome on a visit to pope Gregory IV. The latter confirmed all that had been done; bestowed on Anschar the Pall, or distinguishing badge of the archiepiscopal dignity, and conferred on him, in connection with archbishop Ebbo, the charge of preaching the gospel to the nations of the North. But as Anschar was unable, alone, to supply the wants of both the missions, that in Denmark and that in Sweden, and as Ebbo, though he never ceased to take a lively interest in the spread of Christianity in those regions, was still prevented by the multiplicity of his other engagements from lending an active, personal coöperation in the work, the latter appointed and consecrated to the episcopal office, as his representative, his nephew Gauzbert; and to him was especially entrusted the mission in Sweden. At his ordination he received the name of Simon. The monastery founded by the archbishop at Welna was bestowed on Gauzbert, for the same purpose as Thoroult had been granted to Anschar.

As to Denmark, the mission after the expulsion of king Harald, had been shut out, it is true from all immediate access to this country, where king Horick, a violent enemy of Christianity, reigned supreme. Anschar, however, was unwearied in making efforts on a small scale, hoping by these lighter beginnings to prepare the way for more important operations in the future. He purchased captives of the Danish, Norman and Slavonian races, particularly boys; and such as he found suitable for his purpose, he either retained near his own person, to be trained as monks and clergymen, the future teachers of their countrymen, or sent them to be educated in the monastery of Thoroult. In Sweden, on the other hand, the state of things was more favorable, so far as this, that Christianity here had at the outset gained followers among the people themselves, who declared in its favor, not from outward motives of interest or advantage, but from the impulse of their inward feelings. Gauzbert met in Sweden with a favorable reception, and continued to labor there for many years with good success. But in the year 845 he was attacked in his own

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house, robbed of all he had, and driven away by an insurrectionary mob of the maddened heathen populace. About the same time that the Swedish mission was thus interrupted, Anschar's work in the North was also threatened with destruction. In 845, the city of Hamburg was attacked and pillaged by the Normans, who laid waste the whole country with fire and sword, making the churches and the clergy the special objects of their fury, and Anschar lost his all. It was with extreme difficulty that he managed to save himself and his relics. A magnificent church, which he had procured to be erected, with the monastery attached to it, as well as the library presented to him by the emperor, fell a prey to the flames. When Anschar beheld the fruits of his frugality and toil for so many years annihilated as in a moment, he repeated once and again the words of Job, "The Lord gave, the Lord has taken away, — he has done what seemed him good, — blessed be the name of the Lord." Followed by his companions and scholars he was compelled to wander about in uncertainty, till at length he found refuge on the estates of a noble lady, by the name of Icia or Ida, at Rameshoe in the department of Holstein. From this spot, he now travelled over his pillaged and wasted diocese, laboring to promote the religious instruction, to confirm the faith, and to console the minds, of its unfortunate inhabitants. Meantime, he had lost also his powerful protector, the emperor Lewis, who died in 840. In consequence of the division of the territory after his death, he was deprived of the monastery Thoroult, which had hitherto supported him in his poverty. Many of his companions forsook him for want of the means of sustenance; many returned back to the monastery of Corbie. But Anschar made the best of his situation, and endeavored faithfully to fulfil the duties of his calling in the midst of so many embarrassing circumstances.[1]

Thus he labored many years, travelling from his place of refuge through every part of his wasted diocese. In the meanwhile, he beheld the mission destroyed which had been commenced in Sweden, without any apparent prospects of its restoration. The archbishop Ebbo of Rheims, from whom that mission originally proceeded, having become entangled in the political quarrels of the Frankish empire, was for a time, it is true, wholly withdrawn from missionary affairs. But when, after many calamities, in which he had involved himself by participating in the insurrection against the emperor Lewis the Pious, he became bishop of Hildesheim, his zeal in behalf of the holy enterprise was rekindled, and he exhorted Anschar not to be disheartened by these accumulating embarrassments. In their last interview on this subject, said he to the latter: "Be assured, that what we have labored to accomplish for the glory of Christ, will bring forth fruit in the Lord; for it is my firm and settled belief, yea I know assuredly, that although what we have undertaken to do among those nations, meets for a time with obstacles and hindrances

[1] This scholar Rimbert says: Ipse cum paucis, qui cum eo substiterant, prout poterat, se agebat et licet in paupertate degens, injunctum sibi officium nequaquam deserere voluit. Vit. § 21.

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on account of our sins, yet it will not be lost, but thrive more and more, till the name of the Lord extends to the extreme boundaries of the earth!"

Meanwhile, the way was preparing for an improvement of his affairs. At the very time Anschar met with the calamity above described, Leuderich, bishop of Bremen, died, and the vacancy of this bishopric set king Lewis of Germany to devising measures for extricating an archbishop, who labored so zealously for the good of the church of the North, from all his difficulties. He probably left this bishopric for a time without an incumbent, with the intention of uniting it to the archbishopric of Hamburg, and thus relieving the poverty of this latter, which was constantly exposed to be devastated by barbarians — an arrangement, however, which could be carried into complete effect only by the removal of various difficulties and objections, on the part of the spiritual and secular orders, arising from the necessity of introducing various changes in the relations of the existing dioceses to each other, — the bishopric of Bremen having, in fact, been subordinate to another archbishopric, then belonging to the kingdom of Lotharingia, the archbishopric of Cologne. For this reason, and because he was unwilling to create any strife in the church, and wished to avoid all appearance of self-interest, Anschar declined, for a long time, to accept of the assistance which was thus proffered to him.[1] By various negotiations, extending from the year 847 to the year 849, all the difficulties which impeded this new arrangement were finally removed; moreover, the change was sanctioned by the papal confirmation. Thus Anschar came into possession of a larger and securer income, without which he would have found it impossible to maintain the missionary establishments in the North, with any prospects of success. From henceforth the town of Bremen, on account of its safer position, became the ordinary seat of the archbishop.

Under these more favorable circumstances, Anschar turned his attention once more to the missions in Denmark and Sweden. By presents, he succeeded in softening the temper of Horick (Erich) king of Jutland, hitherto a violent enemy of Christianity. He undertook the management of certain political negotiations with that monarch, in conducting which he won his confidence to such a degree, that the king admitted him to his private councils, and refused to treat with any other agent in his affairs with the German empire. He availed himself of this personal attachment of the king, to obtain his consent for the admission of Christianity into his kingdom. We have no evidence, it is true, that the king himself embraced the Christian faith; but he held it in great respect; and Anschar was permitted to lay the foundation of a Christian church, and to establish the Christian worship of God wherever he chose, as well as to instruct and

[1] Vita Anschar. c. 22. Pertz monumenta. T. II. p. 706. Dominus et pastor noster hoc sibi periculosum esse aliquo modo formidans et ne a quibuslibet naevo cupiditatis reprehenderetur, caute praevidens, non facile huic dispositioni assentiebat.

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baptize all who desired it. He selected, as the most eligible spot for founding a church, the town of Schleswig, situated on the borders of the two kingdoms, a place which had much intercourse by trade with the Christian towns, Dorstede and Hamburg.[1] Over the church here established he appointed a priest; many concealed Christians, who had been baptized at Hamburg or Dorstede, now ventured to make public profession of their religion, and rejoiced in the opportunity of once more uniting in the Christian worship of God. As from this time the Christian merchants of Dorstede came to the place with greater confidence, and the intercourse between the two marts grew more lively, the event operated favorably for the prosperity of the town, and Christianity recommended itself by its beneficial influence on the condition of the burgesses. Many received baptism, but many also joined in the public worship only as catechumens, for the same reason that had induced multitudes already in more ancient times to put off their baptism,[2] under the impression that, by delaying that rite until the last moment, they should, by then receiving it, pass without blemish to immortal life. Many who, under the visitations of sickness, had sought help in vain from the gods, on whom they had lavished their offerings, submitted to baptism, and their recovery was regarded as an effect of the holy rite.[3]

As to the Swedish mission, its failure happened precisely at the same point of time, which had proved so unfortunate to Anschar; and during the seven ensuing years, after the expulsion of Gauzbert from Sweden, he was unable to do anything towards the reëstablishment of the mission. At length, in the year 851, he succeeded in again finding a suitable person to engage in this enterprise. He prevailed on Ardgar, a priest and eremite, to exchange a life of peaceful seclusion, consecrated solely to his own improvement, for more active labors in promoting the kingdom of God. He calculated in this case especially, on the well-known zeal of his ancient friend Herigar, to whom, above all others, it was his earnest advice that Ardgar should attach himself. Nor was he deceived in his expectations. Through every change of circumstances, Herigar had not only continued steadfast in the faith himself, having never been moved by any pressure of distress to seek help from the gods, but had boldly proclaimed his faith among the heathens, and many circumstances, in themselves unimportant, had contributed to give his testimonies and exhortations additional weight with the people. For it happened here, as it often has in the history of missions, the slightest circumstances became influential, from the connection in which they were placed by an overruling Providence.

One of the persons who had taken an active part in the tumultuary proceedings by which Gauzbert was forced to leave Sweden, was the son of a chieftain, and he had conveyed a large portion of the booty which fell to his share to his father's house. It so happened,

[1] Sliaswig, the place on the Slia, Heithaby.

[2] See Vol. I. p. 314.

[3] See Vita c. 24.

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that this family were afterwards visited with sore calamities; they lost the greater part of their property, and the son, with many other members of the family, died. The father, judging after the usual manner of a heathen, concluded that he had incurred the displeasure of some deity, and thus brought upon himself these misfortunes. Following the common practice in such cases, he went to a priest, for the purpose of consulting him respecting the God whom he had provoked to bring these evils upon him, and whose favor he must seek to propitiate, in order to be delivered from them. The priest assured him, that inasmuch as he had been so faithful a worshipper of all the gods, there was no other whom he could have injured but the God of the Christians; and he therefore advised him, to remove as quickly as possible from his house every article which had been consecrated to that deity. A religious volume, belonging to the spoils obtained by his son in the attack on Gauzbert, was immediately removed from the house, and bound to a stake. The man vowed satisfaction to the God whom he had injured. The volume was afterwards taken away by a Christian, and preserved till the arrival of Ardgar. It was this Christian who related the whole transaction to Rimbert, Anschar's disciple and biographer.[1] Again; it was a prevailing custom among the Swedes, when exposed to the calamities of war, or to other dangers, to seek the special assistance of some one of their gods, vowing to him a gift in case of deliverance;[2] and if they were delivered, then this god was made an object of special veneration. It so happened that Birka, a place already mentioned, the residence of many wealthy merchants, was threatened by a hostile army; and the inhabitants had sought protection in vain from their gods. Herigar seized hold of this occasion to direct them to the Almighty God, whom he himself worshipped. The imminent danger procured him a hearing; and, in accordance with the usual custom in such cases, the whole population met together in a field, where they vowed to the Lord Christ a fast, and a distribution of alms in his name, in case he should deliver them from the power of the enemy.[3] By a concurrence of circumstances, they were actually delivered. And although this and similar experiences could not convert them, it is true, at once into

[1] See Anschar's Life, c. 18. This Christian afterwards, in the monastery of Corvey, committed the Psalms to memory, with a view to supply to himself, in this way, the want of a knowledge of letters. Ex cujus ore etiam ista cognovimus, qui postea magnae fidei et devotionis extitit, ita ut psalmos quoque apud nos memoriter sine litteris didicerit. He must, therefore, have either learnt Latin without a knowledge of the Latin alphabet, which, however, is not probable, or there must have been, even at that early period, a Swedish version of the Psalms; or, it is possible, that he may have used the version of Ulphilas, which was then still to be met with, as we learn from Walafrid Strabo in this century, who says of the same (de rebus eccles. c. VII.): quorum adhuc monumenta apud nonnullos habentur. Comp. Massmann's excellent edition of the Commentary on John, in the Gothic language. München 1834. p. 88.

[2] Adam. Bremens. hist. eccles. c. 230. Si quando proeliantes in angustio positi sunt, ex multitudine Deorum, quos colunt, unum in auxilium invocant, ei post victoriam deinceps sunt devoti illumque caeteris anteponunt.

[3] Rimbert, c. 19. Exeuntes, sicut sibi consuetudinis erat, in campum pro liberatione sui jejunium et eleemosynas domino Christo devoverunt.

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believing Christians, yet they were at least led more and more to the conviction, that Christ too was a powerful deity,—mightier than other gods. Herigar made the best use of such incidents, to prove the power of the God whom he worshipped.

We may conceive, then, with what delight the arrival of Ardgar was hailed by the stadtholder, who, for seven years, had not received the holy supper from the hands of a priest. Through his mediation, he obtained permission to preach wherever he pleased. There were many Christians besides, who had painfully felt the want of a Christian priest, and were not a little rejoiced at beholding one once more among them. One of these was Frideburg, a pious widow, who, in spite of all the violence of the pagans around her, had remained steadfast in the faith. And seeing no prospect that, in the hour of death, which to a person of her years could not be far distant, she could receive the holy supper from the hands of a priest, she had purchased some wine, and carefully preserved it in a vessel, directing her daughter to administer to her, at the last hour, a portion of the element, which was to represent to her the blood of the Lord, and be the sign that she commended herself to the Lord's mercy, in passing from the world. The greater was her satisfaction, in being able to join in the Christian worship of God, restored by Ardgar; and she now had her most earnest wish fulfilled, in being permitted in her last moments to draw comfort and strength from partaking of the holy supper. Zealously devoted in her lifetime to works of charity, she charged her daughter Kathle to dispose of all her effects after her death, and to distribute the avails in alms — a bequest not unmixed, perhaps, with some superstitious notion of the effect of the pious act, in delivering her departed soul from the pains of purgatory. As the poor were few in numbers, however, in that neighborhood, — the inequality of conditions being less strongly marked in the simple mode of life which there prevailed—the daughter was to go with the money to Dorstede,[1] where churches and priests, and also paupers, abounded.[2] These directions the daughter faithfully obeyed. Proceeding to Dorstede, she procured the assistance of pious women, devoted to that business, to go round with her to all the churches, where the poor were to be found, and inform her how to distribute the money according to the various necessities and deserts of the needy.[3] Herigar also enjoyed the privilege of receiving the holy

[1] One evidence of the important influence, which the constant intercourse between this commercial town and the northern kingdoms had on the spread of Christianity.

[2] The great number of churches attracted thither also a multitude of the poor; and the unwise distribution of alms, no doubt, encouraged and promoted poverty.

[3] It is further recorded, that when the daughter, with her companions and assistants, had distributed about half the sum, she ventured to take one piece of the money, to purchase refreshments for herself and her friends, weary and exhausted with their labors. But great was her astonishment, on finding in the purse which she had placed empty in a particular spot, the whole sum distributed, with the exception of that single piece. She consulted with a priest in whom she confided, about this wonderful event; and he assured her, that God intended, by this miracle, to let her see that he, the almighty and all-sufficient in himself, needed no gifts; and that whatever was given to the poor, from love to

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supper in his last moments. But upon his death, the eremite mission ary could no longer resist the too strong bent of his mind for the quiet of the contemplative life, and, in 852, returned to his former seclusion.

After his return, Anschar was the less disposed to think this mission ought to be left unprovided for, as his friendly understanding with king Horik, who promised to lend his aid and protection to the cause, seemed to open for it more favorable prospects than ever. He invited his fellow laborer, the bishop Gauzbert, to resume the work in which he had been interrupted. But Gauzbert represented to him, that as he himself had left behind him so unfavorable an impression on the minds of the people, it was not he, but Anschar, of whom they still retained the most friendly recollections, who was the most suitable person to undertake this mission. Anschar was compelled to admit the correctness of this statement, and joyfully obeyed a call, which, no less by its relation to the proposed aim of his life, and to the leadings of divine Providence indicated by his position, than by one of those visions which imaged forth the divine aspirations of his soul, seemed to him to be from God. During the time of his deepest anxiety about the Swedish mission, he had a dream. Adalhard, abbot of Corbie, appeared before him in a glorified form, and foretold him, that from his lips the islands and the distant tribes should hear the word of God; that he was destined to carry salvation to the extreme boundaries of the earth; and that the Lord would glorify his servant. This dream appeared to him as a prediction of the spread of Christianity in Sweden; and the words, "the Lord would glorify his servant," he was inclined to interpret as having reference to his destined martyrdom, which he had anticipated from his early youth.[1]

The more gladly, therefore, did Anschar follow the suggestion of his friend Gauzbert; and with a cheerful alacrity he was ready even to meet the crown of martyrdom, which according to the vision might also await him in Sweden; though he by no means intended to seek the martyr's death, by rashly disregarding any rule of prudence in the conduct of the mission. He commenced his journey in 853, as an ambassador of king Lewis, entrusted with special business from that monarch to Sweden, and accompanied by the priest Erimbert, a nephew of Gauzbert, appointed by the latter as his representative. King Horik sent with him an envoy to introduce and recommend him to the Swedish king Olof.[2] By his envoy, the king declared himself in a way which clearly illustrates the point of view in which he regarded Anschar, as well as the faith he preached. The king said, "He was well acquainted with this servant of God, who came to him as an ambassador from the emperor Lewis Never in all his life had

him, should be richly repaid in heaven, to encourage her in similar works of charity, and moreover to assure her that her mother was happy with the Lord. This money, he said, was now presented to her by the Lord, and she might dispose of it as she pleased. See Vita Anschar, c. 20. We have here either a beautiful myth, or an example of that deception sometimes resorted to for the purpose of working on the faith of the new converts.

[1] See l. c. § 25.

[2] Orici missum pariter et signum habuit secum, according to the Life of Anschar. What is to be understood by *signum*, as a sign of the royal credentials, is uncertain.

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he seen so good a man, nor found one so worthy of confidence. Having found him out to be a man of such distinguished goodness, he had let him order everything as he chose to do in regard to Christianity. Accordingly he begged king Olof to allow him in like manner to arrange everything as he pleased for the introduction of Christianity into his own kingdom, for he would wish to do nothing but what was good and right.

Anschar, however, on his arrival, found the popular mind in an unfavorable state of excitement, the occasion of which might be considered, indeed, as a proof of the influence which Christianity had already begun to acquire. For it is manifest, that the seeds of Christianity scattered in Sweden had, in the meanwhile, been operating even without the aid of teachers; and the very fact of the mixture of Christian and pagan elements among the people, testifies of the power, which the Christian faith had already begun to exercise over the minds of men. On the one hand, there were some who decidedly espoused Christianity, on the other, some who were disposed to admit Christ among the other deities. Hence, in the zealous adherents to the old popular religion, the apprehension might be excited, that Christianity would work mischief to the worship of the gods. One individual, accordingly, from the midst of the people, had believed himself called to appear among the Swedes as a messenger from the national gods, to announce their displeasure at the neglect into which the worship of those deities had fallen to whom they were indebted for all their prosperity, and at the introduction of the worship of a strange God. If they wished for a new god, they should enrol among the number of their deities Erich, one of their ancient kings. This enthusiast found great acceptance with the people, and much zeal was manifested in founding a temple and a ritual for the new deity.

In this very business they were engaged, when Anschar arrived at Birka; and he found a prevailing state of feeling most unfavorable to his object. His old friends advised him to abandon his enterprise, and be satisfied to get away with his life. But Anschar declared, that as to his life, he would abandon nothing for that; he would gladly offer it for the cause of Christ, and also gladly suffer for that cause every species of torture. But resolved, even at the sacrifice of his life, to make every effort to procure an entrance for the gospel, he did not imprudently and fanatically rush on martyrdom, but had recourse to all the measures of Christian prudence to ward off the danger, and pave the way for the introduction of Christianity among the people. He invited king Olof to a feast in his own house, and made him presents with which he was gratified. Having thus gained his personal good-will, he begged that he might be permitted to preach and make known the Christian faith. The king, on his own part, was inclined to grant his request; but his authority being limited, he could not decide, except by convoking an assembly of the people and consulting the gods by lot; but he promised to favor the proposal in the assembly of his people. Everything now depended on their decision; and Anschar, with prayer and fasting, besought the Lord that he would so

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dispose the popular mind as to be favorable for the promotion of his own cause. Meantime, while engaged in celebrating mass, he felt such inward assurance, such a glow of pervading joy, that he said to a priest, his most intimate friend, "I am now sure of my cause; grace will be with them;" and his assurance was confirmed by the event.

At first, the king consulted with his nobles; and they sought to explore the will of the gods by the use of the lot. The lot was favorable to the admission of Christianity. Next, the proposal was made, in the king's name, to the assembly of the people. While the discussion was going on with great earnestness and heat, a very aged man stepped out of the midst of the assembly, and said: "Hear me, king and people; many of us, no doubt, have already been informed, that this god can be of great help to those who hope in him; for many of us here have had experience of this in dangers at sea, and in manifold straits. Why then should we spurn what is necessary and useful to us? Once, several of us travelled, for the sake of this religion, to Dorstede, and there embraced it uninvited.[1] At present the seas have become dangerous by piracy. Why then should we not embrace what we once felt constrained to seek in distant parts, now that it is offered at our doors?" These words produced the desired effect. It was resolved that no obstacle should be offered to the introduction of the Christian worship of God. The resolution of this assembly of the people bound, it is true, only a part of the Swedes, the inhabitants of Gothenland; but in the other part also, Sweden in the more limited sense of the word, the resolution of the popular assembly turned out to be favorable. Anschar left behind him in Sweden the above-mentioned priest, Erimbert, to guide and direct the public worship. The king granted him a spot for building a church; Anschar purchased another, on which to erect a house for the priest. This being completed, he returned to his diocese in 854. Christianity had at first, it is true, but few decided followers; and these were for the most part merchants. But the recognition, widely diffused among the people, of Christ as a deity, and the impression left by the stories of his power, served to prepare the way for greater things in the future. Circumstances, similar to those which have been mentioned, contributed to lead men, in the first place, into the habit of regarding Christ as a mighty protecting deity, in war and in other dangers. The consultation of the lot had induced men to apply to him for succor, and the event had corresponded to the confidence reposed in him. Pagans were thus led to hold fasts and to distribute alms in honor of Christ.

In Denmark, however, a change happened in the same year unfavorable to the interests of the Christian church. King Horik, Anschar's friend, was killed in battle; and of his entire race but *one* descendant, Horik II, was left as regent over a small portion of the

[1] The words to which we have already made allusion at page 276, and which are contained in § 27 of the Life: Aliquando quidam ex nobis Dorstadum adeuntes hujus religionis normam profuturam sibi sentientes, spontanea voluntate suscipiebant. We might, to be sure, understand these words as meaning, when they had visited Dorstede on other business, they had there embraced Christianity; but the antithesis is more in favor of the rendering followed in the text.

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country. This person allowed himself to be governed by a certain stadtholder, Hari, a man hostilely disposed towards Christianity. The doors of the Christian church at Schleswig were closed, Christian worship was forbidden, the priest obliged to flee. Not long afterwards however Hari fell into disgrace, a person well disposed to Christianity, and who already, in the time of Horik I, had been of the greatest service to Anschar and to the cause of Christianity, attained to the highest influence. The king himself invited Anschar to send back the priest, since he was not less disposed to be the friend of Christ and of Anschar than the elder Horik. One thing which the pagans would not suffer before on account of their fear of enchantment, was now permitted; the church of Schleswig was provided with a bell. Liberty moreover was given to found a second church at Ripen in Jutland, over which a priest was appointed.

Anschar was at all times extremely solicitous, that the missionaries sent out by him should set an example of disinterestedness. He advised them to ask nothing of any one; but rather to follow the example of the apostle Paul and support themselves by the labor of their own hands, content with the little they needed for subsistence and clothing. He himself however generously gave them not only what they required for their own subsistence, but also a surplus for making presents and so creating friends, according to his own general practice of seeking, by means of presents, to gain influential patrons to the missions in Denmark and Sweden. His own diocese had but recently been rescued from paganism; and the wars with adjacent heathen tribes could not be otherwise than unfavorable to the growth of his people in Christian life and knowledge; hence he was still obliged to sustain many a hard conflict in his own field with pagan barbarism; of which the following is an example. Certain Christians who had been dragged off as slaves by pagan tribes of the North, had effected their escape from the harsh treatment they were compelled to suffer, and taken refuge in the adjacent territory of North Albingia. But some of the more powerful chieftains of that district having recaptured them, sold some of them as slaves again to pagans or Christians, retaining others as servants in their own households. Anschar was indignant to find, that such things were done in his own diocese. But he was at a loss how to subdue the pride of these mighty ones, till by the impression of a dream in which Christ appeared to him, he was inspired with confidence. He repaired in person to the district where these events had occurred. With such equanimity and cheerfulness did he start on this expedition, that his attendants remarked they had never made so pleasant a journey — so happy did they find themselves in his society, so deeply were they conscious, that the Lord was with them. He himself went straightway into the midst of the nobles; no one dared contradict him. The captives were collected from all sides, and immediately set free.

Anschar from his youth was exceedingly given to religious contem templation, to prayer, and other devotional exercises of life conse

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crated to seclusion. He had caused to be constructed for this purpose a particular cell, naming it his place of quiet and penitence, to which with a few like-minded friends, he was in the habit of retiring. This indulgence, however, he never allowed himself, except when an opportunity was given him of recruiting himself for a short time from his labors among the heathen, his devoted toil as a preacher, and from the functions of his episcopal office, soon leaving again this beloved seclusion to engage once more in his public duties. He was in the habit of disciplining himself by severe mortifications; but at the same time he was not ignorant that humility is the soul of the Christian life; and observing how easily self-exaltation attached itself to such outward austerities, he begged God to save him by his grace from this danger.[1] Too humble to entertain a wish of being able to perform miracles, he could not prevent the coming of sick persons from distant parts, who hoped to be restored by his prayers. Was a word, however, dropped in his presence, intimating that miracles had been wrought by his prayers in the healing of the sick, he said, "Could I deem myself worthy of such a favor from the Lord, I would pray him to vouchsafe me but this *one* miracle, that out of me by his grace he would make a good man."[2]

After having labored more than thirty-four years for the salvation of the heathen nations of the North, when past the age of sixty-four he was attacked by a severe fit of sickness, under which he suffered for more than four months. Amidst his bodily pains, he often said they were less than his sins deserved, repeating the words of Job, "Have we received good from the hand of the Lord, and shall we not receive evil?" His only regret was to find that the hope of dying as a martyr, with which that early dream had inspired him, was not to be fulfilled. An anxious concern for his diocese, for the souls of the individuals who stood round him, and especially for the salvation of the Danes and Swedes, occupied his mind to the last. In a letter written during this sickness, he recommended, in the most earnest terms, to the German bishops and to king Lewis, strenuous efforts for the continuance of these missions. At last, having received the holy supper, he prayed that God would forgive all who had done him wrong. He repeated over, as long as he could speak, the words "Lord, be merciful to me a sinner; into thy hands I commit my spirit;" and died, as it had been his wish to do, on the feast of the purification of the Virgin, February the third, 865.[3]

Anschar's successor, his faithful disciple Rimbert, strove in all respects to imitate his master. He made several journeys, not without great danger, to Denmark and Sweden. To ransom Christians captured by the pagan nations of the North, he parted with every thing, even to the gold and silver vessels of the church, and to the horse, which he kept for his own convenience.[4] But the circumstan-

[1] L. c. c. 35.

[2] Si dignus essem apud Dominum meum, rogarem, quatenus unum mihi concederet signum, videlicet ut de me gratia sua faceret bonum hominem.

[3] See in the actis sanct. at the III. of February.

[4] See his Life, c. 17. Mabillon acta sanct. saec. IV. P. II. p. 481.

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ces of the times were most unfavorable to the missions among the Scandinavian tribes; for the pagans from those parts, by their desolating irruptions in quest of plunder, spread terror and havoc far and wide among the Christian nations, in Germany, England and France, everywhere threatening with destruction the institutions of Christianity themselves. Yet the Danes, by their settlements in England, in the midst or on the borders of a Christian people, were in part brought more nearly within the range of Christian influences. Odo, an archbishop of Canterbury, who lived about the middle of the tenth century, and was honored as a saint, descended from a pagan Danish family. Christianity had taken strong hold of his mind while he was yet a young man, and he professed the Christian faith in opposition to the will of his parents.[1]

In Denmark, during the first half of the tenth century, king Gurm, a usurper of the sovereign authority, manifested the most bitter hostility to everything belonging to the Christian church till the year 934, when compelled by the power of the German emperor, Henry I, he promised to desist from his persecution of the Christians, and at the same time gave up the province of Schleswig to the German empire. This province now afforded, for the first time, a stable and secure seat for the Christian church. It was settled by a colony of Christians, thus affording a convenient point for transmitting Christianity to Denmark. The archbishop Unni took advantage of this happy change, and again made a missionary tour to the North. His efforts, did not succeed it is true in produceing a change on the mind of king Gurm himself; but he found so much the readier access to the heart of his son Harald, who, under the training of his mother Thyra (a daughter of that first Christian prince Harald, and a zealous confessor of Christianity) had already been led to the Christian faith. Though he had not received baptism, he publicly declared himself in favor of Christianity; and as he shared the government with his father, the archbishop could travel, under his protection, into every part of Denmark, laboring for the establishment of the Christian church. This Harald, surnamed Blaatand, through the whole period of his reign of fifty years (from 941 onward), favored the spread of Christianity. A war between this prince and the emperor Otho I, terminated in 972 with a treaty of peace, which also had a favorable influence towards the firm establishment of the Christian church in Denmark. Harald with his wife Gunild received baptism in the presence of the emperor, and the latter stood god-father at the baptism of the young prince Sueno (Sven Otto). But although Harald, before he became sole ruler, had shown himself favorable to Christianity, yet we are not to infer from this, that he had from the first regarded Christianity as the only true religion: but he proceeded by degrees, from a belief in the God of the Christians as the mightiest

[1] Accordingly we find a treaty concluded between the Danes settled in England and the English in the year 905, whereby the former bound themselves to renounce paganism and to adopt common ecclesiastical laws. See Wilkins' concilia Magnae Britanniae. T. I. Fol. 202.

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deity, with whom however the old national gods might also still be worshipped, to faith in the God of the Christians as the only being to be worshipped, to the exclusion of the old national gods whom he finally regarded as no better than evil spirits. With respect to the manner in which this change was produced, we have the testimony of an ancient legend, widely diffused in the North, and handed down by popular tradition and by the historians,[1] which doubtless is not without some foundation of truth. A priest by the name of Poppo celebrated for his knowledge and his spiritual gifts, had come to Denmark from North Friesland to labor as a missionary. He happened to be present at a banquet in the palace, when among other topics the conversation turned upon the strife betwixt the old and the new religion, a subject which at that time greatly agitated the minds of men. Some of the Danes said, Christ was to be worshipped indeed as a God; yet the old national gods were mightier, for they had performed greater wonders. This Poppo disputed, and maintained, that Christ was the only true God, that those gods whom *they* worshipped were on the contrary evil spirits. The king who was still a believer in the old gods as well as in Christ, asked the priest whether he dared to prove this by a miracle; and then, as it is reported, proposed that he should submit to the judgment of God by the ordeal of the glowing iron. Now whatever may have actually occurred on this occasion, something at least was done or took place, which made a deep impression on Harald's mind, and contributed in a great measure to settle his convictions, and which seems also to have made a great impression on the untutored people. Poppo, who afterwards became bishop of Aarhus, is said to have labored earnestly for the spread of Christianity in Denmark.[2] Harald, both in respect to the development of his religious convictions and to the character of his conversion, may be compared with the emperor Constantine. Though he manifested great zeal for the spread of Christianity and of ecclesiastical institutions, and thus obtained a good name from those who regarded solely the external interests of the church, yet his cruel and perfidious acts show that Christianity had produced in him no moral change. The influence of Christianity however, is certainly manifest in the manner in

[1] This story is found related already by monk Wittekind of Corvey, at the opening of the eleventh century — Annal. l. III, in Meibom. script. rerum German. T. I. p. 660, and in the same age by bishop Ditmar of Merseburg in his chronicle l. II. The historian, Adam of Bremen, who has drawn into his narrative many accounts concerning the ecclesiastical events of the North, says of Poppo: Cujus veritate miraculi et tunc multa millia per eum crediderunt et usque hodie per populos et ecclesias Danorum celebre Popponi nomen effertur. c. 77. p. 56. ed. Lindenbruch 1595. To be sure, many important discrepancies are to be discovered in the report about these facts, as it regards persons, place and time, which is nothing wonderful in a legend handed down from mouth to mouth, and points to the different sources from which the story came; but it is impossible to make out the exact character of the facts lying at the foundation of the tale.

[2] Many names of places in the North perpetuate his memory, as for example, Poppholz, a forest between Flensburg and Schleswig, where according to tradition he built himself a hut. In a brook which flows by the spot, Hillegenbach, he is said to have baptized his disciples. See Pantoppidan's Annales ecclesiae Danicae, p. 158. The village Poppenbüttel, near Hamburg, may be reckoned also to this class.

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which he directed his efforts to restrain the rude passions of his people. It was first under his auspicious rule, that Adaldag, archbishop of Hamburg and Bremen, an active and zealous laborer both for the spread of Christianity, and for the enlargement of his archiepiscopal province, was enabled to conceive and carry out the plan of consecrating several bishops for Denmark. One of these was bishop Liafdag, particularly celebrated for his devoted and influential activity.

The Christian church, however, was not to obtain the victory in Denmark, without a fierce struggle in the first place between the pagan and Christian parties. The pagans were still quite numerous and powerful, and they were embittered in their feelings by the violent measures adopted by Harald for the universal introduction of Christianity. Of this tone of feeling, Sveno, the son of Harald, twice took advantage, and stirred up a rebellion against him. In 991, Harald perished in battle; and Sveno, who took the government, reëstablished the old religion, in compliance with the wishes of the party which had placed him on the throne. The Christian priests were expelled. Libentius, archbishop of Hamburg and Bremen, attempted in vain, by messages and presents, to give the feelings of the young prince a different direction. When the Danes, under this monarch, conquered England, they expended their fury more particularly on the clergy and monks, and everything belonging to the church. In this Christian land, however, Sveno himself began to be more temperate in his opposition to Christianity, and even to return to the faith in which he had been educated. His son, Canute the Great, who reigned from the year 1014, was won over to Christianity by the influence of the Christian church in England, and especially of his consort, the English princess Emma, who was a devoted Christian. But religion was never able to obtain such mastery over him as to place an effectual check on the fierceness of his passions, his love of rule and thirst for conquest and the form in which Christianity had been taught him was so mixed up with superstition, as to furnish him with ample means of pacifying an alarmed conscience. When he became king of England and Denmark, he applied himself with great zeal to the work of giving a stable foundation to the Christian church in his native country; and to this end employed the labors of many ecclesiastics sent over from England. He showed great respect for everything that pertained to the church,[1] and by his efforts to promote its interests, sought to atone for the deeds of violence done by himself and his father. In the year 1027, he started on a pilgrimage to Rome, which he had long before meditated, for the purposes of devotion, and to bespeak the interest of the pope in behalf of his people.[2] He proposed to himself, if we may believe him, in this enterprise, objects worthy of a Christian prince, all which he made

[1] Fulbert, bishop of Chartres, who had received from him a present to his church, writes in reply: "Te, quem paganorum principem audieramus, non modo Christianum, verum etiam erga ecclesias atque Dei servos benignissimum largitorem agnoscimus." See ep. 97.

[2] As he says himself: Quia a sapientibus didici, sanctum Petrum apostolum magnam potestatem accepisse à Domino ligandi atque solvendi, clavigerumque esse regni coelestis et ideo specialiter ejus patrocinium apud Deum expetere valde utile dixi.

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known in a letter addressed to his people. I have with prayer — he writes — consecrated my life to God himself, resolving from henceforth to act in all things as shall seem right before him; to rule with justice and piety over the people who are my subjects; and if, from the impulse of my youthful passions or from neglect, I have done many things in my past life contrary to right, I now propose with God's help, to retrieve every wrong. I therefore command my counsellors, never henceforth to countenance any injustice out of fear to me, or favor to any potentate whatever; nor to suffer anything of the kind to find admission into my kingdom. I also command the nobles in my kingdom, if they have any regard for my friendship or their own good, never to allow themselves in arbitrary acts of injustice and violence against any man, be he rich or poor. All, from the highest to the lowest class, shall experience exact justice according to the laws, and none shall de part from them, whether for the sake of gaining my royal favor from respect to the person of a nobleman, or for the purpose of collecting money for me."[1]

It was only by slow degrees, that the rudeness of a people, who, as Adam of Bremen remarks, thought it disgraceful to shed tears for their own sins, or at the death of their dearest friends,[2] could be subdued by the influence of a church which trained its members by legal discipline, and it was only by gradual advances they could be brought into closer contact with the mild and humanizing spirit of Christianity.

As to the spread of Christianity in Sweden, the work commenced by Anschar had been there also interrupted by the same causes which had operated in the case of the Danish mission. For seventy years after Anschar's death, nothing beyond the transitory essays of Rimbert had been done for this object; when archbishop Unni, who under king Harald Blaatand was performing a good and successful work in Denmark, extended his labors from that country to Sweden. He met, as it is reported, with a kind reception from the Swedish king Inge Olofson, and labored among the people with good success; but he died at Birka, as he was about to return, in 936. Owing to the intimate connection with Denmark, where at that time the reign of Harald was so favorable to the spread of Christianity, the gospel at all points found its way also to Sweden. Liafdag, bishop of Ripen, and the bishop Odincar, whom archbishop Adaldag had ordained for this very purpose, are said to have been particularly active in promoting this work.

From this time, Christianity continued to make progress; though it often became intermingled with paganism. The Swedish king Olof Stautconnung, who reigned in the first half of the eleventh century, declared himself at the beginning decidedly in favor of Christianity, and endeavored to place it on a firm footing in his kingdom. English clergymen, Sigfrid, Grimkil, and others, who came thither by the way of

[1] See Wilkins' Concilia, T. I. fol. 298.

[2] Lacrimas et planctum caeteraque compunctionis genera, quae nos salubria censemus, ita abominantur, ut nec pro peccatis suis nec pro caris defunctis ulli flere liceat.

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Norway (see on a future page) were active in these efforts. As the famous temple at Upsala was the central point from which the old cultus was continually preserved alive in the hearts of the people, the king resolved upon its destruction as the surest means of overturning the old popular religion. When this intention of the king came to be known to the people, they entered into an agreement with him in a popular assembly, that he should select for himself the best portion of the country for the purpose of founding in it the Christian church; but that everywhere else each should be allowed in the free exercise of his religion. The king chose the western part of the country, and the first bishopric was founded at Skara in West-Gothland, over which an English clergyman by the name of Thurget was ordained by archbishop Unvan. But other ecclesiastics, coming over from England, attacked paganism with such inconsiderate zeal, as to arouse the fury of the heathen population. One Wulfred who had already been the means of converting many, seized an axe and dashed to the ground a much venerated idol. He was attacked by a body of furious pagans, and died covered with wounds.[1] The less violent zeal of king Jacob Amund, Olof's successor, contributed so much the more effectually to the spread of Christianity. His step-brother Emund, who acceded to the government in 1051, pursued the same course of policy; but he was not so inclined to acknowledge the superior ecclesiastical authority of the archbishop of Bremen, who acted as the pope's legate, and was very desirous of setting himself up as patriarch of the North. Osmund, the king's bishop, who had been ordained not in Bremen but in Norway, was for proceeding after a more independent way in ecclesiastical affairs, and the king encouraged him. The delegates of the archbishop of Bremen met with a very bad reception in Sweden; in consequence of which, the king and his bishop appeared in an unfavorable light to the advocates of the reigning church-system.[2] It would have been attended with very important consequences to the shaping of the church and Christian development in the North, if the reäction of the northern spirit of freedom against dependence on the organs of the papacy had lasted for a longer period. But under Stenkil, Emund's successor from the year 1059, the ancient relation to the church of Bremen was immediately restored. An event happened in the reign of this king, which must have given a favorable direction to the current of popular feeling with regard to Christianity. A priest of the temple at Upsula became blind. This man had heard a great deal said about the power of the Christian's god; and as there were many who worshipped Christ at the same time with the other gods, it would be no more than natural for him to conclude, that this calamity had befallen him, in consequence of the anger of the only god, whom he slighted and neglected, — the god of the Christians; and as he had sought in vain for help from his own gods, he might now conceive the hope of obtaining relief by applying to the God of the Christians. While his mind was occu-

[1] Adam. Bremen. c. 41—44.
[2] The accounts on this side, therefore, in Adam of Bremen, deserve no confidence.

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pied with these thoughts, the virgin Mary appeared to him in a dream, and promised him that his sight should be restored, if he would come over to the worship of her Son. The priest recovered from his blindness, and went about everywhere proclaiming the almighty power of the Christian's God, and the vanity of idols. The archbishop of Bremen took advantage of these favorable circumstances, and having consecrated Adalward, one of his clergy, to the episcopal office, sent him to Sweden. Adalward entered upon his work with great zeal, and in conjunction with bishop Egino of Schonen, made every exertion to bring about the destruction of the temple at Upsula that strong-hold of paganism. They were ready to suffer every species of torture to effect this object. But when king Stenkil heard of their design, he deterred them declaring, that if they carried it into effect, they would not only fall victims themselves to the wrath of the pagan people, but involve him and the whole church of Sweden in the greatest dangers.[1]

According to the observation of a contemporary and eye-witness of these events, the canonical priest Adam of Bremen, much more might have been accomplished by the preachers in Sweden; for the Swedes were very susceptible to religious impressions, and indeed inclined already to recognize a divine power in Christianity, and to unite the worship of Christ with the old worship of the gods. Says Adam of Bremen:[2] "They receive the preachers of the truth with great kindness, if they are modest, wise and able; so that the bishops are even admitted into their popular assemblies, where they gladly listen to their discourses concerning Christ and Christianity. And assuredly they might easily be converted to our faith, if bad teachers, who seek their own rather than the things of Jesus Christ, did not prove to them a stone of stumbling."

The Normans, strictly so called, had manifold occasions, in their predatory excursions to the remote east and south, of becoming acquainted with Christianity among the Christian people, with whom they came in contact. Many of their leaders had, among their other adventures in distant lands, come to the knowledge of Christianity; and in a life full of hazardous chances, and chequered fortunes, well calculated to awaken the consciousness of dependence on a higher power controlling human events, they were by various circumstances led to believe in the God proclaimed by Christianity. And when by the same means they became more fully confirmed in their faith, they were not wanting in a zeal to make known the God whom they worshipped to the rest of their countrymen. But they failed of possessing that kind of Christian knowledge, and that peculiar spirit and disposition of mind, which would lead them to the appropriate means for diffusing abroad a religion like that of the gospel. The first who attempted to plant the Christian church in Norway was prince Hacon, before the middle of the tenth century. He had received a Christian education at the court of king Athalstan of England; and full of zeal for Christianity he returned, when a young man, to Norway, where he made himself

[1] L. c. c. 237.

[2] L. c. c. 229.

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master of the kingdom. But he found both the people and the nobles of the land blindly devoted to the religion of Odin; and he would have soon lost the throne which did not belong to him by the law of inheritance, if he had publicly shown at the very outset his zeal for Christianity. He was obliged to perform his exercises of Christian worship in secret, for which purpose he had obtained priests from England. Every week, he observed Sunday and Friday; the latter as a fast-day in remembrance of Christ's passion. He so arranged it, that the ancient national festival in honor of Odin, the three days festival of Jol or Yule in honor of the sun-god Freyr (the dies natalis invicti Solis of the Scandinavian tribes) which was usually celebrated with abundant feasting, should be transferred to the time of the Easter festival. Thus, without being disturbed or exciting observation, he could keep his own festival in his own way. It was probably his design also in some future day to convert the heathen festival into the Christian one, since the very object of it, as in the case of the analogous festival among the pagans of the old Roman world, furnished an occasion for so doing. Having first gained over his most confidential friends to the side of Christianity, as soon as he had reason to believe that his power was sufficiently established, he proposed, in the year 945, before an assembly of the people, that the whole nation, great and small, masters and servants, men and women, should renounce idolatry and sacrifices, worship the only true God, and Jesus Christ his son, devote every Sunday to the exercises of religion, resting from all labor, and observe every Friday as a fast-day. Such a proposition to renounce at once the old religion and customs of the land could of course serve only to exasperate the minds of a people who were devoted to their ancient sacred institutions, especially as nothing had been done to prepare the way for such a measure by a previous inworking of Christianity upon their modes of thinking. The heads of households declared, they could not gain a subsistence for themselves and their families, if so much time were to be withdrawn from labor. The laboring class and servants declared, that by so much fasting they would have no strength left to work. In many of the speeches of the nobles who took up the argument, zeal for the old national religion and repugnance to a new and foreign worship opposed to the customs of the people were most emphatically expressed, and the king's proposal repelled with universal indignation. But the assembly was not satisfied to have the king desist from his attempts to introduce Christianity. It was considered indispensable to the prosperity of the land, that its king should take part in the public sacrifices. At the beginning of winter, when according to an ancient custom, a great sacrifice must be offered, the king was required to repair with the rest to the place where the ceremony was to be performed. But he ate with his Christian friends, at a separate spot, to avoid defiling himself with the pagan sacrifice, and having his religious feelings annoyed by the sight of these heathen customs. This behavior of the king, which seemed to cast reproach on the festivals and customs of his people, was regarded by them as an insult to his subjects, to the kings his ancestors, and to the gods themselves.

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Sigurd, one of the most influential of the nobles, and who had been the most active in procuring the government for Hacon, stood forth as mediator between the king and his irritated people, and convinced him that, to avoid a popular insurrection, it would be necessary for him to yield, in some measure, to their demands. Hacon returned to his palace, and, taking his throne, the full goblets were presented, which, according to an ancient Scandinavian custom, must be drained dry, in honor of the gods. Sigurd drank first to the king, in honor of Odin, then presented it, filled up again, to the king himself. The latter, before touching it to his lips, signed the cross over it, as a protection against the polluting effects of this approach to the service of demons. This act did not escape the notice of the assembled pagan nobles; and the only way in which Sigurd could pacify them was by roundly asserting that the king had merely signed over the cup the hammer of their own god Thor. But on the next day, the fury of the heathen people broke out more fiercely. As every Christian was forbidden to eat horse-flesh,[1] it was now required of the king, with clamorous uproar, that he should taste of it; but he firmly refused. At length he consented, for form's sake, to touch his lips to the cloth which lay over the edge of the cauldron, in which the flesh had been seethed. Thus the king and his people separated, mutually excited against each other; the former, because he had been forced to yield so much against his own religious feelings; the latter, because the king, after all, could not be brought back to the ancient sacred rites and customs. The celebration of the Yule-festival of this year, led to a repetition of the same stormy and clamorous demands; and the king, on this occasion, fearing lest the fury of the people should break out in open rebellion, actually consented to eat part of the liver of a horse, and to drain all the cups drunk to its honor, without signing the cross over them. He repented, however, of having ever consented to do a thing so contrary to his conscience, and was already resolved to try the fortunes of war with the heathen party. The invasion of his country by a hostile power, which he met with the united strength of his people, was all that reconciled him to them. About the year 960, he was wounded mortally in battle. He now declared it to be his purpose, if he should survive, to leave his kingdom, retire to some Christian nation, and by tears, penitence, and a reformation of life, seek to obtain from God the forgiveness of his sins. The conviction bore like a heavy weight on his conscience, that he had denied the faith. His friends begged him to direct that his body should be transported to England, for interment according to the rites of Christian burial; but he said he was unworthy of it. Having lived as a heathen, he desired to be buried as one. The universal affection of the people for this king, who had died in battle for his country, would afterwards be likely to have a salutary

[1] At the time of the planting of the church in Germany, by Boniface, the eating of horse-flesh was already denounced as a heathen practice. Pope Gregory III. strictly forbade it, in his letter to Boniface of the year 732: "Immundum enim est atque execrabile." See Boniface epp. p. 66.

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reaction on their feelings towards a religion, to which he was so sincerely and zealously devoted.

When the Danish king Harald, in 967, made himself master of Norway, he sought to destroy paganism and introduce Christianity, by the same violent measures as he had resorted to in Denmark. But here, as in the other case, these measures resulted only in a more violent reäction of paganism. The person whom he appointed stadtholder was Yarl Hacon, Sigurd's son, with whose assistance he had conquered the country. But as Hacon's real object was to serve his own interest, he rendered himself independent of his master, and, destroying all Christian foundations, showed great zeal in everywhere restoring again the pagan idolatry. But when he had fully secured possession of the sovereign power, he rendered himself odious by his oppressive tyranny, and the hatred with which he was regarded by the people opened the way for Olof Tryggweson, another Norwegian general, who was aiming at the sovereignty.

This Olof had travelled extensively in foreign lands; in Russia, Greece, England, and the neighboring ports of Northern Germany. By intercourse with Christian nations, in his predatory excursions, he had obtained some knowledge of Christianity, and had been led, by various circumstances, to see a divine power in it. In some German port he had become acquainted, among others, with a certain ecclesiastic from Bremen, Thangbrand by name, a soldier priest, whose temper and mode of life were but little suited to the spiritual profession. This person carried about with him a large shield, having on it a figure of Christ on the cross, embossed in gold. The shield attracted Olof's particular notice. He inquired about the meaning of the symbol, which gave the priest an opportunity of telling the story of Christ and Christianity, as well as he knew how. Observing how greatly Olof was taken with the shield, Thangbrand made him a present of it; for which the Norman chieftain richly repaid him in gold and silver. He moreover promised to stand by him, if he should ever need his assistance and protection, in the future. In various dangers, by sea and on the land, which Olof afterwards encountered, he believed that he owed his life and safety to this shield; and his faith in the divine power of the crucified one thus became stronger and stronger. At the Scilly Isles, on the south-west coast of England, he received baptism; upon which he returned to Norway, his country, fully resolved to destroy paganism. In England, he again met with the priest Thangbrand, who had been compelled to leave his country, for having slain in single combat a man of superior rank. Olof took him along to Norway, in the capacity of court clergyman. No good could be expected to result from his connection with a person of this character. Inclined of his own accord to employ violent measures for the destruction of paganism and the spread of Christianity, he would only be confirmed in this mistaken plan by Thangbrand's influence.

Olof was received in Norway with great joy, as the deliverer of the country from the oppressive yoke of Hacon; and, no sooner had

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he obtained possession of the government, than he made the introduction of Christianity his chief concern. At an assembly of the people, the king stated that he should require of them such obedience as became freemen; first, they should be knights to the sovereign Lord, whom he himself served — of the King of kings, the being who created heaven and earth, and who would make them, from servants, brethren of his only begotten Son, and heirs of the kingdom of heaven. The kingdoms of the earth — he said — were founded for no other purpose, than to form the citizens, by good institutions, for being incorporated into the kingdom of heaven." Olof everywhere destroyed the heathen idols and temples, and invited men to be baptized. Of those who would not otherwise submit, he purchased obedience to his commands, by conceding to them various privileges. But he also made use of threats and violence to extort obedience, and in many cases exercised a revengeful cruelty. Paganism had, however, but very few martyrs, or Olof's violent measures would have turned to its advantage. His reign ended with a war against the united powers of Denmark and Sweden, in which, in the year 1000, he lost his life.

As the foreign rulers, who divided Norway between them, though friendly to Christianity, took no active part in the work of planting the Christian church in that country, the pagan party, which, under the former reign, had been suppressed by force, were now enabled to cast off the yoke imposed on them, and stand forth free again; but the other two parties — the decided Christians, and those who were for uniting the worship of Christ with that of the old national gods — could also freely express themselves. If, under Olof's reign, a more earnest and simple method had been pursued, to work upon the religious convictions of the people, such an interval would have proved a more important and salutary thing; since the previously scattered seeds of Christianity, left to themselves, would, by their own inherent and divine vitality, have surely made progress, and freely developed themselves. But that spiritual element was wanting; and this short period of free development was followed again by a domination of the Christian church, arbitrarily forced upon the people from without; for Olof the Thick, who delivered Norway from her foreign yoke, came into the country in 1017, when already a decided Christian, with bishops[1] and priests, whom he brought with him from England; and his mode of procedure was still more despotic than that of the first Olof, and attended with more harshness and cruelty. He travelled through the whole country, with a view to arrange everything himself that was necessary for the effecting of his object, and to ascer-

[1] Adam of Bremen names, as particularly distinguished among these, the bishops Sigafrid, Grimkil, Rodulf, Bernard. See c. 94. p. 66. He says of his zeal for the extermination of all pagan superstition: "Inter caetera virtutum opera magnum Dei zelum habuit, ita ut maleficos de terra disperderet, quibus quum tota barbaris exundet, praecipue Norwegia talibus monstris plena est. Nam divini et augures, magi et incantatores caeterique satellites antichristi ibi habitant. Illos omnes et hujus modi persequi decrevit, ut sublatis scandalis firmius in regno suo religio Christiana elucesceret.

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tain with exactness how far the cause had prospered; and the obstinate were threatened with the confiscation of their goods, the maiming of their bodies, and various kinds of punishment by death. Hence it naturally happened, that many submitted to baptism through fear, not changing their religion, but only practising it secretly; though even this could not escape the jealous scrutiny of the king; and such renegades, who had never really been believers, incurred his particular displeasure. An unproductive season, which, in 1021, followed after a series of fruitful years, in many of the provinces was looked upon by the heathen as a consequence of the anger of the gods, on account of the transition to the worship of the strange God; and they who had submitted to baptism merely out of fear, began again to practise in secret more zealously the ancient rites, with a view to propitiate the angry deities. It came to the ears of the king, that in the province of Thrand a number of festive banquets had been held in honor of the gods; when, according to ancient custom, all the goblets were offered to the national gods, the Ases; sacrifices were offered; the altars sprinkled with blood, and the gods supplicated to renew the productivity of the earth. He sent for a few delegates to come to him from that district, and state what reply they had to make to these accusations. The most considerable man among them endeavored to put a good face on the matter; he said they were nothing but the convivial meetings customarily held among the people of the land, and that words uttered on such occasions ought not to be construed so strictly, as those spoken in times of soberness. But when, by closer inquiry, Olof found out that the inhabitants of this province, though they had submitted to baptism, had almost universally continued to be pagans, and that they observed the usual times of sacrifice in autumn, winter, and spring, in order to obtain a favorable season, he fell upon them unexpectedly, while engaged in celebrating one of their spring festivals, and took terrible vengeance on those who had deceived him. As many, through fear, now promised sincere obedience, he founded churches here, over which he appointed priests, who were to make all the arrangements required for the due introduction of Christianity.[1]

Dread for the most part of Olof's violent measures, induced obedience, indeed, though there was no sincerity in it; while from the boors, inflamed with zeal for their divinities, and urged on by the speeches of their leaders, he occasionally met with an obstinate, though short-lived resistance. In the province of Dalen was a powerful man, named Gudbrand (after whom the whole province was called Gudbrandsdalen),[2] a zealous champion of the old religion. This person assembled the people as Olof approached, and telling them that they ought not to wonder that the earth had not yet opened to swallow up the profane monster, who presumed to treat the gods with such insolent con-

[1] See Tormodi Torfaci hist. Norveg. l. II. c. 21. I follow, in this whole account, the extracts from Northern sources, contained in this instructive work.

[2] Stift Aggershuus on the borders of Stifts Bergen and Drontheim.

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tempt, said they had only to bring out the great Thor (a colossal idol), and let him appear in public, when Olof and his whole force would melt away like wax. The words were received by the multitude with a shout of exultation; and, clashing together their shields, the crowds of peasantry marched forth to meet the king, who soon put them to flight. Gudbrand's son was taken prisoner; and the king, after detaining him for a few days, sent him back to his father, to announce his own approach. Said Gudbrand, "Who, then, is this God of the Christians, whom no man has seen, or can see? We have a god whom every one can *see*, the great Thor, in whose presence all must tremble." A meeting was agreed upon, where each party was to prove the power of its own god. Olof prepared himself for this meeting, the night previous, by prayer. Next day, the colossal image of Thor, overspread with gold and silver, was drawn to the public place, and around it the pagans assembled. The king directed Colbein, one of his guard, a man of gigantic stature and great muscular strength, to stand near him. Gudbrand first made a speech, challenging the Christians to produce evidence of the power of their God, and pointing them to the great Thor, the sight of whom filled them all with alarm. Upon this Olof spoke: "You threaten us with your deaf and blind god, soon to meet with a sorry end. But lift up your eyes to the heavens; behold our God, of whom ye say he can be seen by no one, how majestically he reveals himself in the radiant light." The sun burst forth; and at the same moment Colbein, as previously directed by the king, demolished with a single blow the mighty idol. The monster fell, crumbled into small fragments, out of which crept a great multitude of mice, snakes, and lizards. Gudbrand was no longer disposed to stake everything upon a god that could not help himself,[1]

The embittered state of feeling occasioned by Olof's despotic severity probably facilitated the conquest of the country by Canute, king of Denmark and England. The banished Olof returned, and prepared himself for a new struggle. He would receive none but Christians into his army. He caused the shields and helmets of his soldiers to be emblazoned with the sign of the cross, and gave them as his watchword, "Onward, warriors of Christ, the cross and the king." He was mortally wounded in battle, on the 29th of July, 1033, and soon after his death honored by the Christians as a martyr. The fame of the miracles wrought at his tomb spread far and wide.[2] The day on which he died, the 29th of July, was universally observed as a festival by the people of the North. The veneration in which Olof was held, could not fail to have a salutary reäction on the tone of popular feeling towards Christianity. Adam of Bremen says of the Normans, who by the influence of Christianity were first induced to leave off their piratical expeditions:[3] "After receiving the gospel,

[1] See Tormod. Torf. l. II. c. 23.

[2] Adam of Bremen says of his tomb, Hist. Eccles. c. 43: "Ubi usque hodie pluribus miraculis et sanitatibus, quae per eum fiunt, Dominus ostendere dignatus est, quanti meriti sit in coelis, qui sic glorificatur in terris."

[3] De situ Daniae, c. 96

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educated in better schools, they learned to love peace and to be contented with their poverty."

A hundred years after the occupation of Iceland [1] by a Norman colony, the first attempt was made to transplant Christianity to that island. Thorwald, son of Codran, from a noble Icelandic family, roved the seas as a pirate, as was customary with sons of the first Norman families; he distinguished himself, however, from others of this class, by devoting all he gained, beyond what was necessary for his own subsistence, to the redemption of captives.[2] This trait of philanthropy spoke of better feelings in the heart of the rude Icelander, and formed, as we may presume, the medium of access through which Christianity reached him. His adventures brought him to Saxony, where he fell in the way of a certain bishop, Friedrich,[3] who instructed him in Christianity and baptized him. His conversion to Christianity amounted, indeed, to something more than such conversions usually did among these rude inhabitants of the North, who, while sojourning in distant lands, were induced to become Christians; for the bishop Friedrich had probably given him better instruction; and he showed the influence of Christian principles by renouncing piracy. Still it appears evident from his conduct, that he had by no means as yet experienced that moral change which Christianity aims to effect, — the stormy passions which swayed the rude pagan of the North were not subdued. In 981, bishop Friedrich, in company with this Icelandic chieftain, his new convert, visited Iceland, in the hope, in which he was encouraged by Thorwald, that he should be able to win over multitudes to Christianity. The first winter he spent in Thorwald's family, who labored, for some time without success, to induce his father to receive baptism. The old Codran worshipped more particularly, as his tutelary god, a stone,[4] possessed, as he imagined, of wonderful virtue, and refused to put faith in the God of the Christians, until it should be proved that he was mightier than his own. The bishop prayed over the stone, and it fell in pieces. This proved to the heathen the power of the Christian's God. So states the later tradition, which, no doubt, may have mixed up the true facts of the case

[1] Where, perhaps even earlier than this, the Irish monks, who wandered everywhere, and defied every hardship, had endeavored to form an establishment; since it is intimated in old Northern legends that the Normans, when they settled in this island, found there already Christians (Papas, priests) Irish books, bells, bishops' staffs, etc. See Münter's Geschichte der Einführung des Christenthums in Dänemark und Norwegen, Bd. I. S. 520 — with which compare the remarks of monk Dicuil of Ireland, in 825, whose book De mensura orbis terrae, was first published by Walckenaer, Paris, 1807. He speaks (De mensura, p. 29) of the Thile ultima (probably Iceland), in qua aestivo solstitio sole de canceri sidere faciente transitum, nox nulla. Brumali solstitio perinde nullus dies. He then relates that ecclesiastics, thirty years before, had resided there from the first of February to the first of August.

[2] See the account of the introduction of Christianity into Iceland, Kristni-Saga, — a narrative drawn from old traditions. The original Icelandic, with a Latin translation, published at Copenhagen in 1773.

[3] As he had been absent six years from his diocese, he could not have been bishop of any particular see. But if he had really received episcopal ordination, as from various circumstances it may be inferred that he had, we must suppose that he had been ordained bishop of a church yet to be formed among the heathen, — episcopus regionarius.

[4] We may here call to mind the *lapides uncti* of the ancients.

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with fiction; still in substance it accords fully with the character and manners peculiar to the infancy of these tribes of the North; and similar stories were recorded in connection with the more authentic histories of missions among people at the same stage of culture. To the same class belongs an event which took place when Thorwald and the bishop attended the customary autumnal festival (see above). On this occasion, two of those men called Bersetkers, who in certain states of frenzy or possession, were supposed capable of doing extraordinary things, rushed frantically in, and proposed to pass unharmed between two fires. They did not escape, however, without a scorching; which was regarded as an effect of certain words spoken by the bishop over the fires; for looking upon these enthusiasts as men possessed of evil spirits, he had pronounced a prayer over the lighted pyres, to confine the power of the demon. Both these men fell victims to the popular fury. But such occurrences, as it turned out in the end, left but a transient impression, except on a few individuals. Till the bishop could readily express himself in the Icelandic dialect of the common old German stock, the preaching to the heathen was done by Thorwald. The latter stood forth also as the advocate of Christianity before an assembly of the people. But he was not well received. Many of the Scalds (the national poets) composed satires against Christianity and its preachers. Thorwald, yielding to the impulse of his passions, took bloody revenge on two of them for their defamatory songs, in spite of the efforts of the bishop to pacify him by giving a milder interpretation of the equivocal language which had been used. Within a period of five years, they travelled in company over the whole island, often followed and stoned by the people, who threatened to arrest and accuse them as enemies to the national gods. In the northern parts of the island alone, they found many who were willing to be baptized, others who could not as yet be persuaded to submit to baptism—whether because they were not fully convinced of the truth of Christianity, or because this custom of baptism by immersion appeared to them strange and foreign,[1] or because for the reasons already explained, they wished to put off the rite to the end of life.[2] Over these they made the sign of the cross,[3] and then admitted them to the class of catechumens. Others broke in pieces their idols, and ceased to pay tribute to the idol-temples; yet without becoming Christians.[3] One of the new Christians, Thorwald Spakbödvarssun, went so far as to build a church upon his estate; and the bishop appointed a priest for it, which produced a great excitement among the pagans. And whether the bishop now supposed that he could no longer remain in Iceland and hope to escape the fury of the heathen, who threatened

[1] If lustrations by water were already in use among the northern pagans, and a certain magical consecration was conceived to be connected with them (see e. g. the words of the Edda: "Si mihi *homo* puer aqua est adspergendus, ille non dejicietur, etsi in aciem veniat, non cadet homo ille ab ensibus." Vol. III. of the edtion of Copenhagen, 1828. p. 141); baptism could not be universally regarded as a strange and foreign rite.

[2] The cruce signare, Primsigning: see l. c. c. I. near the end; and c. II. p. 15. Comp. Finni Johannaei Hist. Eccles. Islandi. T. I. Hafniae, 1772, p. 42, note C.

[3] See Kristni-Saga, c. II. near the end.

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him and his companions with death, or whether he wished to expend the rest of his labors on Norway, with the assistance of Thorwald, who belonged to a kindred race, the fact was they went over to that country in the year 986. The bishop, however, finding it impossible to tame the revengeful spirit of his warlike companion, renounced his fellowship, and retired home to his native land.

The king Olof Tryggweson, of whom we have already spoken, felt himself bound to labor for the spread of Christianity, not only in Norway, but also in the islands peopled by Norman colonies. He was moved to this by a natural interest for the good of those who belonged to the same national stock, and also by a concern for his own subjects, exposed, by their intercourse and connection with the pagan colonies of Norway, to be infected by the paganism still prevailing there. Now as there were many Icelanders at the court of Olof, who by his means had first become acquainted with, and then been converted to, the Christian religion, he persuaded one of these, by the name of Stefner, who belonged to one of the respectable families of Iceland, to undertake the work of introducing Christianity into his native land. Here then was the case of a layman going to his countrymen in the character of a missionary. This happened in the year 996. He travelled over the whole island, but found none who were inclined to listen to his preaching. Even his own family declared against him. Finding it impossible to effect any good as a teacher, he contented himself with destroying the temples and idols. In this way, he roused against him the wrath of the pagans; and his vessel, which lay at anchor in the port, having been loosed from her moorings and driven by a storm to sea, these pagans interpreted it as a punishment sent upon him by their god Freyr. At an assembly of the people, it was decreed that every man, from the fourth degree of kin, should be bound to prosecute the Christians, as enemies of the gods. Thus the ties of blood were to be sundered by abandoning the national divinities.[1] Several of his kinsmen now appeared as accusers of Stefner; and being condemned, he was forced, in 997, to leave his country, and return back to king Olof. Another Icelander of the higher class, Hiallti, was banished from the country for composing a song in ridicule of the Icelandic divinities; and he, with his step-father Gissur, repaired to Norway. Here, those Icelanders generally, who were obliged to leave their country on account of their zeal for Christianity, met with so much the more friendly reception from king Olof. Other Christians, who still remained in Iceland, did not fall away from the faith; though they dared not perform openly the rites of Christian worship. The first want of success, however, did not induce the king to abandon his purpose; and he took advantage of an opportunity which soon presented itself for carrying it into execution.

Thangbrand, the worthless priest of whom we have already spoken, having received an appointment from the king on a certain island, after squandering away the property of the church, had endeavored

[1] A crime of such a nature as to occasion a severance of this sort was designated by the name Fröndafion.

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to cover up his lavish expenditures by extortions made on the pagans. Having thus fallen into disgrace, no other course remained for him to regain the favor of his monarch, but to offer his services for the work of transplanting Christianity to Iceland. He first visited that island, as an ambassador of king Olof, in the year 997. A person less fitted to procure an entrance for Christianity to the hearts of men, could scarcely be found. If he effected anything it could only be outward conversions, brought about by constraint, or other foreign means addressed to the senses. As soon as it became known that Thangbrand and his associates were Christians, no man would have anything to do with them, not even so much as to show them a port. King Olof's authority, however, procured for them a favorable reception from Sido-hallr, a man of some importance, who was perhaps already favorably disposed to Christianity, in consequence of what he had heard about it. On the festival of St. Michael, while Thangbrand was celebrating mass with great pomp, in his tent, Hallr felt a curiosity to witness these ceremonies. The scene made a strong impression on the pagan's mind. This prepared the way for his conversion to the Christian faith; after which he stood by the priest Thangbrand in his labors. The latter found means to address the people at their popular assemblies. He travelled through the country, and baptized many; but the national bards (the Scalds) persecuted him with their sarcastic songs, as an enemy of their gods. The warlike Thangbrand, having revenged these insults by killing two of the bards, was pursued as a murderer, and compelled, after remaining two years in Iceland, to return, in 999, to his king. He complained of the insults which he had received, while acting as the king's ambassador. He described the Icelanders as obstinate and incorrigible enemies to Christianity. By this account, Olof was transported with anger. He resolved to take severe retribution on the pagan Icelanders, who had just come to visit him. He commanded them to be thrown into chains. But the two Christians from Iceland, already mentioned, Hiallti and Gissur, endeavored to pacify him. They informed him, that Thangbrand had made himself odious, by his violent mode of procedure; that the Icelanders, if properly treated, might easily be won over to Christianity; and they reminded him of a characteristic remark of his own, evincing at once the warmth of his zeal for the spread of Christianity, and its lack of knowledge, that "he was ready to forgive a crime of any magnitude, if the transgressor would consent to be baptized." He then agreed to pardon all Icelanders, if they would embrace Christianity. He detained only four of the most considerable men, as hostages, and all the Icelanders near his court submitted to baptism. In the spring of the year 1000, Gissur and Hiallti engaged in a mission to their native land, accompanied by the priest Thormud, and some other ecclesiastics. They carried with them building materials, supplied by king Olof, for the erection of a church in Iceland. Such as had remained Christians in secret, now came forth openly. Hiallti, Gissur, and Hallr of Sido, stood high in the esteem of their countrymen, and knew how to approach them. Thus was formed an impor-

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tant Christian party; which was attacked by a pagan one with the greatest exasperation of feelings. A religious war seemed inevitable; but was prevented by the influence of the prudent followers of the pagan party, and of those who, though not as yet Christians, had lost their confidence in the power of the gods.[1] That this last was the case with numbers, appears from the following example. The frightful account of the eruption of a volcano, having been seized upon by the pagans and represented as an evidence and token of the anger of the gods, one of their own priests, Snorro, exclaimed: "What was it, then, which excited the anger of the gods, when the rock on which we now stand first emitted flames?"

The pagans resolved, as was customary on occasions of great calamity, that each of the four districts of the island (answering to the four points of the compass) should offer two men in sacrifice to the gods. Upon this, Hiallti and Gissur said to their friends: "The pagans devote as sacrifices to their gods the most abandoned men, and cast them headlong from precipices. We will choose an equal number from the best of the people, who, in the true sense, shall devote themselves as offerings to our Lord Christ, shining forth to all as conspicuous examples of Christian life and confession." The proposal was adopted and executed. Conformably to the Icelandic constitution of government, each several district had its priests, who presided not only over the religious rites of the people, but also over the legislation and the administration of justice; who had to direct the deliberations, when new laws were proposed at the national assemblies, to promulgate these laws, and see to their execution. Now, as the pagan laws were no longer agreeable to the Christians, the latter chose Sido-Hallr as their head, requesting him to draw up for them a schedule of laws in accordance with the Christian point of view. But in this way, the people would be divided into two opposite parties, not only in religion, but in their civil affairs. Such a schism, which certainly might lead to a civil war, Sido-Hallr wished to avoid. For this purpose, he repaired to the priest[2] Thorgeir, then holding the office of chief supervisor over the legislation,[3] who was probably himself already inclined to Christianity. It was agreed, that he should propose new laws for the whole nation, and that among these he should adopt three in favor of Christianity; while it was conceded that, in some other respects, he might allow indulgence to the deep-rooted paganism, leave many things still undetermined, and the whole to the reforming influence of Christianity after it had once become firmly rooted. As a compensation for carrying out this project, Sido-Hallr paid him a certain amount of gold. Thorgeir now

[1] Even before the influence of Christianity had wrought this in Iceland, it is reported of many, that the original consciousness of God had so far pierced through the fog of idolatry, as to determine them to pay religious homage only to the creator of the sun. See Münter's Church History of Denmark and Norway. Vol. I. p. 523. To such cases Adam of Bremen probably alludes, when he says of the Icelanders: licet ante susceptam fidem naturali quadam lege non adeo discordarent a nostra religione. Hist. eccles. pag. 150.

[2] Goda.

[3] The office of Lögsögu.

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summoned a national council. When convened, he represented before it the great danger which must accrue to the nation, in case two different legislatures and two governments should spring up within it. It would sow the seeds of a civil war, which would fill the island with desolation. Better far that both parties should make mutual concessions, and so unite in a legislation which should be valid for the whole island. These representations were favorably received; and both parties came to an agreement, that they would adopt the laws proposed by Thorgeir which were as follows: 1. All Icelanders should submit to baptism, and profess Christianity; 2. All idol-temples, and images standing in public view, should be destroyed; 3. Whosoever publicly offered to idols, or exercised the pagan rites of worship, should be banished. But for any man to practise the pagan religion in private, should not be reckoned as a crime. To eat of horse-flesh,[1] and to expose children,[2] were not as yet forbidden by law; and the ancient customs, not at variance with Christianity, were to remain.

Thus, while Christianity was recognized as the public religion, paganism might still subsist along with it, as a private religion, among a portion of the people; and so one thing and another, in manners and customs at variance with Christianity, might still endure. Through the influence, however, of those principal men of the nation, who united with zeal for Christianity a warm love for their country, Christianity was gradually introduced more and more into the life of the people. King Olof, the Norwegian saint (see above), endeavored to make his code of ecclesiastical laws, drawn up by bishop Grimkil, valid also in Iceland; and on learning that the exposure of infants, and other customs, springing out of paganism, still prevailed there, he sent, at the very beginning of his reign, an embassy to Iceland, for the purpose of inviting the priest who then administered the office of Lögsögu in Iceland, to abolish those heathenish customs.[3] At first foreign bishops only labored in Iceland, without any fixed diocese. Gissur, however, who had done so much for the diffusion of Christianity in his native land, saw clearly that Christianity could not exist and flourish without culture. He sent his son Isleif to Erfurt, to be educated in the school there established. This person, on his return, imported the seeds of knowledge into his country. By the choice of

[1] See above, p. 295.

[2] As in China, and the islands of the South Sea, so also among these Scandinavian tribes, it was customary and permitted by law, to expose and leave to perish such children as the parents did not choose to bring up, — which was done not merely by such as lacked means of subsistence for their offspring, but also by such as found something objectionable in the make and shape of their bodies. It is true, that in the case of the Icelanders, even in their condition of paganism, some indications are to be discovered of a reaction of the moral feelings, more developed among them than among the South Sea islanders, against this unnatural custom. Yet it was only by the influence of Christianity, that it could be wholly suppressed. How difficult this was, appears from the fact, that even when men ventured to forbid the public exercise of pagan rites, yet they dared not extend the prohibition to this point. See on this subject the remark in Finni Johannæi Hist. eccles. Island. T. I. p. 68.

[3] See Tormod. Torf. hist. Norveg. l. II. c. 2.

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the people, he was consecrated bishop in 1056, and established his episcopal see at Skalholt, a place fixed upon by his father. This was the first episcopal see established in Iceland; the second was founded at Holum, in the year 1107. The first bishops, sprung from the ancient and principal families, and who had received their education in foreign parts, were enabled through their great influence (being reverenced as fathers, and looked up to for counsel and advice on all subjects), to act so much the more efficiently for the extirpation of the remains of heathenism.[1] The historian of the Northern church, the canon Adam of Bremen says, concerning the Icelanders, at the end of this period: "As in their simplicity they lead a holy life, and seek nothing beyond what nature has bestowed on them, they can cheerfully say with the apostle Paul, having food and raiment, let us be therewith content, 1 Timoth. 6: 8; for their mountains serve to them as cities, and their springs are their delight. Happy people, whose poverty no one despises; and happiest in this, that at the present time they have all received Christianity. Many things are remarkable in their manners; but above all their charity, which places all they own in common, alike to the foreigner and to the native."[2]

After the same manner, Christianity was propagated from Norway, under the reigns of the two Olofs, to a series of Northern islands, dependent on this kingdom, — to the Orcades,[3] and to the Faroe islands. King Olof Tryggweson sent for a man, by the name of Sigmund Bresterson, who, after having suffered from the period of childhood a variety of misfortunes, and passed through strange adventures, had attained to great power in the Faroe islands. To this man he promised his friendship and great honors, if he would embrace Christianity; — assuring him, however, that by so doing, instead of injuring himself, he would secure a title to the happiness, which Almighty God would bestow on him, as on every other man, who kept his commandments from love to the Holy Spirit; — viz. to reign forever with his beloved Son, the King of kings, in the highest bliss of the kingdom of heaven. Sigmund might the more easily be persuaded to embrace Christianity, as he seems to have been convinced of the vanity of idolatry, even before he had found anything better to satisfy his religious need. It was this circumstance, which had encouraged Olof to hope, that by his means the way might be

[1] Adam of Bremen: Episcopum habent pro rege, ad cujus nutum respicit omnis populus, quicquid ex Deo, ex scripturis, ex consuetudine aliarum gentium ille constituit, hoc pro lege habent.

[2] See Hist. eccles. the edition above cited.

[3] On the islands of the Orcades, establishments had, perhaps, been founded already by the Irish monks (see above, p. 300), till they were driven away by fear of the Normans. The abovementioned Dicuil speaks (p. 30) of the islands in septentrionali Britanniae oceàno, quae a septentrionalibus Britanniae insulis duorum dierum ac noctium recta navigatione, plenis velis assiduo feliciter adiri queunt; and he says of them: in quibus in centum ferme annis eremitae ex nostra Scotia navigantes habitaverunt. Sed sicuti a principio mundi desertae semper fuerunt, ita nunc causa latronum Normannorum vacuae anchoretis plenae innumerabilibus avibus ac diversis generibus multis nimis marinarum avium.

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prepared for establishing Christianity in the Faroe islands; for he had heard that he was not in the habit of sacrificing to the gods, like other pagans.[1] He, with his followers, all received baptism; then first was he instructed in Christianity. He returned home in 998, with ecclesiastics, supplied by the king. But on proposing to his people that they should all renounce idolatry, and submit to baptism, he met with the most determined opposition; and it was not till after he had overcome it by force, in 999, that he could induce the people of Faroe to be baptized. Hence, the majority remained pagans in their way of thinking; and relapsed into idolatry, as soon as they had nothing more to fear. Sigmund, however, caused a church to be erected on his own estate, and continued to labor for the spread of Christianity. Meanwhile, another principal man of these islands, named Thrand, who had resisted Sigmund from the first, and only yielded to superior force, turned back again with his followers to paganism. King Olof the saint took great pains also, to place the Christian church in these islands on a firmer footing.

Under the reign of Olof Tryggweson, the seeds of Christianity were first conveyed by Leif, an Icelander, in the year 999, to Greenland, which had been discovered and peopled but a short time before. In 1055, a certain Albert was sent to the Greenlanders, as their bishop, by Adalbert, archbishop of Hamburg or Bremen; and in a bull by pope Victor II, defining the archiepiscopal district of the Hamburg and Bremen church, Greenland was assigned to this see.[2] In 1059, Ion or John, a Saxon or Irish bishop, is said to have made an attempt to introduce Christianity among the inhabitants of one of the three coasts of North America discovered by adventurers from Iceland, but to have died there as a martyr.[3]

Several tribes of Tartarian and Slavonian origin, dwelling on the borders of the East-Roman empire, were in this period brought over to Christianity. Among these were the Bulgarians, who, coming from the central parts of Asia, and spreading themselves along the borders of the Roman empire, had among Slavonian nations adopted their language and customs. Becoming involved, during the ninth century, in frequent wars with the Greek empire, in which they carried off Christians, particularly monks and ecclesiastics, as captives, they were instructed by them in Christianity. In an irruption of the Bulgarians into the Roman empire, A. D. 813, accompanied with wide devastations and the capture of Adrianople, they dragged off, with other captives, a bishop. This person formed the companions of his captivity into a church, who remained true to their faith, even in the midst of heathens, and earnestly labored for its spread. Many of them perished as martyrs; among these, the bishop himself.[4] Then, somewhat later, a captive monk, Constantine Cypharas, endeavored to carry for-

[1] See the Färeyingia-Saga, published by Mohnike. 1833. p. 321, 322.

[2] See Münter's Geschichte der Einführung des Christenthums in Dänemark und Norwegen, Bd. I. s. 558.

[3] L. c. s. 561.

[4] See Constantin. Porphyrogenit. Life of the emperor Basilius Macedo, c. IV. Hist. Byzant. ed. Venet. continuatores post Theophanem, p. 100.

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ward the work thus commenced, though not with any great success. It so happened, however, that in the year 861, the empress Theodora, for some special reason or other, was led to redeem this monk from bondage and to procure his return to his native country. At this juncture a sister of the Bulgarian prince Bogoris resided at Constantinople, whither in early youth she had been conveyed as a captive, and where she had been brought up and educated as a Christian; and the negotiations to effect the redemption of the abovementioned monk resulted also in her being sent back to her friends. She now considered it her duty to complete the work, for which the monk Constantine Cypharas had prepared the way, by laboring to gain over her brother to the Christian faith; but surrounded as he was by rude Bulgarians, and dreading if he should desert the faith of his fathers, an insurrection of his people, she found him little inclined to listen to her exhortations. But outward circumstances favored her pious efforts. A famine, severely oppressive to the country, softened the heart of Bogoris, so that he became more susceptible to religious impressions, and was even induced to seek help from the God of the Christians. Having remarked the fondness of the prince for painting, his sister availed herself of this circumstance and sent for Methodius,[1] a monk and skilful artist, probably the same who is so deservedly celebrated for his efforts generally to effect the conversion of the Slavonian tribes. Bogoris, being an ardent lover of the chase, commissioned this monk to paint a hunting scene in one of his palaces. But instead of it, he drew a sketch of the last judgment; and the impression it produced on the mind of Bogoris, furnished an opportunity for making him better acquainted with Christianity. He was baptized between 863 and 864;[2] and as the absent Greek emperor Michael stood as his god-father, he took from him the name Michael.[3] Photius, who was then patriarch of Constantinople, wrote him a long letter, exhorting him to prosecute the work which had been commenced, and to take every pains for the conversion of his people; and at the same time expounding to him the essential parts of Christian faith and morals. In the beginning of his letter, he unfolded at large the matters belonging to church orthodoxy, as contradistinguished from the different heresies, to which he added a brief history of the general councils of the church, things, which the rude Bulgarian prince was neither prepared to understand, nor to make

[1] The arguments adduced by Schlözer, in his edition of Nestor's Russian Annals, P. III. p. 171, against the identity of the two, are to say the least not conclusive; though it is certainly singular, that Methodius, if he labored in Bulgaria as a missionary, did not bestow more pains on this mission, as we might expect him to have done from his mode of procedure in other Slavonian missions, of which we shall speak hereafter.

[2] A chronological mark is furnished by the letter of Photius to the bishops of the East, which contains his charges against the Latin church; for in it he says, that two years had not yet elapsed since the conversion of the Bulgarians, when the false teachers of the western church found entrance among them, which must have happened shortly before he wrote this letter, *οὔπω γὰρ ἐκείνου τοῦ ἔθνους οὐδ' εἰς δύο ἐνιαυτοὺς τὴν ὀρθὴν τῶν Χριστιανῶν τιμῶντος θρησκείαν*. Photii epistolae. Lond. 1651. ed. Montacut. p. 49.

[3] See Constantin. Porphyrogenit. l. IV. c. 14 et 15. l. c. p. 75, and Joseph. Genes. reg. l. IV. p. 97. ed. Lachmann, in the new edition of the Corpus Hist. Byzant. by Niebuhr.

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use of in any way for the promotion of his equally rude Christianity. In the second part of his letter, he explained, indeed, the requirements of Christian morality, representing love to be the fulfilling of the law, and saying many things, which were well adapted to the capacity and wants of the Bulgarian prince; but he said a great deal besides which was wholly out of place. Among other counsels of state-craft, he gave the following, with reference to the political divisions in the Bulgarian nation, then no doubt on the eve of breaking out in consequence of Bogoris' defection from the national religion. "Concerted insurrections, which cannot easily be suppressed, it is the better plan to ignore and allow to be forgotten, rather than attempt to suppress them by force. For the effect of the contrary course is often only to add fuel to the fire, and to cause serious dangers, and great damage even after the victory has been won; but appeasing the storm by gentle measures avoids both the danger and the injury, while it promotes humanity and wisdom."[1] On the whole, it appears quite evident, that the learned and highly accomplished Photius could not so well adapt himself to the condition of this people, as a Western bishop of simpler feelings, but more accustomed to associate with men at a similar stage of culture.

But the Bulgarian prince Michael, following no doubt his rude notions of Christianity, proceeded to force his people to change their religion. The consequence was a revolt against his authority.[2] He succeeded in suppressing it; and the cruel revenge which he now took on the guilty, proves the slight and superficial character of his Christianity. He ordered that the principal men who had been concerned in this insurrection should be executed. On the part of the Greek church, there seems to have been an entire want of the proper care which was needed in order to the thriving of Christianity among so rude a people. The deficiency of clergy induced a Greek layman who happened to be among them, to set himself up as their teacher, pretending that he was a priest; and by him many were baptized. But when they found how they had been deceived by him, they cut off his nose and ears; and after inflicting upon him many other personal injuries, banished him from the country.[3] Other Greeks introduced various strange stories and superstitions among the people. They boasted of being able to foretel all future events from the Scriptures.[4] They pretended that the true chrism was to be found in their country alone, whence it was distributed through the whole world.[5] Teachers of various nations and from distant regions came also to Bulgaria, preaching very different doctrines, so that the people hardly knew what to believe.[6]

[1] See the first long letter of Photius, in the edition of these letters by Richard Montacute, bishop of Norwich. Lond. 1651. fol. 40.

[2] Constantin. Porphyrogenit. continuat. IV. c. 15. The more accurate accounts are drawn from the letter of pope Nicolaus I. to this prince, presently to be cited (c. 17).

[3] In the letter of Nicolaus, c. 14.

[4] L. c. c. 77. Graecorum quibusdam codicem accipientibus in manibus clausum, unus ex iis accipiens parvissimam particulam ligni, hanc intra ipsum codicem condat, et si undecunque aliqua vertitur ambiguitas, per hoc affirmant scire se posse quod cupiunt.

[5] L. c. c. 94.

[6] L. c. c. 106. Multi ex diversis locis Christiani advenerint, qui prout voluntas eorum exsistit, multa et varia loquuntur, id est, Graeci, Armeni (perhaps Paulicians) et ex caeteris locis.

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In this state of things, reasons partly of a political nature, the existing differences with the Greek empire, and the closer connections which had been formed with the German empire, and partly religious, the uncertainty produced by the collision of the doctrines propagated among them, and the hope of receiving, as many other rude nations had done, a settled form of doctrine from the church of St. Peter, all these circumstances combined, induced the Bulgarian prince and his nobles, in the year 865, to apply for help, to pope Nicholas I. This pope, in the following year, sent two Italian bishops,[1] as his plenipotentiaries to Bulgaria, perhaps also with the proposal of appointing a bishop for that province.[2] He gave them Bibles, and other books suited to the wants of the new church, with a letter, in which he answered a hundred and six questions and petitions proposed to him by the Bulgarians. These answers show that it was not the sole anxiety of the pope to introduce among the Bulgarians the institutions of the Roman church, the papacy, and a Christian ceremonial; but that he was at great pains also to direct their attention to the things requisite for the advancement of the Christian life. And the respect which he paid to the peculiar situation and wants of the newly converted people, evinced his pastoral wisdom.

He told the Bulgarian prince and his nobles, and endeavored to convince them of it by passages from the Bible, that they had sinned, in permitting the innocent to suffer with the guilty. And even with the guilty, whom God had delivered into their hands, they ought to have pursued a more gentle course, sparing their lives, so as to give them an opportunity of voluntarily and cheerfully seeking forgiveness for what they had done.[3] With regard to those who would not renounce idolatry, he said, it should be attempted to bring them to the faith by exhortation and rational persuasions rather than by force. If they refused to listen, it was only necessary to avoid intercourse with them; thus they would become ashamed of their folly. But in no case, should resort be had to violence to enforce belief; for nothing could be good, which did not flow from free inclination of the will.[4] God required only a voluntary obedience; had it been his pleasure to use force, none could have resisted his almighty power. Such as refused to be converted, were reserved to the judgment of God. The pope obviously was too closely bound by the prejudices of his age, respecting the laws and rights of the church, to apply this principle in its full extent. He made a difference[5] between unbelievers and those who fell away from the faith; though in reality the difference was only outward; yet to the latter, he applied the laws of the Old Testament against blasphemers. He sharply reproved the Bulgarians for their unjust and cruel conduct towards the abovementioned Greek priest. He undertook his defence, on the ground that he had adopted that fiction from

[1] See Anastas. Praefatio ad Concil. Constantinop. IV. Harduin. Concil. T. V. p. 757, respecting the Bulgarian prince idoneos institutores expetiit et accepit, Paulum scilicet Populoniensem et Foxmosum Portuensem.

[2] At the close of his letter he speaks of the futurus episcopus.

[3] L. c. c. 17.

[4] L. c. c. 41. Omne, quod ex voto non est, bonum esse non potest.

[5] L. c. c. 18.

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pious motives, and with the hope of saving many whose confidence he could not otherwise have gained; and even if he deserved to be punished, banishment from the country would have been sufficient in his case.[1] The pope was consulted respecting the bearing of the cross, which he explained,[2] as meaning the mortification of the flesh, or compassion to our neighbor; for it was our Lord's command that we should bear the cross in our hearts. But men ought also to bear it on their bodies, so as to be constantly reminded of their duty to bear it in the heart. In answer to the question on what festival days men ought to rest from bodily labor, he was not satisfied with barely naming the days, but took this opportunity to instruct the Bulgarians with regard to the design of festivals and of resting from labor on such days.[3] Men, he said, were bound to rest from their labors on festival days, in order to have more leisure to attend church, to occupy themselves with prayer, with spiritual songs and with the divine word, to imitate the example of the saints, and to distribute alms among the poor. But if a man neglected all these things, and squandered away in idle amusements the time taken from lawful occupations, he would do better to labor on such days with his own hands, that he might have something to bestow on the needy and suffering.

In connection with all these points, the pope was careful to warn the Bulgarians against a superstitious reliance on outward things, to which they were easily exposed, by reason of their previous pagan notions and habits. They had asked him what they were to do in times of war, in case of surprise by a sudden attack of the enemy, whilst they were assembled in the church for prayer, which would leave them no opportunity to finish their devotions. He told them that the devotions thus commenced might be finished in any other place; for Christians were not confined to any particular place of prayer, like the ancient Jews to Jerusalem.[4] They had asked him, whether they might be allowed to go out on any day to battle; to which he replied,[5] that in the pursuit of their lawful business, men were not restricted to particular days, save only (sudden emergencies excepted) the festivals he had mentioned, which were reverenced by all Christians; — not as though it were wrong to do things lawful even on those days; for men should not rest their hopes on particular times and seasons, or expect to derive help from them, but only on the living God. Rather, on these festivals they should be more diligent in prayer, except prevented by some unavoidable necessity. So, in answer to a like question respecting the times for fasting, he said:[6] All wars and contentions came from the temptations of the great adversary; hence they should, if possible, be avoided, not only in times of fasting, but always. But in cases of necessity, when men are called upon to prepare for war, in defence of their country or of its laws, it would, doubtless, be improper to lay aside these preparations, even in times of fasting; for to do so would be tempting God,

[1] L. c. c. 14—17.
[2] L. c. c. 7.
[3] L. c. c. 11
[4] L. c. c. 74.
[5] L. c. c. 34.
[6] L. c. c. 45.

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by neglecting to do all that lies in our power, for our own good and that of others, or for preventing any injury which might be done to religion. Having explained to them,[1] that with the baptismal vow they renounced all arts of divination and sorcery, and all that superstitious observance of days and hours, to which they had formerly been accustomed to resort, in preparing for war, he wrote them, that the preparation for fighting a battle on the side of religion should consist in repairing to the church, offering up prayer, celebrating the mass, forgiving those who had injured them, opening the prisons and setting the prisoners free, restoring freedom to the slaves, especially to the sick and the feeble, and distributing alms to the needy. The pope, it is true, carefully avoided intermeddling with the civil legislation of the country; but he took every opportunity to remonstrate against the barbarous severity which prevailed in the existing code of laws. He objected to the frequent employment of the punishment of death, recommending the greater mildness which Christianity enjoins.[2] Far be it — says he to them in this connection — that after having come to the knowledge of so merciful a God and Saviour, they should still proceed to indulge in the same severity as before in the administration of justice. Rather ought they now to be as much inclined to preserve the lives of others, as they had formerly been to take them. "As the apostle Paul, who once breathed threatening and slaughter against the disciples of the Lord, was ready, after he had obtained mercy, to be banished or to give up his life for his brethren, so should they also, after having been called by God's election, and illuminated by his light, not only no longer thirst, as before, after the shedding of blood, but seek, on every occasion, to restore life to all, and as well the life of the body as that of the soul. And since Christ has restored you from eternal death to eternal life, so ought you to seek to deliver from the ruin of death not only the innocent but the guilty." The pope earnestly protested against the employment of the rack, which was commonly resorted to by the Bulgarians, for the conviction of such as were accused of theft.[3] This mode of procedure, he writes to them, is against all law, both human and divine. "And suppose you fail, by all the tortures you employ, to extort from the accused a confession of guilt, must you not then, at least, feel ashamed of yourselves, and perceive the godless manner in which you administer justice? Again; suppose a man forced by torture to confess himself guilty of a crime which he never committed, will not the guilt fall on the one who compelled him to make the false confession? Detest, then, with your whole heart, that which you have hitherto been accustomed to do in your ignorance." He exhorted them to be just and gentle in the treatment of their slaves, and to keep constantly before their minds those passages of the New Testament, which taught them that they had one and the same Master in

[1] L. c. c. 35.
[2] L. c. c. 25.
[3] L. c. c. 86: quod judex caput ejus verberibus tundat et aliis stimulis ferreis, donec veritatem depromat, ipsius latera pungat.

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heaven, Col. iv. and Ephes. iv.[1] The pope had been asked how it was proper to treat freemen, apprehended in the act of fleeing from their country.[2] To this he answered, first, that they should treat them according to the existing laws. But he added, that many holy men, as Abraham, had left their native country, without being considered, for this reason alone, as having done anything criminal. He who cannot be allowed to leave his country, *is* not a freeman. It was a custom among the Bulgarians, in the spirit of oriental despotism, to allow no person to sit and eat at the same table with the king, not even his own wife; while his nobles were obliged to sit at a distance, on separate stools, and eat from the ground. The pope having been requested to give his commands, with respect to the observance of this custom, replied, that although this practice must be considered a violation of good manners, yet as it stood in no direct contradiction to right faith, he had no commands to give on the subject; he only exhorted and advised them to follow the example of Christian princes, and dismiss all idle and arrogant pretensions. Christian princes, he said, paid respect to the words of our Lord in the gospel, Learn of me, for I am meek and lowly of heart. Ancient kings, many of whom were deemed worthy of holding communion with the saints, ate with their friends, nay even with their servants. Nay, the King of kings, and Lord of lords, the Saviour ate not only with his servants and friends, the apostles, but also with publicans and sinners.[3]

Though in other respects the pope endeavored, by the spirit of Christianity, to infuse a better influence into the social institutions of this rude people, yet he knew how to keep distinct and separate from each other the principles of civil, and of religious, ecclesiastical legislation. He recognized the freedom which should be enjoyed by every nation within the pale of Christianity to shape and fashion its laws and social institutions, according to its own individuality of character, subject only to the demands of Christianity. Although many opportunities were offered him, by the questions which the Bulgarians proposed, to determine matters pertaining to secular relations, yet he never availed himself of them, unless led to do so by immediate interests of Christianity. When asked,[4] for example, whether they ought, as before, to give gold, silver, oxen, horses, etc., as dowries to their wives, he answered; that they might be allowed not only to do this, but everything else not sinful, which it had been their custom to do before their baptism. Peter had been a fisherman, and Matthew a toll-gatherer; after they were converted, Peter returned to his nets, but Matthew did not return to his former employment as a toll-gatherer. And as they had asked him about the propriety of their dress, he said:[5] "We require no alteration of your outward garb, but only the change of your inward man; — that ye put on Christ; as the apostle says of all who have been baptized into Christ, that they have put on Christ. We inquire about nothing, except whether ye

[1] L. c. c. 21.
[2] L. c. c. 20.
[3] L. c. c. 42.
[4] L. c. c. 49.
[5] L. c. c. 59.

increase in faith and in good works." The cautious prudence of the pope, on all matters of this sort, is shown by his answer when solicited to give them a collection of civil laws. He said that he would be very glad to send them such books, as might serve their purpose in this respect for the present, were he sure that there were any among them, who would be able to interpret and expound them.[1] And, for this reason, his delegates were charged not to leave behind them any of the books of this description, which they had taken along with them, lest mischievous consequences might arise, either from wrong interpretations or from falsifications of the text.

On another point, however, the pope was prevented, by his church prejudices, or his misunderstanding of the Scriptures, from attempting to conciliate the spontaneous feelings of nature with those of the Christian. The Bulgarians had inquired of him concerning the fate of their ancestors, who had died without the faith. He answered,[2] that for them they ought not to pray; adducing in proof the passage in 1 John 5: 16, respecting the sin which is unto death. Moreover, as the interest which he took in his idea of the papacy actuated him no less than his interest for the spread of Christianity — the two being inseparably connected together in his mind — he could not forbear inculcating it on the prince as an important principle, that though it would be necessary to appoint bishops over the new church, yet these should be held bound, in all dubious and weighty concerns, to ask council of the apostolic chair.[3]

From these transactions of pope Nicholas with the Bulgarians, it must appear quite evident, that he was far better qualified to provide for their religious wants, than a Greek patriarch had proved to be. Yet the Bulgarians still continued to waver, according to the sway of their political interests, between the Greek and the Latin church, till finally they decided once more wholly in favor of the first. The Greek emperor, Basilius the Macedonian, spared neither pains nor expense, to bring about this result; and at length it was so arranged, that a Greek archbishop, and Greek bishops, chosen from among the monks, were admitted into the country, and set over the Bulgarian church.[4]

The conversion of the tribes bordering on the Greek empire, was brought about chiefly through the exertions of two men from Constantinople, Constantine a monk,[5] called a Philosopher, or, according to his ecclesiastical name, Cyrillus, and his brother Methodius; the latter being probably the same person, whom we have already noticed in

[1] L. c. c. 13.

[2] L. c. c. 88.

[3] Semper in rebus dubiis et negotiis majoribus sedem totius ecclesiae more consulent apostolicam.

[4] Constantin. Porphyrogenit. Life of Macedo, considering the subject from the standing-point of the system of doctrine taught in the Greek church, represents the matter as if the Bulgarians were now, for the first time, rightly instructed in Christianity. See § 95.

[5] Anastasius, in his preface to the fourth general council of Constantinople, notices him as a friend of the learned Photius, and a zealous defender of church orthodoxy, — Constantinus philosophus magnae sanctitatis vir. Harduin. Concil. T. V. p. 752. The title "philosopher" was given to him, either on account of his learned education, or of his distinguished eminence as a monk.

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connection with Bulgaria.[1] When the Chazars, a powerful tribe, who inhabited the peninsula of Crimea, where Jews and Mohammedans were seeking to make proselytes, sent an embassy to the Greek emperor Michael, requesting him to provide for them a teacher of Christianity, the abovementioned Cyrill was despatched on this mission. A part of the people embraced Christianity; yet, as late as the tenth century, they were still divided between pagans, who constituted the minority, and Mohammedans, Jews, and Christians.[2]

Cyrill, who was afterwards assisted by his brother Methodius, extended the sphere of his labors from this people to other pagan tribes.

The Slavonian nation of the Moravians had been made subject to the Frankish empire by Charlemagne; and by this connection, Chris-

[1] It is to be lamented, that the accounts we have of these two remarkable men are so meagre and unauthentic. The oldest, in the Actis sanct. f. 19, at the 9th of March.

Some time after this section was printed, I succeeded in obtaining, through the particular kindness of H. Kopitar, of Vienna, a copy of a rare work, of which I would have been glad to avail myself before — the Greek biography of Clement, archbishop of Bulgaria, composed by his scholar the archbishop Theophylact, and published from a manuscript belonging to the monastery of St. Maum, in Macedonia, ἐπιστασίᾳ Ἀμβροσίου ἱερονομάκου τοῦ Παμπέρεως, together with a tract by Nicephorus Callistus, αωβ' (1802). Though this biograpby is an authority of no great weight, in what it reports concerning the fortunes of Cyrill and Methodius, and the history of the Moravian church, yet the accounts it contains respecting the labors of Clement in Bulgaria, bear marks of special accuracy and truth. We are enabled by means of them, to form a nearer acquaintance with those missionaries, who did so much for the instruction and culture of a rude people; and the spirit of Methodius is seen in his school, in a very advantageous point of light. We could wish that, in some one of the Slavonian languages, sources may yet be found to furnish still more contributions to the history of this remarkable man. It is said here, that when Clement, with other scholars of Methodius, were driven, after his death, through the influence of the Latin and German party, out of Moravia, they repaired to Bulgaria, and were received by the prince Bogoris (Βορίσης, as he is here called), with the greater joy, because this country stood in great need of teachers. The author of this writing, who represents himself as a Bulgarian, describes, with enthusiastic love for his teacher Clement, the zealous activity of the latter in everything which could advance the improvement of the people and the country. He had chosen out for himself a band of three thousand five hundred young men, on whose Christian instruction he bestowed his particular attention, and from among whom he endeavored to train up teachers for the rest. He took pains to instruct the very children in reading and writing, and to make them understand what they read. He was never idle — says his biographer — sometimes he undertook to do two things at once, — he wrote, and at the same time taught the children. As the Bulgarian priests were too ignorant, to instruct the people by preaching, as they had no homilies written in their own language, and could not understand Greek, he composed in the Bulgarian tongue a series of simple discourses, adapted to the condition of the rude people, for all the festivals of the year (Λόγους οἵους μὴ διαφεύγειν μὴ δὲ τὸν ἠλιθιώτατον ἐν Βουλγάροις). As no trees or herbs were to be found in Bulgaria, save the wild growth of the forests and the fields, to supply this deficiency, he procured from the Greek empire fruit-trees of every sort, and improved the wild trees by ingrafting. To excite a taste among the Bulgarians for the arts of cultivated life, he caused beautiful churches to be built, and sought by this means also to chain their affections to the house and worship of God. First a monastery was founded in the city of Achrida, the principal seat of his labors; then an episcopal residence was erected for him at Drembritza, or Belitza, the first determinate episcopal see in this country. He died in the year 6424, according to the Byzantine era of the world, therefore in the year 916.

[2] So relates Achmed Ibn Foszlani, who travelled as an ambassador of the caliphs thorugh their country, in the year 921. Their king, at that time, was a Jew. See the Essay of Frähn, in the Memoires de l'Académie de St. Petersbourg. Tom. VII. 1820. p. 590.

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tianity found its way to many parts of the tribe. The active sphere of Arno, archbishop of Salzburg, to whom Charlemagne had given the direction of a mission among these Slavonian tribes,[1] as also of his successors, had been extended to these parts; and the newly founded churches in the present provinces of Carinthia, Steiermark and Hungary, were reckoned as belonging partly to the see of Salzburg, partly to that of the archbishops of Lorch. Thus the princes Moymar and Privinna, who stood in connection with the German empire, appear under the character of Christian princes. The latter of these resided at Mosburg on the lake of Platten (supposed to be the modern Salawar), and had founded in that place a Christian church.[2] But the Moravian nation, as a whole, was still devoted to paganism; and its ruler, Radislav or Rastices, formed an alliance, from motives of political interest, with the Greek empire. This furnished the occasion on account of which the two brothers, already mentioned, came to be sent to him as teachers of Christianity. That which distinguishes Cyrill from all the other missionaries of this period is the fact, that he did not yield to the prejudice, which represented the languages of the rude nations as too profane to be employed for sacred uses, nor shrink from any toil which was necessary in order to become accurately acquainted with the language of the people among whom he labored. Accordingly he resided for a long time at Chersonesus in order to learn the language of the Chazars;[3] and in like manner he mastered the Slavonian tongue, when he was called to teach among Slavonian nations. On this occasion, he invented for it an alphabet, and translated the Holy Scriptures into the language. He also made use of it for liturgical purposes: — so much greater interest did he feel in enabling the people to appropriate Christianity with a clear sense of its import, than to introduce among them a bare ceremonial. But when afterwards it so happened, that the Moravian prince, induced by political changes, entered into a closer connection with the German empire and the Western church, this step, taken at a time when the schism between the Greek and Latin churches first broke out, was naturally followed by an entanglement of ecclesiastical relations. Cyrill and Methodius proved themselves to be men who placed a higher value on the interests of Christianity than on those of a particular church. They repaired to Rome, where they found no difficulty in entering into an understanding with pope Hadrian I. Cyrill resigned his office, and remained at Rome as a monk.[4] But Me-

[1] See Vol. III. p. 82.

[2] See the narrative of a Salzburgian priest of the year 873. De Conversione Bajoariorum et Carenthanorum, in Freher's Scriptores rerum Bohemicarum, f. 19.

[3] See the oldest report in the Actis sanct. § 2.

[4] This part of the history, as well as the first negotiations of Cyrill and Methodius with the pope, is enveloped in great obscurity. According to the later legends, though the oldest of the above cited narratives says nothing of the kind, Cyrill was summoned to Rome by pope Nicolaus, to give an account of himself for using the Slavonian tongue in the liturgical services. But it is said he did not arrive at Rome until after the death of Nicholas in 868, when he removed all scruples respecting this use of the Slavonian tongue from the mind of his successor, pope Hadrian. But these accounts cannot be correct; for it is plain from the letter of pope John VIII. to Methodius, that no negotiations had as yet been held on this subject; and as in the letters written by this pope to Moravia, the same remarks, and often expressed in the same language, occur, as those said to have

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thodius, after having testified his submission to the Romish church, and laid down an oral as well as a written confession of faith, which satisfied the pope, was consecrated by the latter archbishop of the Moravian church.[1] At a later period, however, the activity of Methodius seems to have been interrupted or checked by political disturbances in the Moravian kingdom, — its wars with the German empire, the occurrences subsequent to the capture of Radislav, and the chequered fortunes of his successor Zwentibald or Swatopluk, in 870 and the following years. Whether it was, that the disturbances in Moravia induced him to take refuge in the adjacent Christian provinces connected with the German empire, over which Chozil, the son of Privinna, ruled; or that he extended the circle of his labors to these districts; suffice it to say, that his appearance in this field where Salzburgian priests were laboring, aroused the jealousy and suspicion of the German clergy. His attachment to the customs of the Greek church, his holding divine service in the Slavonian tongue, and the peculiar form in which he caused the creed to be chanted, with regard to the process of the Holy Spirit, all this would appear strange and foreign to the German ecclesiastics;[2] while the celebration of divine worship in the Slavonian tongue, which was understood by the people, would naturally be more edifying to the people than the same held in the to them unintelligible Latin language. This displeased the German clergy, who forfeited their good standing with the people, and the Salzburgian arch-priest who presided over the ecclesiastical institutions in this district, withdrew for this reason to Salzburg.[3]

Thus complaints on the part of the German clergy against the archbishop Methodius, reached the ear of pope John VIII. He was accused of having infringed on the see of the archbishop of Salzburg;

been orally made by Cyrill to pope Hadrian, it may be conjectured, that Cyrill's discourse was made up out of these remarks of the pope. This was already perceived by Asseman, Kalendaria ecclesiae universae, Tom. III. p. 175, and by Dobrowsky in his historico-critical Essay on Cyrill and Methodius, Prague, 1823, p. 71. But it is manifest from this circumstance, how uncertain the later narratives must be, which are connected with this part of church history.

[1] This may be gathered from the words of pope John to Methodius, ep. 90. sicut verbis et literis te sanctae Romanae ecclesiae credere promisisti. Harduin. Concil. T. VI. P. I. p. 61.

[2] The aversion felt towards Methodius betrays itself in the report of the above mentioned contemporary priests, in the narrative of the Salzburgian priest, De conversione Bojor. et Carinth. where he speaks of Methodius' arrival within the province of prince Chozil, and says that the archpriest Richbald, who had been sent there by the archbishop of Salzburg was induced by that circumstance to return home again. "Qui multum tempus ibi demoratus est, exercens suum potestative officium, sicut illi injunxit archepiscopus suus, usquedum quidam Graecus Methodius nomine noviter inventis Slavinis literis linguam Latinam doctrinamque Romanam atque literas auctorabiles latinas philosophice superducens." That is, Methodius despises the Latin language and doctrine as a philosopher, — just as complaints were afterwards made about the nova doctrina Methodii philosophi. The name philosopher is certainly not applied to him here as an encomium; but to denote that he was unchurchlike. But this name, Methodius may have brought with him from his country, as his brother Constantine or Cyrill had done. See the continuation of the Latin words in the following note.

[3] The remarkable words of the above mentioned priest, who related this, when it had just taken place: "vilescere fecit cuncto populo ex parte missas et evangelia ecclesiasticumque officium illorum, qui hoc latine celebraverunt quod ille ferre non volens, sedem repetiit Juvavensem."

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he was reproached with employing a different language from that of the church in divine worship, and doubtless also with the attachment which he showed to the Greek church, and with his deviations from the Romish in many other particulars. Though the pope was disposed to protect an archbishop ordained at Rome in his dignity and his rights, where he was dependent only on the pope himself, and not to give him up as a victim to the German bishops; yet by these accusations, his mind was filled with misgivings, as might naturally be expected, especially at that period of constant bickerings between the Latin and the Greek church.[1] For these reasons, he summoned the archbishop Methodius to Rome, at the same time forbidding him to hold mass in any other than the Greek or the Latin language, according to the universal practice of the churches scattered among the different nations. Yet he was allowed to preach in the language of the country, because in the 117th Psalm all the people are called upon to praise God, and the apostle Paul, Philip. 2: 11, says every tongue shall confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father. Methodius obeyed the call, and in the year 879 repaired to Rome, accompanied by an ambassador of the Moravian prince Swatopluk and by a certain Wichin, whom that prince wished to have ordained as bishop of Neitra.[2] Methodius succeeded in coming to an understanding with the pope on all the contested points. He was completely satisfied with the explanation of his doctrinal views, and allowed him to retain his accustomed form of expressing the creed in respect to the doctrine of the Holy Spirit.[3] Methodius succeeded in convincing the pope also that the use which he had hitherto made of the Slavonian language in divine worship was in no respect reprehensible, but altogether conducive to the edification of the people. The pope even stood forth as his defender on this point, and wrote as follows to the Moravian prince:[4] "The alphabet invented by a certain philosopher Constantine,[5] to the end that

[1] The pope was informed, that the Moravians had fallen into doubts respecting the true faith; and he exhorts them (see the letter ad Tuventarum de Marauna, ep. 89) to adhere firmly in all things to the faith of the Romish church. We may doubtless infer from this, that a suspicion had entered the mind of the pope that the Moravians were inclined to favor the doctrine of the Greek church. He says, in fact, concerning Methodius, quia aliter docet, quam coram sede apostolica se credere verbis et literis professus est, valde miramur. This prince Tuventar must have belonged to a Slavonian tribe converted long before this time; for the pope speaks as if his ancestors had received the Christian doctrine from the preceding popes. Dobrowsky in his work, Moravian legends concerning Cyrill and Methodius, Prague, 1826, p. 60, expresses the conjecture that Marauna was the city Morawa, situated near the extreme limits of Pannonia.

[2] Ecclesia Nitrensis.

[3] It is clear, that this had been a subject of controversy. The pope says of it in his letter to the Moravian princes, ep. 107: "Igitur hunc Methodium venerabilem archepiscopum vestrum interrogavimus coram positis fratribus nostris episcopis, si orthodoxae fidei symbolum ita crederet et inter sacra missarum solennia caneret, sicuti sanctam Romanam ecclesiam tenere et in sanctis sex universalibus synodis a sanctis patribus secundum evangelicam Christi Dei nostri auctoritatem promulgatum est atque traditum constat. Ille autem professus est, se juxta evangelicam et apostolicam doctrinam sicuti sancta Romana ecclesia docet et a patribus traditum est, tenere et psallere." This has reference to the retaining of the creed in the unaltered ancient form which was conformable to the evangelica Christi auctoritas, the words of Christ, John 15: 26. See more on this point under the history of controversies.

[4] Ep. 107.

[5] This expression deserves notice: literas a *Constantino quodam philosopho* repertas." Thus it is customary to speak of a

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God's praise may duly sound forth in it, we rightly commend; and we order that in this language the messages and works of our Lord Christ be declared; for we are exhorted by Holy Scripture to praise the Lord, not in three languages alone, but in all tongues and nations, Ps. cxvii. and Philip. ii. And the apostles, full of the Holy Ghost, proclaimed in all languages the great works of God. And the apostle Paul exhorts us, 1 Cor. xiv, that speaking in tongues we should edify the church. It stands not at all in contradiction with the faith, to celebrate the mass in this language, to read the gospel or lessons from the Scriptures properly translated into it, or to rehearse any of the church hymns in the same (aut alia horarum officia omnia psallere); for the God who is the author of the three principal languages, created the others also for his own glory. Only it is necessary, in order to greater solemnity, that in all the Moravian churches the gospel should in the first place be publicly read in Latin, and then repeated in the Slavonian language, so as to be understood by the people."[1]

The pope consecrated the before named Wichin bishop of Neitra, and directed that, at some future time, another priest or deacon of the Moravians should be sent to him for the purpose of being ordained to the episcopal office; so that the archbishop together with these two suffragan bishops could afterwards according to the ancient rule, consecrate such bishops as might be needed for the new church. In 880, Methodius returned home to his diocese. The pope recommended him, in emphatic terms, to his sovereign, whose prejudices no doubt had already been excited against him. The pope also confirmed him as independent archbishop of the new church, responsible to no other person than himself for his administration of that church,[2] which was doubtless intended to shield him against the attacks he had to endure from the German prelates.

But Methodius could not fail to be involved, on his return, in new disputes with the German bishops and clergy; for these latter would not consent that the Moravians, who had been dependent on the German empire and on the German church, and received the first seeds of Christianity from German bishops, should now form an independent church under their own archbishop, and that a district should be withdrawn from the diocese of a German prelate which had once belonged to it.[3] Added to this, was the particular aversion of the Germans to

man, of whom little is known. How is it conceivable that, if the pope knew this Constantine to be the brother of Methodius, if this Constantine had been in the office of his predecessors recognized by the pope, if he had died as a monk at Rome, the pope should have so expressed himself concerning him; especially since it must have been pleasing to him to recommend the alphabet particularly on account of its inventor, a holy monk, a man who had died in true submission to St. Peter's church at Rome, the founder of the Moravian church.

[1] To this the pope adds: "et si tibi et judicibus tuis placet missas Latina Lingua magis audire, praecipimus, ut Latine missarum tibi solemnia celebrentur." Perhaps the solemnity of the mass, when celebrated in a sacred language, had been more agreeable to the Moravian princes.

[2] Nam populus Domini illi commissus est et pro animabus eorum hic redditurus est rationem.

[3] This mode of viewing the matter is presented in the complaints, which Theotmar, archbishop of Salzburg, with his suffragans, offered in the year 900 to pope John IX. Harduin. Concil. T. VI. P. I. p. 126. Terra Slavinorum, quis Moravi dicuntur, quae regibus nostris et populo nos-

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an archbishop coming from the Greek church, and their blind fanatical zeal against the peculiarities of that church, after the antagonism between the two churches[1] had once become publicly expressed. Before this time, the German clergy seem to have acquired some influence over the Moravian prince, which influence was now increased by the change of political relations, the close alliance of Swatopluk with duke Arnolph of Carinthia, afterwards emperor. Hence arose more serious misunderstandings between Methodius and his sovereign.[2] The bishop Wichin, who should have acted as his subordinate, attached himself to the German party, and appeared as his opponent. It should seem, that he affected the air of one who had been directed by the pope to keep a watch over Methodius and see that he remained true to the principles of the Latin church, and attempted nothing in contradiction to them. And he seems to have taken advantage of this, to injure the archbishop in various ways.[3] Even Swatopluk ap-

tro, nobis quoque cum habitatoribus suis subacta fuerat tam in cultu Christianae religionis, quam in tributo substantiae secularis, quia exinde primum imbuti et ex paganis Christiani sunt facti. Archbishop Methodius is passed over in silence in this letter, as if no such man had ever existed, and only the bishop Wichin, ordained at Rome, is mentioned, and he as one who had been ordained for a country then for the first time subdued by the Moravian princes, and then for the first time made acquainted with Christianity by means of the Moravians (a country therefore whose case was quite different from that of the Moravians, who had before this been converted by missionaries from Germany). By the appointment of *this* bishop, the interests of the German church were not endangered.

[1] See on a future page.

[2] The old legends, which speak of the misunderstanding between the two, of the excommunication which Methodius pronounced on the prince, of his journey to Rome and his recall, deserve but little credence, owing to their character in other respects, and particularly on account of the want of all connection in the narratives. Besides, the cause of the misunderstanding is still left in uncertainty. But by comparing the documents already cited, and the consolatory letter of the pope to Methodius, presently to be mentioned, and by considering the fact that Methodius soon disappears from the page of history, we may come to some clear conclusion with regard to the truth which lies at the bottom of these accounts. In the narrative, not now before me, of the life of the Bulgarian archbishop Clement, said to have been a disciple of Methodius, written at a much later period, from which a fragment was first published by Leo Allatius, and which was published complete at Vienna in 1802, the true cause of the quarrel is correctly stated by a zealous adherent of the Greek church, as having been the aversion of the German clergy to that church. See the passages drawn from this writing by Dobrowsky, in the essay already referred to, Cyrill and Methodius. P. 115.

According to the account in the above cited biography of Clement, Methodius died in Moravia, having administered the archiepiscopal office 24 years; and it was not until after his death, that the Frankish or German party obtained the ascendancy, and induced Swatopluk to persecute those who adhered to the doctrine of the Greek church. Methodius had fixed upon one of his scholars, Gorasd, a Moravian acquainted with the Greek as well as the Slavonian language, for his successor; but this person was supplanted by bishop Wichin (Βιχνῖκος), with whom Methodius himself had many contests, and who stood at the head of the German party. The scholars of Methodius, among whom Gorasd, Clement, Naum, Angelarius and Sabbas, are mentioned as the most distinguished, were expelled the country. The author of this writing complains of the ill-treatment which they suffered from the German soldiers: Νεμιτζοι (Slavonian name for the Germans) φύσει τὸ ἀνήμερον ἔχοντες.

[3] We infer this from the fact that the pope, in his letter to Methodius, deemed it necessary to assure him, that he had never given any such commission to that bishop (who certainly can be no other than the Wichin also named in the Life of archbishop Clement), nor bound him by oath to any supervision of that nature. Neque episcopo illi palam vel secreto aliud faciendum injunximus et aliud a te peragendum decrevimus, quanto minus credendum est, ut sacramentum ab eodem episcopo exegerimus, quem saltem levi sermone super hoc negotio allocuti non fuimus.

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pealed to a letter of the pope; whether it was, that he misconstrued the language of the letter above cited, or that he pretended to have received another. Methodius had many difficulties to encounter;[1] and when his adversaries appealed to those plenary powers which they had received from the pope, he began doubtless to feel perplexed about this. He reported to the pope the whole matter; and begged for permission to appear himself once more in his presence. John VIII. granted him his request; and was desirous at the same time of hearing both sides. Meantime, he endeavored to assure him, by a friendly letter,[2] of the sincerity of his intentions towards him;[3] and exhorted him to persevere in prosecuting the work which he had begun, in the confidence that if God was for him, no man could prevail against him. Methodius availed himself of the permission given him by the pope. In 881, he went to Rome, and from that time he disappears from the records of history; whether it was, that he soon after died, or that the party so hostile to him in Moravia did not permit him again to enter his field of labor in that country. The German bishops continued still to oppose the founding of an independent Moravian archbishopric,[4] till the Moravian kingdom was dissolved, and became a prey to the Germans, Hungarians and Bohemians.

By occasion of the political dependence of Bohemia on the Moravian kingdom, at the time when Methodius was laboring in the latter country, duke Borziwoi of Bohemia became acquainted with Christianity at the court of his liege-lord, and was baptized.[5] For a long time, however, the contest was maintained between Christianity and paganism in the afterwards independent kingdom of Bohemia. Borzi-

[1] As the pope says in his letter: Quidquid enormiter adversum te est commissum, quidquid jam dictus episcopus contra suum ministerium in te exercuit."

[2] Ep. 268. Mansi Concil. T. XVI. f. 199.

[3] "Ideo cesset ista dubietas," he writes to him.

[4] See the above mentioned letter of the archbishop of Salzburg to pope John IX, and the letter, written in the like spirit, of Hatto, archbishop of Mentz, and his suffragan bishops, to the same pope. Illi autem Moravenses in occasionem superbiae assumunt, quia a vestra concessione dicunt se metropolitanum suscipere et singulariter degentes aliorum episcoporum consortia refutant. Mansi Concil. T. XVIII. f. 205.

[5] Dean Cosmos, of Prague, in his Bohemian Chronicles, makes mention of the baptism of Borziwoi in the year 994. Were this date correct, then, according to what we have above remarked respecting the life of Methodius, no immediate share can be assigned to him in the conversion of Borziwoi. Dobrowsky, the learned investigator of the history of the Slavonian church, thought he must put the conversion of Borziwoi between the years 870 and 880; see his Moravian Legends of Cyrill and Methodius, p. 114. The contested Moravian-Bohemian legends relate that when Borziwoi betook himself to the court of his feudal lord, and, as a heathen, could not eat at the same table with him, but must eat with his own people, sitting upon the ground, Methodius testified sympathy for him, and improved the opportunity to direct his attention to what he would gain for this temporal life, as well as for the eternal, by the reception of Christianity. Moreover, what is here said of the relation of the vassal to his superior, is at least consistent with Slavonian customs. See above, p. 313.

What is said of the relation of Drahomira to Ludmilla, needed a more careful examination. The Russian legend, considered by those who are versed in the Slavonian literature, as very ancient, and published by M. Wostokow, of St. Petersburg, from a manuscript of the fifteenth century, represents the relation of Drahomira to Christianity in a far more favorable point of light. When I wrote what is found in the text, I could not avail myself of this legend, which has since been made known to me, in a translation, by a special kindness of a learned scholar in the Slavonian literature.

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woi's son, duke Wratislav, left behind him, at his death in 925, two minor sons, the elder named Wenzeslav, and a younger Boleslav. The care of their education was entrusted to their grandmother Ludmilla, a devoted Christian, and she was at the head of the Christian party. Their mother, on the other hand, Drahomira or Dragomir, who became mistress of the kingdom, was devoted with a blind zeal to paganism, and doubtless feared also lest Ludmilla's influence might endanger her power. She procured her assassination. In the meantime, Wenzeslav had received into a susceptible mind the seeds of Christian piety imparted to him by his grandmother. The ardor of his Christian zeal, however, was marred by one defect. He had not been so educated and disciplined as to qualify him for acting to the greatest advantage as a sovereign, for the advancement of God's kingdom; but had received such training and direction as belonged rather, at that time, to the profession of a clergyman or a monk. On coming to the government, he exerted himself not only to suppress idolatry and to destroy its monuments, but also to introduce Christian discipline and a reformation of morals among his people, as well as to soften the rudeness of their manners. He abolished the frequent and cruel punishments of death, and founded monasteries, churches, and benevolent institutions.[1]

Already, as it is said, he was on the eve of abdicating the sovereign authority, becoming a monk, and making a pilgrimage to Rome, when, at the instigation of his brother, Boleslav, a man fanatically devoted to paganism, he was murdered, in the year 938. With the accession of this prince, surnamed the Cruel, paganism again revived. Yet, by a treaty of peace, into which Boleslav was forced by his conqueror, the emperor Otho I, in the year 950, he was obliged to promise the restoration of the churches and the reëstablishment of the priests. He himself seems to have undergone some change of mind, under the suffering of his later reverses, and, from sincere conviction, to have professed Christianity at a later period. The foundation of the Bohemian church was completed by his son and successor, Boleslav the Mild, under whose reign this church was established with a fixed central point, in the archbishopric of Prague. Yet, for a long time, pagan barbarism maintained its sway in Bohemia, under the garb of Christianity.[2] Fierce and violent were the contests which Adalbert, a man sprung from a noble family of that land, and educated at Magdeburg, had to sustain, when, in 983, he became archbishop of Prague; and, impatient of the hitherto prevailing outbreaks of barbarism, endeavored to compel submission from the people to all the ordinances of the church. He strove particularly to suppress polygamy, the concubinage of the clergy, and the traffic in Christian slaves carried on by the Jews.[3] Had Adalbert been more free from

[1] See Memoir of his life by the monk Christian, in Balbini epitome hist. rerum Bohemicarum, f. 54.

[2] The biographer of archbishop Adalbert of Prague says of the Bohemians (see Acta sanctor. April. T. II. f. 179): "Plerique nomine tenus Christiani ritu gentilium vivunt."

[3] L. c. f. 181.

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fanatical extravagances, and had he been less deficient in Christian prudence and coolness, he would, no doubt, have been able to accomplish more than he did. He aspired to die as a martyr. After having twice fled to Rome from the rude people who would not listen to his voice, and retired to the monastic life, and twice returned home to his see at the pope's command, and after having abandoned it again for the third time, in following his restless impulse to labor and suffer for the faith, he met the death he desired, in 997, among the Prussians. It was not till the year 1038, that Severus, archbishop of Prague, succeeded, under more favorable circumstances, to enforce the ecclesiastical laws respecting the contract and sacred observance of a Christian marriage, the keeping of festival days, and similar matters, to the promulgation of which he pretended to have been called in a vision, by the martyr Adalbert himself.[1] The use of the Slavonian language in divine worship, which had been derived by this church from the Moravians, and prevailed in scattered instances, was also fiercely opposed, and looked upon by many as heretical.[2]

From the times of Charlemagne, various attempts had been made, to reduce certain populous tribes of Slavonian origin, bearing the name of Wends, and dwelling on the northern and eastern borders of Germany, between the Elbe, Oder, and Saale, to the Frankish empire, and bring them over to the Romish church. But that Christianity which had been imposed on them by constraint, and with the loss of their liberties and independent individuality as a nation, became odious to them. The devastating irruptions of the Normans, of which we have spoken on a former page, contributed to the revival of paganism in these districts. Too little pains had been bestowed on the business of giving religious instruction to this people, in a form adapted to their national peculiarities. Though individual bishops to whose dioceses many people from these tribes belonged, labored zealously for their conversion, yet there was a want of teachers for them, sufficiently well acquainted with the Slavonian tongue. And though it is evident, that individual bishops and monks,[3] led on by their pious zeal, did really acquire a knowledge of the Slavonian, yet the number was too small, compared with the great mass of the people who were to be converted. Had the example of Cyrill and Methodius found more imitators, the planting of the Christian church among these populations would have been greatly facilitated. How great a hindrance was presented by the foreign liturgical language, appears, among others, from the following example. Among the persons zealously engaged in laboring for the conversion of the Slavo-

[1] See the Chronicle of Cosmas, book II.

[2] See an example in the appendix to the the Chronicle of Cosmas. See Menken Script. rerum Germanicarum. T. III. f. 1786.

[3] Helmold, a parish priest belonging to the village Bosow, in the bishopric of Lubec, who in the twelfth century wrote a history of the conversion of the Slavonians, cites (l. I. c. VI. of his Chronica Slavorum) an old tradition, which states, that in the reign of the emperor Lewis II. monks from the monastery of Corvey — stimulated, perhaps, by the example of Anschar — had gone forth as missionaries among these Slavonian tribes.

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nians, belonged, in the last half of the tenth century, a certain Boso, who resided first as a monk in the abbey of St. Emmeran, at Regensburg, and was then employed as a clergyman in the service of the emperor Otho I. He learnt the Slavonian language, preached in it, converted and baptized many Slavonians; and the emperor rewarded his labors, by making him the first bishop over the see of Merseburg, founded by him for the Slavonians. He now wrote off for them the liturgical forms in Slavonian characters;[1] but in spite of all his pains to get them to sing the Kyrie Eleison, he could not succeed. They transformed the phrase into a combination of Slavonian words, with a somewhat similar sound, Kyrkujolsa, and amused themselves with the thought, that he wanted to have them sing "the alder stands in the hedge." It is a just remark, that a very different impression would, doubtless, have been made on these Slavonians, if Boso had taught them to sing the Slavonian Po milui.

Excited anew by the oppressions they suffered, the Slavonian tribes repeatedly broke away from the yoke imposed on them; until at last it became possible, though not before a great portion of the people were exterminated, and their national existence destroyed, to bring about, in a way contradictory to the very essence of Christianity, the establishment of the church among them.[2]

The emperor Otho I. availed himself of the victories gained by his predecessor, Henry I, and by himself, over the Slavonian tribes in Germany, to give a firm shaping to the new Wend-German church, by founding several bishoprics; and, in so doing, he took pains to fill these bishoprics with men already distinguished for their zeal in promoting the diffusion of Christianity among these tribes. In 946, he founded the bishopric at Havelberg, in 948 the bishopric at Altenburg, or Oldenburg, among the Obotrites, one of the principal seats of the Slavonian power in Germany. This last-named bishopric became extremely rich, and the bishops could employ their wealth as a means for binding the Slavonian population, and their princes, to themselves. Furthermore, in 968 he founded the bishoprics of Meissen, Merseburg, Zeitz (which latter bishopric was transferred, in 1029, to the stronger city of Naumburg); and, in 968, he gave the new Slavonian church, with the concurrence of pope John XIII, a fixed central point, in the archbishopric founded at Magdeburg.[3] It was the emperor's design, that the bishopric of Oldenburg, like the

[1] Hic ut sibi commissos eo facilius instrueret, Slavonica scripserat verba. Ditmar Merseberg. Chronica l. II. f. 24. ed. Raineccii. Francof. 1580. But the whole passage is more complete, in the edition in Leibniz Script. rerum. Brunsvic. T. I.

[2] Adam of Bremen and Helmold agree in stating that the oppressions and extortions practised against the Slavonians, threw obstacles in the way of their conversion. Adam of Bremen cites the remark which he heard from the lips of the then king of Denmark: "Populos Slavorum jamdudum procul dubio facile converti posse ad Christianitatem, nisi Saxonum obstitissit avaritia. Quibus mens pronior est ad pensiones vectigalium. quam ad conversionem gentilium. Nec attendunt miseri quantum suae cupiditatis luant periculum, qui Christianitatem in Slavonia primo per avaritiam turbaveruut, deinde per crudelitatem subjecto ad rebellandum coëgerunt et nunc salutem eorum, qui credere vellent, pecuniam solum exigendo contemnunt."

[3] See Helmold l. I. c. 12.

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other Slavonian bishoprics, should be subordinate to this common metropolis; but this plan was frustrated by the opposition of the archbishops of Hamburg, who asserted the claims of the ecclesiastical province originally assigned to them.[1] The first archbishop of Magdeburg was Adalbert, from a monastery at Triers, who was ordained bishop with a view to preach the gospel to the Slavonians on the island of Rügen.[2] Having found it impossible, however, to get any access to the minds of the people, he presided for some time over the abbey of Weissenburg, when a new and wider field of labor among the Slavonians was opened to him, as archbishop of Magdeburg.[3]

But new oppressions and insults led to a new and general insurrection of the Wends. One of their chiefs, by name Mistiwoi, who had become a Christian, and attached himself to the service of German sovereigns, was exasperated by a personal injury. In 983, he collected together his countrymen for a new contest, at Rethre, the principal seat of the Wendish worship, and hence also the central point of the nation; and soon Northern Germany was wasted by fire and sword. Every Christian foundation was destroyed with unsparing fury; and paganism stood erect again among these Slavonians. Yet Christianity must have left a more enduring impression on the mind of the Wendish chief himself; and when his passions had time to subside, he probably contemplated what he had lost, with repentance and regret. As his countrymen refused to tolerate him while he remained a Christian, he finally left them, to spend the remainder of his days, as a Christian, at Bardewik.[4]

A somewhat similar change in the course of his religious convictions was experienced by Gottschalk, an uncle of this Mistiwoi, whose life forms an important epoch in the history of the conversion of Slavonian tribes in Germany. Educated in a school at Luneburg, he received a Christian training, when the news of the murder of his father, the Wendish prince Udo, so wrought upon his mind, that he fled from Luneburg, determined to revenge his father's death on the enemies of his people.[5] The spirited and enterprising youth collected together his countrymen for a new and bloody war, and spread havoc and desolation over North-Albingia, in the district of Hamburg and Holstein. But the Christian feelings, instilled into him by his religious education, could not be wholly suppressed at once; and it so happened, that on a certain occasion, while surveying the scene of desolation which he had created, and beholding a once populous and highly cultivated district, which had been sprinkled over with numerous churches, converted into a barren waste, he was seized with deep pangs of remorse at the reflection that all this misery was caused by himself; his conscience was aroused, and he felt constrained to make restitution for the wrong, and once more consecrate his life to the religion in which he had been educated. This Gottschalk became, in 1047, the founder of a great Wendish kingdom. The whole aspect of things was now changed; for a

[1] L. c. c. 1.
[2] Or the Russians. See further on.
[3] See the old Narratio de erectio ecclesiae Magdeburgensis in Meibom. Scriptores rerum Germ. T. I. f. 734.
[4] Helmold I. c. 16. [5] Helmold, I. c. 19

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chief sprung from the people themselves, and animated by a sincere love of his countrymen, was striving to impart to them, out of a true regard for their well-being, Christianity and Christian culture. Gottschalk sent in every direction for clergymen to come and labor among his people; which was attended however, with this great disadvantage, that many of them were ignorant of the Slavonian language. Gottschalk contributed his own efforts to remedy this deficiency. In the church he often addressed exhortatory discourses to the people, and translated for them the forms of the Latin liturgy, which the bishops and priests used, into the Slavonian tongue.[1] New churches and monasteries were founded at Lubec, Oldenburg, Ratzeburg, Lentzen (Leontium), Mecklenburg, a principal place of the Obotrites (not far from Wismar). Adalbert or Albrecht, archbishop of Bremen or Hamburg, encouraged him, in an interview at Hamburg, to steadfastness in defending the faith, and to perseverance in zeal for its diffusion. Bremen being at that time the central point for the missions of the North, where banished bishops, clergymen, and monks from all quarters gathered around him, for whom he had to provide the means of subsistence, Albrecht joyfully welcomed the opportunity which was now offered to him of assigning them elsewhere a field of labor;[2] though it must be confessed that such persons were not always the best qualified to act as missionaries among the Slavonians. With his zeal for the diffusion of Christianity, this prelate united an ambition to appear as a patriarch of the North; and this induced him, for the purpose of multiplying the number of bishoprics under his care, to divide one bishopric of Oldenburg into three, and to found two other bishoprics at Ratzeburg and Mecklenburg,[3] which may have been a salutary thing for the new church among a rude people that needed careful oversight. Yet this new ecclesiastical creation was soon destroyed.

Though Gottschalk had converted a large portion of his people to Christianity, at least to all appearance; yet the heathen portion, whose fury he had roused against him by his zeal for the spread of Christianity, and by the alliances which he had formed with the Christian princes of Germany, was still too strong; and the devout king fell a sacrifice to his zeal. On the 9th of June, A. D. 1066, he perished as a martyr at Leutzen,[4] together with the priest Ebbo (Eppo), who was sacrificed on the altar, and many ecclesiastics and laymen, who were made to suffer a variety of tortures. The monk Ansverus and others, were stoned to death near Ratzeburg. This monk[5] is said to

[1] Princeps Godescalcus tanto religionis exarsit studio, ut ordinis sui oblitus, frequenter in ecclesia sermonem exhortationis ad populum fecerit, ea quae mystice ab episcopis et presbyteris dicebantur, Sclavonicis verbis cupiens reddere planiora. Adam. Bremens. hist. eccles. c. 138. Agreeing to a word, as generally in this section respecting Gottschalk, Helmold Chronica Slavor. l. I. c. 20.

[2] Adam of Bremen c. 142. Ut parvula Brema ex illius virtute instar Romae divulgata ab omnibus terrarum partibus devote peteretur, maxime ab aquilonalibus populis, and Helmold l. I. c. 22. Confluebant ergo in curiam ejus multi sacerdotes et religiosi, plerique etiam episcopi, qui sedibus suis exturbati, mensae ejus erant participes, quorum sarcina ipse alleviari cupiens, transmisit eos in latitudinem gentium.

[3] Helmold I. c. 22.

[4] Adam of Bremen says: Passus est noster Maccabæus.

[5] See Adam of Bremen, c. 166 and the appendix, Helmold I. c. 22.

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have entreated the pagans that they would first stone his companions, for whose steadfastness he had fears, and when these had suffered martyrdom, he fell cheerfully on his knees, and offered up his life. The old bishop, John of Mecklenberg, was first beaten all over with clubs, then dragged in mockery through the several cities of the Slavonians: and as he refused to deny the faith, his hands and feet were cut off, and then his head, fixed upon a pole, was carried about in triumph, and offered to the Wendish god Radegost in the Temple at Rethre (see above p. 325); which cruelties were the beginning of a new, general and fierce revolt among the Slavonians. Those who continued steadfast in their faith were murdered. The adjacent Christian provinces became once more a scene of desolation.

In this period was laid also the foundation of the Russian church; indeed, the first seeds of Christianity are said to have been conveyed among the Russians about the time they began to be united in one monarchy under the foreign prince Rurik, sprung from the Norman race of the Waragians. In spreading themselves to the southern parts of the present Russia, on the borders of the Roman empire in the East, they were, like other nations in the like circumstances, made acquainted with Christianity; and Greek emperors and patriarchs of Constantinople were induced to make attempts for their conversion. In the circular letter, issued by the patriarch Photius, in 866, against the Latin church, he states, among other things, that the people called Russians,[1] hitherto noted for their barbarism and cruelty, had forsaken idolatry, received Christianity, and allowed a bishop to be placed over them.[2] Photius evidently describes the change said to have been produced by means of the Greek church among the Russians, in a boastful and exaggerated style; but *some* truth doubtless lies at the bottom of this exaggerated representation. These attempts to introduce Christianity among the Russians seem to have been continued also by the emperor Basilius the Macedonian, and the restored patriarch Ignatius, of Constantinople; though here also, the exaggerated accounts of Greek historians,[3] mixed with those fables which so easily sprung up and spread among the Greeks of this period, are not entitled to absolute confidence. The commercial intercourse, as well as the wars of the Russians with the Greek empire, the enlistment of the Waragians in the service of the Byzantine government, all this contributed to bring it about, that in the succeeding times of the ninth and tenth centuries, many seeds of Christianity should be scattered anew among the Russians, without being followed, however, by conversions to any great extent. When in the year 945, the Russian Grand prince Igur concluded a treaty of peace with the Greek empire, the baptized Russians in the army who swore by the God of the Christians, and the pagans who swore by their Slavonian god Perun,[4] were already distinguished in the articles of the treaty, and mention is made of a church dedicated to Elias at Kiew, the capital of the Russico-Waragian

[1] Τὸ ἔθνος τὸ καλούμενον Ρῶς.

[2] Photii epistolae ed. Montacut. f. 58.

[3] See e. g. Cedreni Annales ed. Basil. f. 484.

[4] See the treaty of peace in the Annals of the Russian monk and historian Nestor, who lived near the close of this period, in the translation of Schlözer, Vol. IV. p. 95.

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empire.[1] This town seems to have been the most important centre for the diffusion of Christianity in these districts.[2] The rulers of the Russian empire were more taken up with other concerns, than with such as related to the interests of religion; and the very difference itself between the religion of the Waragians, the stock out of which the ruling dynasty had sprung, and who by virtue of their Norman descent were given to the religion of Odin, and that of the people devoted to the Slavonian idolatry, may have served to promote the more liberal tolerance of a third religion.

By witnessing the forms of Christian worship at Kiew, and by what they here learnt concerning Christianity, opportunity was now given to the Russians of comparing the old rude service of idols with Christianity, and thus it may have come about, that Olga, grand princess of Russia, was inspired with a desire of embracing the Christian faith. In 955, she made a journey, perhaps for this special purpose, to Constantinople, intending to receive baptism in the chief city of Christian culture; unless it may be supposed that she undertook the journey for some other cause, and was first induced by the impression made on her mind by witnessing the ceremonies of Christian worship on the spot, and by the persuasion of the Greeks, to receive the ordinance of baptism.[3] She took at her baptism the name Helena. She by no means succeeded, however, in gaining over her son Swätoslav, and her people generally, to Christianity. Perhaps she had recourse, in the year 959 or 960, to the emperor Otho I, attracted by his fame which had spread far and wide in every direction, and by the accounts given of the zeal he manifested for the conversion of the Slavonian tribes; perhaps by the ambassador whom she sent to his court she requested him to send her a bishop and priests.[4] If this story really refers to

[1] L. c. p. 99.

[2] The three following towns, Dorstede, Bremen and Kiew, were the most important metropolitan centres for the European missions in this period.

[3] Nestor's Annals, l. c. Vol. V. p. 60. The Greek historians also relate this event. They name the grand duchess Ἔλγα. See Cedren. Annal. l. c. f. 524 near the end. The emperor Constantine Porphyrogenetos, under whose reign this happened, has described, in his work on the ceremonies of the Byzantine court, the solemn reception of Olga at Constantinople; but in this connection he makes no mention of her baptism, this being foreign to the design of his work. See this Work ed. Niebuhr, Vol. I. p. 594.

[4] The confounding together of Rugi (as the inhabitants of the island Rügen, but sometimes also the Russians are called) and of Russi, Ruscia gens, makes this story, which occurs in the old German chroniclers of the eleventh century, a matter of dispute The question arises, whether the island of Rügen, or Russia, is meant. The statement of the chroniclers, that the Russian Grand Duchess made this request to the emperor only in pretence (ficte), and that he was deceived by the Russians, cannot be considered as altogether inconsistent with the supposition that the empress of Russia is referred to; for her son being really an enemy of Christianity, and the people generally devoted to paganism, it might happen that the bishop sent to them from Germany was frightened away by the unfavorable reception which he met from the multitude, and it may have been unjustly inferred from the unsuccessful issue of the mission, that Olga had a bad object in view. But supposing the story to relate to the inhabitants of the island Rügen, it admits of being easily explained, that these latter, who were devoted pagans till down into the twelfth century, sent an embassy to the emperor with an entirely different object in view from that which they openly expressed, and that they purposely deceived him. But still it remains singular and unaccountable, that several of the German chroniclers should so distinctly assert, that it was the Russian *princess Helena baptized at Constantinople*

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the Russians, then the abovementioned Adalbert (p. 325), who afterwards became bishop of Magdeburg visited that country, but was soon induced, by the unfortunate issue of his mission, to return home again to Germany.

Vladimir, uncle to the grand duchess, who had before been a zealous pagan, was the first who began to waver in his religious opinions. Having rendered himself famous by his conquests far and wide, it is said that people of various nations, Bulgarians from the districts bordering on the Wolga, who unlike those dwelling near the Danube, were not devoted to Christianity but to Mohammedanism,— the Chazars who were Jews, also Greek and Latin Christians, sought to gain him over to their respective religions. He resolved on sending embassies to different countries, to obtain more accurate information with regard to the character of the different religions and modes of worship; and then to make his selection according to the reports which he received. Those of his messengers who went to Constantinople were invited to attend the whole service, even the celebration of the eucharist, in the great church of St. Sophia. The magnificence of the church, the solemn pomp of the worship according to the Greek rites, made a singular impression on the minds of these rude men, and the report of it which they sent back to their prince, determined him to embrace Christianity according to the Greek rites.[1] Vladimir was baptized in the year 980, in the old Christian commercial city of Cherson (Kerssan on the western bank of the Dnieper), conquered by himself, and received at his baptism the name Wassily. He married the Greek princess Anna, and then took measures to introduce Christianity among his people. To effect this object, he made use of his authority as ruler; the idols were destroyed, and the people were commanded to submit to baptism. Vast bodies of men and women appeared with their chil-

who sent this embassy. Such a statement could not surely arise out of nothing. But one hypothesis, then, remains, unless the whole be referred to the Russians, viz. that two embassies, one of the Rugians, and another of the Russians, were sent with different objects to the emperor and that these two have been confounded together in the account. See the German accounts brought together in Schlözer's Nestor, V. p. 106.

[1] Nestor's account, who lived partly in the same century with Vladimir (see Karamsim's History of Russia, translated by Hauenschild, Bd. I. p. 169, and Strahl. History of the Russian Church, Th. I. p. 61), agrees for the most part with the anonymous Greek accounts, which Banduri has published Imperium Orient. T. II. Animadvers. in Constantin. Porphyrogene. f. 62. But the story published by Banduri from a Parisian manuscript is only a fragment. It presupposes many of the facts which occur in the Russian account. It begins by saying that the four messengers visited Rome. They are delighted with what they saw at Rome; but by what they beheld at Constantinople everything else is eclipsed. As they visited the church on a great festival, the multitude of lights, the melody of the music, then the preparation for the celebration of the eucharist, the hypo-deacons and deacons marching forth with torches and the flabellas, the solemn procession of the higher clergy, etc. filled them with astonishment. When according to this Greek story Cyrill and Athanasius (which without doubt should be Methodius) are said to have visited Russia, and introduced among the natives their Slavonian alphabet, the inaccuracy of the account here becomes evident. And so also Basilius II. may have been here confounded with Basilius the Macedonian, and a later with some earlier missionary enterprise of the Greeks among the Russians. So too the story of the miracle wrought among the Russians (see above), which certainly belongs to the time of Basilius the Macedonian, is interwoven with this tale. The chronological date, as fixed by Nestor, deserves, beyond all doubt, the preference.

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dren on the banks of the Dnieper, and were baptized at one and the same time. Yet no sooner had this outward conversion been forcibly effected, than schools were established at Kiew, and the Cyrillian alphabet and Cyrillian translation of the Bible used for Christian instruction.[1]

Vladimir's successor Jaroslaw, 1019—1054, endeavored to advance still further the Christian culture of the people by schools, churches and monasteries, and by arrangements for the translation of religious and theological books from the Greek into the Slavonian language of the country. At Kiew was founded the first archbishopric of the Russian church, and Jaroslaw was desirous of making it, and with it the entire Russian church, independent of the patriarch at Constantinople. This independence, however, was but a transitory appearance.

From Bohemia the Christian church was transplanted to Poland. Duke Mjesko or Miecislaw of Poland, the first Polish king, was persuaded by his queen, the Christian Bohemian princess Dambrowska, in the year 966, to receive baptism. The old pagan worship was only suppressed by force; the adoption of Christian customs was effected in the same way; hence paganism resisted for a long time a Christianity thus imposed on the people. By the establishment of several bishoprics and of an archbishopric at Gnesen, the organization of this church was afterwards completed.

The Hungarians, who emigrating from Asia, at the close of the ninth century and onwards, conquered Pannonia, destroyed the Moravian kingdom, and spread consternation over the south-eastern parts of Germany, settled down, it is true, in countries, where the Christian church had been long since established, and where they were surrounded by Christian nations; but they remained untouched by the influence of Christianity, and proved themselves to be enemies to all Christian foundations, as nothing was spared in the destruction which they left behind them.[2]

The connection of the Hungarians with the Greek empire, is said to have furnished the first occasion for missionary enterprise among that people. About the middle of the tenth century, it is reported that two Hungarian princes, Bulosudes and Gylas, were baptized at Constantinople; the latter of whom took back with him Hierotheos, a monk, as a bishop for his people.[3] But some question may arise with regard to the motives which induced these two princes, who were loaded with costly presents at Constantinople, to embrace Christianity. It is certain that Bulosudes soon fell away again from the

[1] This doubtless gave origin to that Greek story, involving an anachronism, about the mission of Cyrill to the Russians, and the introduction of his Slavonian alphabet by himself.

[2] So says pope Benedict VII, or rather VI, in a letter which in the year 974 he wrote to the German archbishops, after having spoken of the diocese of the archbishopric of Lorch in Pannonia: "Quae (diocesis) jam multis retro actis temporibus ex viciniorum frequenti populatione barbarorum deserta et in solitudinem redacta, nullum Christianae professionis habitatorem meminet, namely, till the conquest of Hungary by the emperor Otho I, usque dum genitor pii imperatoris nostri bellico trophaeo eorum vires retundit." See Mansi Concil. T. XIX. f. 53.

[3] See Cedren's Annals, f. 524.

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Christianity which he may never have sincerely received to his former paganism; and the conversion of Gylas was followed, at least, by no important results. Yet Christianity seems to have been preserved alive in the family of Gylas. His daughter, Sarolta, made profession of Christianity; and, being married to the Hungarian prince Geisa, she made him also favorably disposed towards the same religion. We may add to this, that when the power of the Hungarians was broken, by the severe defeat they experienced in the war with the emperor Otho I. in 955, and by other unsuccessful wars in the next succeeding years, they were compelled to renounce their thirst for conquest, and, in particular, to enter into more peaceful relations with the German empire. Thus for the first time, from about the year 970, the bishops on the south-eastern borders of the German empire found it in their power to establish missions for the benefit of this people.[1] Pilgrim, bishop of Passau, drew up, in 974, for pope Benedict VI, a remarkable report concerning the spread of Christianity in Hungary, which had been brought about under the influence of these new peaceful relations.[2] He writes to the pope, that he had been earnestly solicited by the Hungarians, either to come to them in person, or to send them missionaries. He had sent to them monks, priests, and other ecclesiastics, and about five hundred Hungarians of both sexes had been baptized. Particularly instructive, with respect to the diffusion of Christianity in Hungary, as well as supported by internal evidences of probability, is his report concerning the secret Christians in Hungary. Many Christians were to be found among them, who had been carried away captives from different nations. But these had not been allowed to observe the Christian forms of worship. They could only get their children baptized clandestinely. Now, for the first time, they enjoyed complete religious freedom; they could build churches, and provide themselves with clergymen. They hastened in crowds to the spot where their children could be baptized; and, according to the bishop's report, their joy was as great, as if they had returned to their homes from a foreign land.[3] Pagans and Christians lived for a time peaceably together.[4] These communities, consisting of foreign Christians, scattered among the pagan population, were certainly an important preparation for the further spread of Christianity. But when the bishop proceeds to say, that nearly all the people were ready to adopt the Christian faith, we must consider this, as well as many other of his sayings, as a somewhat exaggerated statement; since other accounts, which we shall presently cite, by no means confirm the supposition, that the state of

[1] So Pilgrim, bishop of Passau, in 974, writes to pope Benedict VI: "Neophyta Ungarorum gens, apud quam foedere pacto sub occasione pacis fiduciam sumsimus operam exercere praedicationis."

[2] This letter, afterwards received into Mansi's Collection of councils (l. c.) was first published, from a manuscript in the monastery of Reichersberg in Bavaria, by Gewold, in an appendix of diplomas to the Chronicon Monasterii Reicherspergensis. Monachii 1611. p. 24.

[3] Gratulantur omnes tanquam de peregrinatione sua in patriam reducti.

[4] Ita concordes sunt pagani cum Christianis tantamque ad invicem habent familiaritatem, ut illic videatur Isaiae impleri prophetia: lupus et agnus pascentur simul.

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feeling was so universally propitious. Probably Pilgrim was led, by some particular interest of his own, to set forth his report on the progress of the mission among the Hungarians in somewhat exaggerated colors. The truth was that, like his predecessors, he was striving to assert his independence of the archbishopric of Salzburg; and he defended the dignity and rights of that ancient metropolis, the long since dilapidated city of Lorch (Laureacum), whose diocese stretched onward to Pannonia.[1] And so we may suppose that, in his efforts to convince the pope (from whom, in fact, he obtained the fulfilment of his wishes) how necessary the restoration of this metropolis was to Pannonia, and to its subordinate bishoprics, he allowed himself to be betrayed into a somewhat exaggerated representation of this new sphere of labor in Hungary.[2]

Among the missionaries sent by this bishop to Hungary was Monk Wolfgang, from the monastery of Einsiedeln (Notre-Dame-des-Ermites), in Switzerland, who was afterwards made bishop of Regensburg. But the writer of his life relates, that he soon returned home again, having met with an indifferent reception from the people.[3] No doubt it may have been the case that, owing to political events which soon afterwards occurred, whereby the quiet of these districts was again disturbed, to the war between Otho II. and duke Henry of Bavaria, the successful progress of the mission commenced by bishop Pilgrim was interrupted; but if the enterprises of Pilgrim were really attended, in the beginning, with the favorable results he describes, and were only interrupted by these unhappy political disturbances, some intimation might be expected to be given of these independent disturbing influences, in the contemporaneous accounts; but these speak only of the general indifference and insensibility of the Hungarian people.

The banished archbishop, Adalbert of Prague (see above, p. 322), endeavored to do something, also, toward promoting the spread of Christianity in Hungary. He repaired to that country himself, where he left his favorite and beloved disciple, Radia. Both seem to have found access to the people, who were unwilling that Radia should leave the country; which appears from the fact, that Adalbert had directed him, if he could do no better, to escape secretly, and find his way back to him.[4] From this it is at least evident, that the people

[1] As pope Eugenius II, in his letter to Urolf archbishop of Lorch, had restored this metropolis, which is said to have had under it seven bishoprics. See the letter, first published in the abovementioned Collection of councils, p. 17.

[2] As he writes to the pope: "Et est ibi messis quidem multa, operarii autem pauci. Inde quoque visum est jam necessarium esse, quatenus sanctitas vestra illic jubeat aliquos ordinari espiscopos." And afterwards: "quod nimium grave ac valde onerosum est mihi, ut tot mei pontificii parochias solus praedicando circumeam."

[3] Dolebat enim idem pontifex, bishop Pilgrim of Passau, tantum colonum in sulcis sterilibus expendere laborem. Mabillon Acta sanctorum. Saec. V. c. 13. f. 817.

[4] He wrote to the princess Surolta: "Papatem meum (my nursling) si necessitas et usus postulat, tene, si non, propter Deum ad me mitte eum." But to Radia himself he wrote another note, to be handed to him in secret: "Si potes cum bona licentia, bene; si non, vel fuga fugiens tenta venire ad eum, qui te desiderio concupiscit, Adalbertum tuum." See Life of Adalbert, at the 23d of April, § 22. f 195.

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were unwilling to lose their missionaries. But Adalbert himself, who, it must be confessed, wanted the true Christian patience necessary to endure the rudeness of a heathen people, was by no means satisfied with the effects of his preaching among the Hungarians. He seems to have found there a mixture of paganism and Christianity; and Geisa, though he had received baptism, still favored this mixture of religions. To the reproaches made to him on this account, he opposed his lordly authority; and his wife, through whose influence he had first been led to favor Christianity, gave no evidence of a change produced by it, in her rude manners.[1]

Stephen, the son and successor of Geisa, who acceded to the throne in 997, was far more deeply affected by the influence of Christianity than his father. The preaching of Adalbert and other pious men, who visited Hungary, had probably made a stronger impression on him while a child.[2] Immediately after he assumed the reins of government, he had to sustain a struggle with the powerful heathen party. A Hungarian prince, by name Kupan, had placed himself at the head of it, and disputed the possession of the throne. Stephen, in this war, relied on divine assistance. He made a vow to St. Martin, the patron-saint of Pannonia, which was to be fulfilled in case he should gain by his intercessions the victory over his enemies.[3] The victory being gained, for which he believed himself indebted to the assistance of God, whose worship he was determined to promote in every way throughout his kingdom, and to the intercession of St. Martin, he was more strongly confirmed in his zeal for Christianity. His religious and his political interests were closely connected. He sought alliance with the politi-

[1] Concerning Adalbert's labors in Hungary, it is said in the above cited history of his life (c. VI. § 16. l. c. f. 192): Quibus (Hungaris) ab errore suo parum mutatis umbram Christianitatis impressit; and of the wife (c. V. § 22. f. 195): Qua duce erat Christianitas coepta; sed inter miscebatur eum paganismo polluta religio et coepit esse deterior barbarismo languidus ac tepidus Christianismus. With this agrees what Dismar of Merseburg, in the beginning of the eighth book of his work above referred to, says of Geisa: Hic Deo vero variisque deorum vanitatibus inserviens, cum ab antistite suo ab hoc argueretur, inquit; divitiae mihi abundant et ad haec agenda libera facultas et ampla potestas est; and then he speaks of the intemperance of his wife, who, in a paroxism of anger, had stabbed a man.

[2] By the narrative of the German chroniclers of this age, it would appear that the baptism of Stephen and his conversion to Christianity were first occasioned by his contracting a marriage with Gisela. The Hungarian bishop Carthwig, who many years afterwards wrote the life of Stephen (in Actis Sanct. 2. September), says on the other hand, that he was baptized and educated in Christianity by Adalbert. We might prefer the older reports to the later and more prejudiced, especially as these admit of being easily reconciled with the doubtful Christianity of Geisa. But the fact that Stephen, from the time he assumed, while yet a youth, the reins of government, came directly into opposition with paganism, would lead us rather to conjecture, that being filled with zeal for Christianity by his education from childhood, he was resolved as soon as he had the power of so doing, to employ it for the purpose of establishing the Christian church. The German chroniclers seem indeed to have ascribed too much to German influence. But on the question whether Stephen was baptized by bishop Adalbert or not, nothing certain can be said, in the absence of more distinct accounts concerning the repeated missionary labors of Adalbert in Hungary.

[3] He says himself, in the deed of privilege granted to the abbey of St. Martin in fulfilment of this vow: Singulare suffragium, quod per merita B. Martini in pueritia mea expertus sum, memoriae posterorum tradere curavi. See Ragnaldi Annales, at the year 1232, No. 24, and in the Actis Sanct. at the 2. September. the commentarius praevius to his biography, § 15.

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cal and the ecclesiastical[1] heads of Western Christendom. He married the Burgundian princess Gisela, widow of duke Henry of Bavaria, sister of St. Henry II, and kinswoman to the emperor Otho III; and with the latter he entered into a strict alliance, which procured for him the royal dignity. He invited monks and clergymen from all quarters into his kingdom;[2] though it may be doubted whether most of them were capable of instructing the people in their spoken language. He invariably showed the greatest respect for ecclesiastics and monks, and sought in every way to promote their influence among the people. He endeavored to soften their manners, by new laws imbued with a more Christian spirit. Yet certainly, many foreign means were also employed to effect the suppression of paganism and the introduction of Christianity; and the consequence of this was, that the Christianity thus imposed was not seldom rejected again; hence laws must be enacted, for the punishment of apostasy from Christianity, and for its neglect; and hence later reäctions from paganism, which had been suppressed by force. When, in the year 1003, Stephen conquered Siebenbürgen, he enforced the adoption of Christianity in that district, as also in a part of Wallachia.[3]

In the exhortations and maxims of government which he drew up for the use of his son and successor, Emmerich (Henry), he has left behind him a proof of his devout temper of mind, as well as of that peculiar form of piety which was determined by the ecclesiastical spirit of his age.[4]

By his pious zeal, and meritorious efforts for the extension of the Christian church, Stephen attained to the honors of a saint. But it was, as we have already intimated, in consequence of the manner in

[1] The accounts respecting the latter, however, are exaggerated. In his exhortations to his son we find no indications of a peculiar devotion to the pope. See below, p. 335.

[2] In the life of two Polish monks, composed by a contemporary, bishop Maurus of Fünfkirchen. These two monks were Zoerard and Benedict, who came to Hungary for the purpose of assisting in the establishment of the new church: Tempore illo, quo sub Christianissimi Stephani regis nutu nomen et religio Deitatis in Pannonia rudis adhuc pullulabat, audita fama boni rectoris, multi ex terris aliis canonici et monachi ad ipsum, quasi ad patrem confluebat. See Acta Sanctorum mens. Jul. T. IV. f. 326.

[3] The law of Stephen: Si quis observatione Christianitatis neglecta et negligentiae stoliditate elatus, quid in eam commiserit, juxta qualitatem offensionis ab episcopo suo per disciplinam canonum judicetur. If he refused to submit to the penalty imposed on him, it should be made more severe. Tandem si per omnia resistens inveniatur, regali judicio scilicet defensori Christianitatis tradatur. See Actis Sanct. mens. septr. T. I. f. 548.

[4] He says among other things to him: Observatio orationis maxima acquisitio est regalis salutis. Continua oratio est peccatorum ablutio et remissio. He advises him, whenever he goes to church, to imitate the example of king Solomon, and pray to God for wisdom, 1 Kings ch. iii. Well worthy of notice is the manner in which he speaks of the church, as the community of saints founded on Christ, the Rock; for this interpretation of Stephen's words is after all the most natural, judging from the connection; though it is not to be denied, as has been observed in opposition to this view, that in the Latinity of this period, the reflexive pronoun is often used instead of the demonstrative. The words are as follows: Ipse Dominus dixit Petro, quem custodem magistrumque eidem posuit sanctae ecclesiae; tu es Petrus et super hanc petram aedificabo ecclesiam meam. Se ipsum quidem nominabat petram, verum non ligneam vel lapideam super se aedificatam ecclesiam dixit; sed populum acquisitionis, gentem electam, divinam, gregem fide doctum, baptismate lotum, chrismate unctum, sanctam super se aedificatam ecclesiam dixit. See Acta Sanct. l. c. f. 544.

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which the Christian church was planted by him in Hungary, that the way was prepared for a reäction by a pagan opposition-party, who had made some attempts at insurrection even under the reign of Stephen himself, and who continued them into the succeeding times, — a party opposed to the political, as well as the religious, principles by which Stephen aimed to change the condition of the people.[1] Twice in the course of the eleventh century this party succeeded in reëstablishing the pagan worship, to accomplish which they took advantage of the political revolutions in 1045 and 1060, under king Andrew and king Bela; yet these were but transient efforts; and by force or by craft, the Christian monarchs contrived to defeat the opposition.[2]

Such were the facts connected with the extension of Christianity in this period. We must now turn to the opposite side, and consider the checks and hindrances which it had to encounter. In the preceding period, we took notice of the check which was given to the progress of the Christian church in Spain by the supremacy of the Mohammedan Arabians. Still the Christians were allowed by the laws to enjoy the free exercise of their religion, and on this score they suffered from the civil authorities no disturbance or restraint whatsoever. Thus they remained down to the year 850 in the full enjoyment of tranquillity and peace. Christians were employed at court, and in the administration of civil and military trusts, without a suspicion being excited that they were acting inconsistently with their religious convictions.[3] Clergymen and monks, who were skilled alike in the Arabic and Latin tongues, were preferred before all others as translators in the negotiations with Christian princes.[4] Men who regarded the preservation of the ancient culture, which had arisen from the study of Roman literature, and the Scriptural knowledge drawn from the Latin versions of the Bible, as matters of supreme importance, complained that the youth neglected the Latin and Christian literature for the Arabian and Mohammedan.[5] Marriages were not seldom contracted between Mohammedans and Christians; and in such cases it

[1] Yet even Stephen had exhorted his son to respect the ancient national spirit. Quis Graecus regeret Latinos Graecis moribus? aut quis Latinus Graecos Latinis regeret moribus? nullus.

[2] See Joh. de Thwroez Chronica Hungarorum c. 42. and c. 46, in Schwandtner. Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum, T. I.

[3] See many examples in the Memoriale Sanctorum of the presbyter Eulogius of Cordova, which is an important source of information with regard to the condition of the Christian church at this time in Spain — to be found in the IV. vol. of Schott's Hispania illustrata, and in the Bibliothecae of the church-fathers, and in another important work connected with this subject, the Indiculus luminosus, composed by Paulus Alvarus of Cordova, a friend of Eulogius; — also in the España Sagrada of Florez, T. XI. ed. III. Madrid, 1772. p. 219, f. § 9. Qui palatino officio illorum jussis inserviunt.

[4] The abbot Samson, of Cordova, says in his Apologeticus, l. II. p. 385. España Sagrada, T. XI. Appellatus ex regio decreto ego ipse, quatenus, ut pridem facere consueveram, ex Chaldaeo sermone, in Latinum eloquium ipsas epistolas deberem transferre.

[5] With such a complaint, Paul Alvarus concludes his Indiculus Luminosus: Nonne omnes juvenes Christiani gentilicia eruditione praeclari, Arabico eloquio sublimati volumina Chaldaeorum avidissime tractant et ecclesiae flumina de paradiso manantia quasi vilissima contemnentes, Heu pro dolor! linguam suam nesciunt Christiani, et linguam propriam non advertunt latini, ita ut omni Christi collegio vix inveniatur unus in milleno hominum numero, qui salutatorias fratri possit rationabiliter dirigere literas.

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sometimes happened, that the husband converted the wife, or the wife the husband, to Christianity; that children, educated as Mohammedans, became Christians; and fierce contentions sprung up between brothers and sisters, when one followed the faith of the father, the other that of the mother. But under such circumstances, persecutions might easily be engendered; since, according to the Mohammedan laws, apostasy from that faith must be punished with death. And though the Christians were not otherwise oppressed by the civil authorities, than by being obliged to pay monthly a high poll-tax, and were not disturbed in the free exercise of their worship which was guaranteed to them by the laws, yet the signs of the Christian profession could hardly fail to expose them, in the midst of Mohammedan fanaticism, to various sorts of insult and abuse from the populace. Clergymen could not appear in public without being accosted by the fanatical multitude with jeers and scoffings. Boys cried after them in the streets, stones were thrown at them. Whenever the dead were buried with the usual solemnities of the church, the infidels were followed by the populace with curses. The ringing of the church-bells afforded occasion for abusing the Christians and the objects of their faith.[1] By such insults, men might easily be excited, especially in this sultry climate, to retaliate wrong for wrong, and ridicule the prophet of the Arabians. From words, they would proceed to acts; and this perhaps proved the occasion of the first effusion of Christian blood; for in accordance with the principles of the Koran, a law had been enacted, that whosoever blasphemed the prophet, or offered to strike one of the faithful, should be punished with death. Whosoever insulted one of the faithful, should be scourged.[2]

[1] This situation of the Christians is described by men who afterwards defended the martyrs from the reproach of having been the means of interrupting the relations which secured the Christians in the enjoyment of peace and quiet. Thus Paulus Alvarus says in opposition to those who boasted of the peace which had been enjoyed till that time, (Indiculus Luminosus, p. 229): Quotidie opprobriis et mille contumeliarum faecibus obruti persecutionem non dicimus nos habere! Nam, ut alia taceam, certe dum defunctorum corpora a sacerdotibus vident humo dando portare, nonne apertissimis vocibus dicunt: Deus non miserearis illis, et lapidibus sacerdotes Domini impetentes, ignominiosis verbis populum Domini denotantes, etc. Sic itidem cum et sacerdotes lapides, ante vestigia eorum revolventes ac infami nomine derogantes, vulgari proverbio et cantico inhonesto suggillant, et fidei signum (the sign of the cross, which the Mohammedans, though they recognized Christ as a prophet, yet refused to respect, because, according to a story received into the Koran, they supposed some other person was crucified in the place of Christ) opprobrioso elogio decolorant. Sed cum basilicae signum, hoc est tinnientis aeris sonitum, qui pro conventu ecclesiae adunando horis omnibus canonicis percutitur, audiunt, infanda iterando congeminant, et omnem sexum universamque aetatem milleno contumeliarum infamio maledice impetunt. So Eulogius, in the Memoriale Sanctorum, l. I. l. c. f. 247: Causa religionis eorum saevitiam ubique perpetimur, adeo ut multi exiis tactu indumentorum suorum nos indignos dijudicent, propriusque sibimet accedere execrentur, magnam scilicet coinquinationem existimantes, si in aliquo rerum suarum admisceamur.

[2] That blasphemy of the prophet was to be punished with death, appears from the history of the martyrs; and when the abbot John of St. Gorze, near Metz, visited Cordova as ambassador of the emperor Otho I, he heard this stated: Eis in legibus primum dirumque est, ne quis in religionem eorum quid unquam audeat loqui, civis sit vel extraneus, nulla intercedente redemptione capita plectitur. The king himself forfeited his life, in case he heard such blasphemy, and failed to punish it with death. See the Vita Joannis Abbatis Gorziensis

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The Christians themselves, however, were not of one mind with regard to the principles of conduct which duty required them to observe under these difficult circumstances; but, as in earlier times,[1] they were divided into two parties, the rigid and the more liberal. The one party thanked God for the liberty allowed to Christians, even under the rule of unbelievers, to confess and to practise the principles of their faith. They thought everything ought to be done to preserve inviolate this liberty of conscience and security; that conformably to the Scriptural precept, every act should be avoided which could furnish the unbelievers any occasion, real or apparent, for persecuting the Christians; that all abusive language should be carefully avoided. They considered it a duty to employ every means, not involving a denial of the faith, to preserve and foster the friendly relations subsisting between them and the Mohammedan magistrates. Nor would they hesitate to accept offices under them, and in so doing they sought to avoid everything that might give offence. Others, on the contrary, looked upon such conduct as being already a violation of the duty to confess Christ before men, and not to be ashamed of him. Paul Alvarus, of Cordova, one of the fiercest representatives of this class, casts it as a reproach upon the Christians, that by accepting offices at court they became guilty of participating in infidelity, since they were afraid to pray and cross themselves before the unbelievers, and dared not openly confess the deity of Christ in their presence, but mentioned him only as the Word of God and the Spirit, titles which were also given to him in the Koran.[2] He styles them leopards, taking upon themselves every color. He accuses them of adopting Christianity only by halves.[3] He says, that for the sake of the monarch's favor and of temporal aggrandizement, they were willing to take up the sword to defend unbelievers against their own brethren in the faith.[4] "Day and night — says he — is heard from the turret (the minaret), the voice which blasphemes the Lord, by extolling, at the same time with him, the lying prophet;[5] and wo to our times, so poor in the wisdom

at the 27th of February, § 120, f. 712. In the Indiculus Luminosus, § 6, is cited the law: Ut qui blasphemaverit, flagelletur, et qui percusserit, occidatur. That the blasphemare in this instance cannot refer to a blaspheming of Mohammed, may be gathered partly from the connection, and partly from the judicial mode of procedure already mentioned.

[1] Vol. I. p. 261 — 262.

[2] In the Indiculus Luminosus, § 9: Cum palam coram ethnicis orationem non faciunt, signo crucis oscitantes frontem non muniunt, Deum Christum non aperte coram eis, sed fugatis sermonibus proferunt, verbum Dei et Spiritum, ut illi asserunt, profitentes, suasque confessiones corde, quasi Deo omnia inspicienti servantes.

[3] Quid his omnibus, nisi varietatem pardi zelo Dei zelantibus sibi inesse ostendunt, dum non integre, sed medie Christianismum defendunt?

[4] Contra fidei suae socios pro regis gratia et pro vendibilibus muneribus et defensione gentilium proeliantes.

[5] This public proclamation: "There is no God but God, and Mohammed is his prophet," was a specially sore grievance to zealous Christians. They were wont, whenever they heard this cry, to pray God that he would deliver them from the sin they were obliged to hear, and repeated Ps. 97: 7, "Confounded be all they that serve graven images, that boast themselves of idols," words which certainly did not apply to the Mohammedans. Eulogius, of Cordova, who cites this in his Apologeticus Martyrum, f. 313, relates, that his grandfather, whenever he heard this cry from the minaret, was wont to sign the cross on his forehead, exclaiming with a sigh: "Keep not thou silence, O God, for lo, thine enemies make a tumult, and they that hate thee have lifted up the head." Ps. 83: 1, 2

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of Christ, that no man can be found to erect, according to the command of the Lord, the banner of the cross over the mountains of Babylon and the dark towers of pride, and present to God an evening sacrifice.[1]

Both parties by proceeding in these different directions, may very possibly have missed the course which should have been pursued; but in a case where such elements for violent collision already existed, and a religious tendency of the sort we have just described was lying at the bottom, it certainly needed but a slight occasion to provoke persecutions on one side, and a fanatical enthusiasm for martyrdom on the other.

Yet the first who suffered as a martyr in Spain by no means belonged to that fanatical class, but rather to the more prudent and temperate party. He was a priest by the name of Perfectus, attached to a monastery in Cordova, then the residential city of the Arabian caliphs. Sometime in the year 850, under the reign of Abderhaman II, Perfectus while on his way to the city to make some purchases for his convent, fell into company with a party of Arabians. They asked him many questions about Christianity, and the views entertained by the Christians respecting Mohammed. The last inquiry he strove to evade, telling them he was loth to answer it, because he feared he might annoy them by what he would be obliged to say. Finally, however, he concluded to inform them, since they invited him to speak frankly, and promised him that whatever he said, it should not be taken amiss. He then proceeded to represent Mohammed, for reasons which he assigned in detail, as one of the false prophets foretold by Christ, among the signs of the last time. To all this, the Arabians listened with ill-suppressed anger; yet for the present they let the priest go unharmed, that they might not break their promise to him. But the next time he appeared in public, they seized and dragged him before the judge, where they accused him as a blasphemer of Mohammed. It was the season of the Mohammedan fast. He was therefore for the present loaded with chains, and thrown into prison. Some months afterwards, on the Mohammedan Easter, he was again brought forth; and as he steadfastly confessed his faith, and instead of retracting only confirmed what he had said about Mohammed, he was condemned to death and perished by the sword.[2] The long repressed rage of the Mohammedans against the enemies of their faith having once broke loose, it soon found a second occasion for manifesting itself. John, a Christian merchant, and a peculiar object of their hatred, was arraigned before the tribunal, where he was accused of having often blasphemed the prophet while disposing of his goods in the Bazar. As the charge could not be clearly proved, the judge attempted to

[1] Ecce et quotidie horis diurnis et nocturnis in turribus suis et montibus caligosis Dominum maledicunt, dum vatem impudicum, perjurum, rabidum, et iniquum, una cum Domino, testimonii voce extollunt. Et heu et vae huic tempori nostro, sapientiae Christi egeno, in quo nullus invenitur, qui juxta jussum Domini tonantis aetherii super montes Babyloniae caligosasque turres superbiae crucis fidei attollat vexillam sacrificium Deo offerens vespertinum.

[2] See Eulogii Memoriale Sanctorum l. II. c. I.

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force him to deny his faith by resorting to the scourge. After having been beaten till he was half dead, he was thrown into prison; then he was driven through the city, sitting backwards on an ass, with a herald proclaiming before him, "This is the punishment of the man who dares blaspheme the prophet." But as he firmly persisted in confessing his faith, he too was executed.[1] Next appeared before the judge, a young man by the name of Isaac, from the monastery of Talanos, eight miles distant from Cordova, where an unusual degree of fanatical excitement prevailed. He pretended that he had come for the purpose of obtaining a better knowledge of the Mohammedan religion, with a view of embracing it. The judge, pleased with the idea of gaining so important a proselyte, took pains to expound to him the doctrine of the prophet. But great was his rage, when the monk, instead of being convinced, undertook to refute what he advanced, at the same time vilifying Mohammed, whom he represented as a detestable impostor and seducer of mankind. The matter was reported to the caliph, who ordered the monk to be executed. A mistaken, fanatical zeal of this sort, to confess Christ before the unbelievers, now spread abroad like an infection, seizing upon that tendency to extravagant asceticism which existed before. From the mountains, deserts, and forests, monks came forth to lay down their lives for the truth.[2] Among these crowds who yielding to a fanatical impulse, sacrificed their lives without any reasonable object, were young men and women belonging to the first families of the land. Sometimes, however, they did not present themselves of their own accord as voluntary sacrifices; but Mohammedan relatives took advantage of their descent from Mohammedan families, whether on the father's or the mother's side, to complain of them as apostates. Thus Flora,[3] for example, was a young unmarried woman descended from parents of mixed religion, her father being an Arabian and a Mohammedan, her mother a zealous Christian. The mother had educated her in Christianity, and from childhood she manifested a temper of sincere and ardent piety. Her brother being a bigoted Mohammedan, disputes could hardly fail to arise between the two on the matter of their faith; and the fanatical brother, when he found that all the pains he took to convert his sister were unavailing, grew exasperated against her. He accused her as an apostate. She assured the judge, that on the contrary, she had never been a Mohammedan, but had been brought up from infancy as a Christian. The judge ordered her to be severely scourged, that she might be forced to a denial. But as she continued steadfast, and never uttered a syllable against Mohammed, he dismissed her. She spent some time in retirement; but finally felt constrained to present herself again before the judge, and not only confess her own faith, but testify against Mohammedanism and its prophet. She did so, and was executed.

[1] Eulog. I. l. c. f. 242, and the Indiculus luminosus § 5.

[2] Eulogius of Cordova, says concerning the manner in which the example of martyrdom operated (Memoriale Sanctor. l. II. c. I. near the end: Multos otio securae confessionis per deserta montium et nemora solitudinum in Dei contemplatione fruentes ad sponte et publice detestandum et maledicendum sceleratum vatem exilire coëgit.

[3] See Eulogius Memoriale l. II. c. 8.

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There were not wanting both ecclesiastics and laymen, who disapproved altogether the conduct of those that were so ready to offer themselves as voluntary victims. These consisted partly of such as feared, and wished to avert the bad consequences, which threatened the peace of the Christians; and in part of such as were convinced that this was not the right way to confess Christ, but directly at variance with the teaching and example of our Lord and of the apostles. They looked upon such conduct as the effect of pride, from which no good could result, and as manifesting a want of that Christian love, which ought to be shown even to unbelievers. They knew that reviling and abuse formed no part of Christianity, and that by such means the kingdom of God could not be promoted.[1] But two men, who at that time stood high in the veneration of Spanish Christians, the priest Eulogius, afterwards bishop of Toledo, and Paul Alvarus, his friend, hurried on by a fervent but passionate zeal, which lacked the cool composure of good sense, labored in opposition to these more prudent views; and their whole influence went continually to kindle and cherish the flame of enthusiasm. The caliph Abderhaman required the metropolitan Recafrid, archbishop of Seville, under whom the church of Cordova stood, to employ his ecclesiastical authority, which the caliph himself intended to back by that of the state, to restore the public tranquillity. The archbishop issued an ordinance, forbidding this uncalled for appearance before Mohammedan tribunals; and when Saul, bishop of Cordova, who was doubtless under the influence of Eulogius, stood forth in defence of the party attacked by the metropolitan, the latter caused all obstinate ecclesiastics, at the head of whom stood Eulogius, to be thrown in prison.[2] From his place of confinement, Eulogius addressed to the Flora abovementioned, and to Mary, her friend and companion in suffering, a letter, exhorting them to confront martyrdom with firmness, and confirming them in the persuasion, that they had done right in abusing the false prophet. The young women had been informed how much injury this conduct had done to the church; — the communities had been deprived of their clergy, the priests lay in chains, no more offerings could be made at the altars. He told them, they should reply, a broken and contrite heart is a sacrifice well pleasing to God. Such a heart and a humble spirit would be accepted of God, even without any other offering. The Lord would not suffer his confessors to be put to shame. But that they had done wrong in abusing the false prophet whom men would persuade them to follow, — this they could not own, without denying the truth. As it is the peculiar method of enthusiasm to direct every feeling to a single point, leaving every other human interest, which Christianity holds sacred, to

[1] See the Memoriale of Eulogius, l. I. f. 245.

[2] See the Life of Eulogius, by Alvar, in Schott IV. f. 224, also in the Actis Sanctorum, in Vol. II. at the XI. of March, see c. II. Eulogius was confined at first in one of the subterranean chambers, or caverns, which were first used by the Arabians of Spain as dungeons, and then were afterwards made to serve the same purpose.

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contemptuous neglect, so it was in the case of Eulogius. Following this peculiar bent, he exhorted those who aspired after the crown of martyrdom, but by many domestic ties were still reminded of the duty of self-preservation, to rise above all such subordinate considerations.

A young man, Aurelius, descended on his father's side from a Mohammedan, and on his mother's from a Christian family, but who had lost his parents in early life, went to live with his aunt, a pious Christian, under whose care he was brought up; and by the lessons of Christian piety with which she imbued his mind, he escaped the influence of his Mohammedan teachers, who, while they instructed him in Arabic literature, endeavored at the same time to gain him over to their religion. He remained a zealous Christian. Next he married Sabigotha, a young woman of like Christian zeal, who also, by a particular providence, had been saved from the influence of Mohammedanism, and conducted to Christianity. Both her parents were Mohammedan; but her father having died early, her mother married a second husband, who was secretly a Christian. The latter took every pains to convert his wife to Christianity, as well as to train up his step-daughter in the same faith; and she received baptism. Aurelius was a witness of the transaction, when John the merchant, after enduring so much suffering, was exposed to the insults of the multitude. This spectacle led both him and his wife to resolve on preparing themselves, by a rigidly ascetic life, for the suffering of martyrdom. But the anxiety which he felt for his two young children, who, left behind as orphans, would be surrendered over to the influence of Mohammedanism, still kept him back. He made known his scruples to Eulogius. The latter exhorted him not to allow himself to be deterred by such considerations from following his call to wear the crown of martyrdom; but to place his trust in God, the Father of the fatherless, who, without his aid, could preserve his children in the faith; pointing him to children of Christian parents, who had apostatized from the faith, and to other children of unbelieving parents, who had been led to embrace it. Aurelius, together with his wife, afterwards found the martyrdom which they sought.[1] Two other Christians, one an old, the other a young man, repaired to a mosque where the people were assembled, and, as preachers of repentance, announced the wrath of God against unbelievers, while they reviled Mohammedanism and the false prophet.[2] The assembled multitude were excited to a frenzy of madness, and the two Christians would have been torn in pieces, had not the civil authorities interposed, and conveyed them off. As they had desecrated the holy place, they were sentenced, first to lose their hands and legs, and then to be beheaded. These incidents aroused the suspicions and

[1] See Eulog. Memoriale Sanctorum, l. II. c. 10. Eulogius states, that the daughter left an orphan, when eight years old, begged him to give an account of the life and sufferings of her parents. When Eulogius then asked her, what she would give him for it she answered: Father, I will pray the Lord to reward thee with Paradise.

[2] L. c. l. II. c. 13.

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anxiety of the caliph, and the Christians were threatened with a general persecution. Many were executed; many sought safety in flight, and wandered about without a home. Even such as partook at first in the enthusiasm of the martyrs, now declared against them; they imputed it to them, that the quiet of the church had been destroyed, and pronounced them the authors of all the evils which the Christians were now called to suffer. The caliph required the two Spanish metropolitans, the archbishops of Toledo and of Seville, to call an ecclesiastical assembly, for the purpose of devising measures to prevent these disturbances of the public tranquillity; and a council at Cordova, in the year 852, made an ordinance, that for the future no one should rush unbidden to make confession before the magistrate.[1] Soon after the caliph Abderhaman died, and his successor, Mohammed, dismissed every Christian from the places of trust at court and in the state. Under his reign, their situation became more unpleasant than ever; while there were individuals still who presented themselves before the tribunals, and courted martyrdom. Many were driven by fear to deny. Eulogius, who by his exhortations had stimulated numbers to confess and suffer martyrdom, was himself one of the very last victims. The occasion was as follows.[2] Leocritia, a young woman, belonging to a considerable family wholly given to Mohammedanism, had in early childhood been won over to Christianity, and induced to receive baptism, by the pious efforts of a relative who was a devoted Christian. In vain did her parents seek, by friendly words, then by threats, and finally by corporeal chastisement, to bring her off from Christianity; but, as Alvarus says, the flame which Christ had enkindled in the hearts of the faithful, could be subdued neither by fear nor by force. That she might not expose her faith, however, to constant jeopardy, but live in the free enjoyment of it, she resolved to flee from her parents' house, and contrived, by means of Eulogius, the main support of all who suffered for the faith, that a secret place of refuge should be provided for her. But her exasperated parents succeeded in discovering the place of her retreat; and, with her, Eulogius was dragged before the tribunal. He steadfastly confessed his faith, vilifying Mohammed and his doctrine. In vain Mohammedans themselves, who respected him on account of his blameless life and extensive acquirements, told him that he was still at liberty to retract many things which he had said. He would not be shaken; and condemned to death, in the year 859, suffered the execution of his sentence with the utmost serenity and cheerfulness.

We have still to describe more fully the remarkable controversy, which at that time, was carried on in Spain, respecting the veneration

[1] Eulogius says (l. II. c. 15. l. c.), that out of fear they dared not openly express their convictions, that they resorted to dissimulation, to an equivocation which he thought inexcusable, non inculpabile simulationes inconsultum, in that they were still for holding in honor the memory of those martyrs. To be sure, Eulogius, with all his enthusiasm for those martyrs, can hardly be considered an unprejuced witness.

[2] Alvar. vita c. 5.

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due to these martyrs. The two friends, Eulogius and Alvar, contended in favor of them. The former wrote on this occasion his Apology for the martyrs (Apologeticus martyrum), the second his Luminous Exhibition (Indiculus luminosus). Eulogius cites the following objections of his opponents to the veneration of these martyrs. They were not worthy of comparison with the ancient martyrs; for they had not, like the latter, stood forth in the conflict with idolaters, but only with such as worshipped the same God as the Christians. They had not died like the latter a slow and painful, but a quick and easy death. They had not, like the latter, been signalized as saints by miracles. On the other hand, Eulogius maintained, that of none who refused to recognize Christ as being true God and true man, could it be said, that they worship the same true God in common with the Christians. On the different form of death nothing depended; everything on the sameness of disposition, which gives martyrdom its significance in the sight of God, — zeal for God's glory, and love for his kingdom, which disposition these confessors possessed in common with the older martyrs. In respect to miracles, they did not constitute the essential thing in faith, but were only given as the seal of faith to the church, when it was first about to be founded. As it was only by faith men could attain to the power of working miracles, so it was evident that faith had the precedence of miracles; and it remains even when miracles cease. Faith alone made martyrs: it was the root and foundation of all the virtues: it helped the wrestler, it helped the conqueror."[1] Alvarus writes with more heat against his opponents. "The weak and timid may flee — says he — but the strong and noble-hearted should fight." As the other side appealed to the words of Christ (Matt. x.), often quoted for the same purpose in the ancient church, where he bids those who are persecuted to flee from one city to another, he replied, Indeed they should flee, but not to keep the sacred treasure concealed, but to proclaim it everywhere. By their preaching, those ancient Christians had provoked the persecuting spirit of the heathen. Many of the ancient witnesses had voluntarily sacrificed themselves according to the example of our Lord, they had attacked governors and kings with many an opprobrious word.[2] You say the present is not a time of persecution; I say, on the contrary, it is not a time of the Apostles, because the shepherds from whom a flame of light should go forth to pierce the darkness of the unbelievers, want the apostolic zeal; — and he then proceeds to depict the shameful condition of the oppressed Christians. He next refutes the charge, that the Christians had first provoked the persecution by their uncalled for abuse of Mohammed. The two first martyrs, Perfectus the priest, and John the merchant, had not sought martyrdom, but had been forced to it by the unbelievers. Then after having endeavored to show, that the persecution had, in no sense whatever, been first excited by a voluntary self-offering of the Christians,

[1] Nihil est enim, quod sincerae fidei denegetur, quia nec aliud a nobis Deus quam fidem exigit. Hanc diligit, hanc requirit, huic cuncta promittit et tribuit.

[2] Quod magis soliti estis reprehendere, multis contumeliis praesides et principes fatigasse.

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he comes to speak of those whom he calls voluntary martyrs;[1] and describes them as men who were actuated not by human passion, but purely by a divine zeal; men who could oppose no check to their own course, but must necessarily follow their divine vocation.[2] If error — says he — must not be openly attacked, why did Christ come down to the earth? Why did he light up the eyes of the blind, without their asking, without their seeking their own conversion? Why have prophets and apostles been sent? But the proclamation of the gospel was not limited solely to the apostolic times; it was destined to reach through all ages, till all nations should be converted to the faith. Among the race of Ishmael, however, no preacher had as yet appeared, so that those confessors had first fulfilled for that race the apostolic calling.[3] He ridicules those who could not discern in the martyrs the spirit of humility, love and meekness. In his zeal for the glory of God, he extols a holy cruelty, and holds up before them the example of Elijah who slaughtered the priests of Baal, not with words, but with the sword.[4] He next considers the objection, that it was by means of those martyrs the communities were deprived of their priests, and the mass could not be celebrated. But he represents this as a divine judgment sent upon the despisers of the martyrs; and he proceeds to describe the manner in which it was customary to treat them. Those who ought to be pillars in the church, he says, appeared before the judges of their own accord, and accused these persons. Bishops, abbots and nobles had combined to stigmatize them publicly as heretics; and martyrdom (that is, undoubtedly, voluntary self-offering), was forbidden to the people under pain of excommunication; men were bound under oaths not to do it, not to answer the revilings of the unbelievers by reviling.[5] He concludes this work with a fierce attack on Moham-

[1] Spontanei martyres.

[2] Cohibere non valuerunt cursum, quia conati sunt implere aeterni sui Domini jussum.

[3] We must own, they laid down their testimony in a way which would necessarily confirm the unbelievers in their prejudice against Christianity, instead of bringing them nearer to the faith. They did just that which Christ describes as "casting pearls before swine." Occasionally, however, he so expresses himself as if the effect of this testimony was not to be taken into the account, as if it were not the spirit of love, which seeks the salvation of all, that spoke out of him; but he only meant, that the unbelievers, by having the opportunity of hearing the gospel proclaimed, should be left without any ground of excuse before the judgment-seat of God. Et certe non aperte ut omnis creatura evangelii praedicationem dixit recipiat, sed ut praedicatio ecclesiae omni mundo generaliter clareat, per quod ministerium et praedicatoribus inferatur debitum praemium et contemptoribus justissimum aeternum sine fine supplicium, and of those martyrs: isti apostolatus vicem in eosdem impleverunt eosdemque *debitores fidei* reddiderunt. What blindness of passion, to consider those unbelievers as debitores fidei, after such a preaching of the gospel.

[4] He says of his opponent, c. 11: Qui in suis contumeliis elati, superbi sunt et inflexi et contra hostes Dei humiles, mansueti, simplices apparent et quieti; discant tamen a Christo, ab omnibus prophetis, apostolis seu patribus universis ad illata opprobria existere humiles et dejecti et pro divinitatis ulciscendum contemtum fortes et rigidos esse debere et non pietate horum incongrua, sed crudilitate hac sancta utere. We may surely discern already in this fiery Spaniard something of that spirit, which at a later period kindled up in Spain the fires of the Auto da fè.

[5] Cap. 15: Tuos ecclesiastice interdiximus et a quibus ne aliquando ad martyrii surgerent palmam juramentum extorsimus, quibus errores gentilium infringere vetuimus et maledictum ne maledictionibus impeterent, evangelio et cruce educta vi jurare improbiter fecimus. We may see from this, how much pains the ecclesiastical authorities took, to repress these fanatical movements.

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medanism, which he describes as a religion wholly subservient to sense, and of Mohammed, whom he represents as a forerunner of Antichrist.[1]

When the preponderant influence of the more thoughtful majority succeeded in putting a check on these fanatical extravagances, the Christians in Spain were permitted once more to enjoy their religious freedom. In the year 957, the monk John of the monastery of St. Gorze, near Metz, came to Spain as envoy of the emperor Otho I. He was warned by the Christians of that country against doing anything which might exert an unfavorable influence on the relation of the Christians to their rulers, and cause them to lose the free exercise of their religion, and their present quiet and security. A bishop said to him: "Our sins have brought upon us this foreign domination; and the precept of the apostle Paul (Rom. 13: 2) forbids us to resist the powers that are ordained of God. But amid these great evils, it is still a comfort, that we are not prevented from living according to our own laws, that the Saracens esteem and love those whom they see observing conscientiously the Christian doctrines, that they gladly hold intercourse with them, while on the contrary they invariably avoid the society of the Jews. For the present, therefore, we consider it best, inasmuch as we are not molested in our religion, to obey them in everything which does not compromise our faith."[2]

[1] He says of him (c. 33): Adversus Christum humilitatis magistrum erectus est et contra illius lenissima et jucunda praecepta contumacis, verbere et gladio usus est.

[2] See Vita Joannis Abbatis Gorziensis, at the 27th of February. § 1[92]. f. 713.

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SECTION SECOND.

HISTORY OF THE CHURCH CONSTITUTION.

I. Papacy and the Popes.

The most important thing in studying the history of the church constitution in this period, as well as in the middle ages generally, is to survey what was slowly and gradually done for the realization of the church theocratical system, the full completion of which was steadily kept in view by the church, after the fundamental position had once been taken. And in order to the realization of this system of the church theocracy, everything depended on the realization of the idea, which required that the church should form one organic whole under *one visible head*, by which all the parts should be held together — in other words, on *the formation of the papacy*. For it was only *then* that the church could be expected to make itself independent of the influence of the secular power, and appear as God's instrument for remodelling and shaping all human relations, when it should proceed to develop itself under the guidance of an absolute head, not subject to the power of any individual monarch, and able to keep all the scattered members of the great whole united together. See Vol. III. p. 112. For this reason, we must henceforth give the history of the papacy the precedence over all other matters relating to this subject. Taking this view of the matter, one phenomenon, most extensive and important in its influences, may well claim our attention in the first place — a phenomenon which proceeded from and again powerfully reäcted upon the papal theocratic system so far advanced already towards its completion in the prevailing mode of thinking of this age; namely, the wide circulation of a new code of ecclesiastical laws, which, formed for the exclusive purpose of favoring this system, acquired great authority by falsely assuming the names of ancient popes; we mean the *Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals*.

We observed in the second period, that the collection of ecclesiastical laws, drawn up by the Roman abbot Dionysius Exiguus in the sixth century, and containing the papal decretals from the time of Siricius downward, acquired the greatest influence in the Western church. This collection, which was widely circulated, and used in the churches of different countries, received many and various additions from the

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admission of other and later ecclesiastical ordinances, such as the needs of the churches of different countries would naturally call for. Such was the case in particular with the Gallic and Spanish recensions of this collection. Among these latter, there was one especially known by the venerated name of Isidore of Seville.[1] Another, however, appeared under the same name, in the ninth century, which contained a complete series of the decretals of the Roman bishops, from Clement downwards, — most of them pieces entirely unknown before, but some of them interpolated,[2] at an earlier period, with many alterations and inserted clauses. This fraud was so clumsily contrived, and ignorantly executed, that had the age been a little more fitted for, or less disinclined to critical investigations, and had the deception itself not fallen in with a predominant interest of the church, it might have been easily detected and exposed. Still its author did not invent and shape according to his own will the language attributed to those ancient bishops. The letters were for the most part made up of passages borrowed from far later ecclesiastical documents, which he took the liberty to alter and mutilate so as to suit his purpose and correspond with his notions, not even giving himself the trouble of removing from them things incongruous to the age in which the letters were said to have been written, and not seldom patching them together without any intelligible connection whatsoever. These ancient Roman bishops quote Scripture from a Latin translation, formed from the mixture of one made by Jerome with another that had been current in earlier times. They refer to relations between the state and the church, which could not possibly have existed in the age when these letters purport to have been writted.[3] We meet in them with the most extraordinary anachronisms; as, for example, that Victor, bishop of Rome, wrote concerning the contested celebration of passover, to Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria, who lived two centuries later.[4] The Scriptural passages cited as proofs are altered and mutilated with an effrontery and ignorance equally shameful.[5]

In these forged decretals, the papal theocratic system is set forth

[1] It was formed between the years 633 and 636; for it contains the canons of the fourth council of Toledo, of the former year; and a part of the preface to this collection, which has its natural and original place in the same, and must have been taken from it, occurs again in the Origines of Isidore, which could not have been produced after the latter year.

[2] As the first epistle of Clement to James, translated by Rufinus.

[3] To mention but one example, the Roman bishop Zephyrinus, in his ep. II, at the close of the second century, *under pagan emperors*, speaks of the expulsion of the bishops, which was forbidden by the *praecepta imperatorum*.

[4] But he here doubtless was confounded with a bishop Theophilus of Cæsarea, in Palestine, mentioned in the church history of Rufinus; — hence the anachronism.

[5] Thus, for example, in the first letter of Anaclete, the words spoken by the Sodomites against Lot, Gen. 19: 9, are brought forward as evidence against peregrina judicia in ecclesiastical matters; but they are cited as the words of God. Unde et Dominus mentionem faciens Loth per Mosen loquitur, dicens. Again, what is said in Heb. 9: 13, of purification by the blood of Christ as contrasted with the lustrations of the Old Testament, is applied to prove the magical purifying power of consecrated water in the first letter of the bishop Alexander. Nam si cinis vitulae adspersus sanguine populum sanctificabat (the words ad emendationem carnis, which did not suit the purpose, must of course be left out) atque mundabat, multo magis aqua sale adspersa divinisque precibus sacrata, populum sanctificat atque mundat.

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with a completeness, and pushed to an extreme, never before expressed, in any connected series of ecclesiastical laws.

The idea of an inviolable caste of priests, consecrate to God, the fundamental element out of which the entire hierarchical system was composed, and the basis on which it reposes, was here brought out and defended by employing and perverting Scriptural texts, especially from the Old Testament, in a manner the most bold and the most directly at variance with the spirit of the gospel. The priests were represented as the apple of God's eye, the familiares Dei, the *spiritales*, as opposed to the *carnales*, the term which was applied to the laity. Whoever sinned against them, sinned against God himself, as they were the representatives of God and Christ. Men were to see Christ in them. The priests were subject to no secular tribunal; on the contrary, God had constituted them the judges over all. The passage in Ps. 82: 1, was often applied to them, "God standeth in the congregation of the mighty, *he* judgeth among the gods." All who were oppressed should be able to look to the priests, and with them find protection. It is carefully inculcated, that bad priests, if they do not fall from the faith, must be tolerated, as sent by God; and that the laity could in no case be set as judges over them. Complaints against ecclesiastics are hedged round with the greatest possible number of difficulties. And in that state of the church, where a large portion of the clergy were so destitute of personal dignity, it was in truth necessary, in order to maintain the dignity of the priesthood, that it should be rendered as independent as possible of personal worth. If the priests should once come to be regarded as organs for the transmission of magical virtues — as it is made a prominent point in these decretals, that by the priest's words Christ's body is produced, — with this would easily be associated the idea that, although it were greatly to be wished the priests should by their personal character always prove to be worthy organs, yet, even independently of this personal worth, they must ever be regarded with reverence as the vehicles through whom these divine virtues are communicated to men. The inviolability of the church is sharply defined and strongly insisted upon, as well with reference to the property, as to the persons consecrated to its service. A trespass against this inviolability is represented as sacrilegium, a sin against God, the most enormous of crimes.[1]

The principles inculcated with regard to the objective importance of the priesthood generally, were now applied especially to the office of bishops, as those to whom the power to bind and to loose had been given by Christ. Men should respect even the unjust decision of a bishop; though the latter ought to be careful never to make such a decision. Thus the fear of the ecclesiastical sentence was alone to be strongly impressed on the laity.[2] The bishops were especially to be

[1] In the second letter of Pius, which characteristically marks the spirit of these decretals in reference to morals: Non gravius peccatum est fornicatio quam sacrilegium; sed sicut majus est peccatum, quod in Deum committitur, quam quod in hominem, sic gravius sacrilegium agere quam fornicari.

[2] In the letters of Urban: Valde timenda est sententia episcopi licet, injuste liget ali-

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represented as inviolable persons, to be protected against both the arbitrary will of secular power, and also the attack of other ecclesiastical authorities, such as the metropolitans, with whom the bishops in the Frankish empire were frequently in dispute. Both were closely connected in the church theocratical plan; for the prince might be enabled, by employing dependent bishops as his instruments, to force from his station any one of them who had incurred the prince's displeasure. The only means for maintaining the independence and inviolability of the bishops, was for them to possess, in a head over the entire church, a secure refuge against every arbitrary procedure and oppressive measure, on the part of the secular power and of their ecclesiastical superiors and colleagues, to make the pope the judge over the bishops in the last resort, from whom there could be no appeal. Thus, then, was presented a coherent organism of ecclesiastical powers, evolved in a regular gradation. Over the metropolitans were placed the primates and patriarchs. But over *all* presided the bishop of Rome, as the successor of St. Peter, on whom in particular Christ had conferred the power to bind and to loose. It was repeatedly inculcated, that the church of Rome was directly constituted head over all the others, by Christ himself. The episcopal chair of Peter, the princeps apostolorum, had been transferred on grounds of convenience from Antioch to Rome.[1] The church of Rome, which appoints and consecrates all bishops, is therefore the sole and sufficient judge, in the last resort, over the same, to which in all cases they may appeal.[2] Among the important affairs which could not be decided without the authority of the pope, belonged the cases of bishops. In one of the decretals,[3] the condition is indeed expressed, that whenever an appeal is made, it should be reported to the pope. But in other places, it is expressly declared, as indeed it follows, as a matter of course, from the principle lying at the ground of these decretals, that a decisive sentence can in no case whatsoever be passed upon bishops, without the concurrence of the Romish church, as well as that no regular synod can be convoked without its authority.[4] Hence it followed again, that the pope, whenever he thought proper, could bring the cause before his own tribunal, even where no appeal had been made, in case the bishop, as might indeed often happen under the circumstances of those times, had not dared to appeal; and the decision of the pope must be acknowledged and carried into effect without demur.[5] Moreover, it is already intimated in these decretals, that the emperor Constantine had transferred his sovereign authority in Rome to the Roman bishop.[6]

quem, quod tamen summopere praevidere debet.

[1] Jubente Domino, as is said in the first letter of Marcellus.

[2] In the first letter of Marcellus: ut inde accipiant tuitionem et liberationem, unde acceperunt informationem atque consecrationem.

[3] In the first letter of Anaclete.

[4] In the first letter of Marcellus: ut nulla synodus fieret praeter ejus sedis auctoritatem, nec ullus episcopus nisi in legitima synodo suo tempore apostolica auctoritate convocata super quibuslibet criminibus pulsatus audiatur vel judicetur.

[5] Vid. Sixti ep. II.

[6] Epistola Melchiadis. Ut sedem imperialem, quam Romani principes possederant, relinquerent et Petro suisque praesulibus profuturam concederet.

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But whoever may have been the author of this forged collection,[1] we assuredly cannot give him the credit, from anything which he exhibits in this work, of possessing the creative intellect, which would have been capable of producing, out of its own resources, a new system of ecclesiastical government; nor would any system, thus produced, have ever been able to gain such universal acceptance. He was, at all events, but the organ of a tendency of the religious and ecclesiastical spirit, which prevailed with the great mass of the men among whom he lived. He had no idea of introducing a new code; but only of presenting, in a connected form, the principles which must be recognized by every one as correct, and on which depended the well-being of the church; and it is easy to see how a man so little capable of going beyond his own narrow circle, and of rightly understanding the words of others, spoken under the circumstances and relations of other times, might conceive that he found a support for those principles in many declarations of the older fathers. In truth, even what had been said by a Leo the Great, concerning the pope's primacy over the whole church,[2] involves the principle of all that is to be found in these decretals; though Leo could not realize, in his own age, those outlines of the ideal of a papacy which floated before his mind. But supposing that the author of the decretals was convinced it would be doing God service, to bring these principles together in a compendious form, and introduce them more certainly into the practice of the church, by the use of names held in general veneration, then he might also consider a pious fraud allowable for so holy an end; for this erroneous principle, which was upheld by not a few authorities of ecclesiastical antiquity, had found admission with many, who had not been led by the influence of an Augustin to the opposite persuasion; and such an opinion must always find admission where a party-interest is confounded with the cause of God and the truth, and a party-conscience decides the course of duty. Moreover, there were already to be found, in that period, many forged writings, composed in the interest of the hierarchy; for pope Hadrian himself had appealed to such, which were preserved in the Roman archives;[3] and it was by such forgeries already existing, that Alcuin was deceived, when he cited them in support of the position that the pope could judge over all, but could be judged by no man.[4]

Nor can it be supposed that the author of the decretals intended, by this collection, *merely* to diffuse abroad the abovementioned principles concerning the power of the church, concerning the several grades of ecclesiastical power, and concerning the papal monarchy, and that all the rest was introduced only as occasional and subordinate

[1] The deacon Benedictus Levita of Mentz, by adopting a great deal out of these decretals into a collection of Capitularies, compiled by him about the year 845, and at the same time, by his mode of speaking of them, exposed himself to the suspicion of having been concerned in their fabrication. It is foreign from our purpose, to enter into a more full investigation respecting the origin and author of the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals. It was simply our endeavor to contemplate this collection as a product of the church spirit of the times, and on the side of its reacting influence on that spirit.

[2] See Vol. II. p. 170.

[3] See Vol. III. p. 122.

[4] See Alcuin, ep. 92.

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matter, and to render the deception more attractive. We have no reason for denying that what he elsewhere says, concerning the external forms of the church, the magical, sanctifying effects of the sacraments, and other outward things,[1] were considered by him equally important. At the bottom of all, lay the same mode of apprehending Christianity, with which this church-system was ever found to be connected. In a word, the author, or authors of this collection were but the organ for expressing this rude and grossly Jewish mode of apprehending Christianity, for which many others might have served equally as well. And it is with this production, as with many others which have arisen in the same manner;[2] we see in it only the expression of a certain tendency of the ecclesiastical spirit of the age, where very little depends on the individual character of the agent employed, he being an accident, which in this relation vanishes to insignificance. But this product of the spirit of the times, by the way in which, and the authority with which, it diffused abroad the principles growing out of that spirit and opposed to the old ecclesiastical laws, reäcted powerfully back again upon the spirit which gave birth to it. Nor could it fail to happen on the other hand, that the ancient tendency of the church laws should be aroused to a conflict with these new principles before they could be generally acknowledged. This conflict is the most important fact connected with the history of the papacy in the next succeeding times. But first of all it will be necessary to glance at the antecedent and preparatory circumstances of the times, that is, at the age of Lewis the Pious.

The legal order and the energy of the government under Charlemagne were not favorable to the exercise of such principles as were expressed in the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals. But following after the energetic reign of Charlemagne came the feeble one of the well-meaning, but as an independent ruler, incapable, monarch, Lewis the Pious. This gave rise to many abuses, or allowed such as were repressed before to get the upper hand. Soon after followed those political disorders in the Frankish empire which grew out of the quarrels of Lewis with his sons. Distraction and weakness here gave many opportunities for the church to interfere in the political strifes. Wala abbot of Corbie, a kinsman of the emperor, and Agobard, archbishop of Lyons, then stood at the head of the party which contended for the independence and sovereignty of the church; and though it cannot be denied that by suffering themselves to be entangled in the interests of an excited party, these men may have been so far misled as to call that a good cause in which the most sacred duties were grossly violated, yet neither can it be concealed, that the mode of presenting to benefices, and the intrusion of rude laymen into the administration of the property of the church, gave occasion for much just complaint. When the reigning

[1] That of course being excepted, which, on the ground of those accounts contained in the liber pontificalis, — that untrustworthy collection of the lives of the Roman bishops, — he was obliged to say, in order to give his fictions some appearance of a historical foundation.

[2] E. g. the Pseudo-Dionysian writings, respecting which there are some excellent remarks in Vogt's latest work upon them.

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evils were first brought into discussion, in the year 829, the abbot Wala declared, that everything depended on keeping the line of demarcation clearly drawn between the ecclesiastical and the civil province, the king and the bishops concerning themselves only about the affairs which belonged to their respective callings.[1] But when pope Gregory IV. came to France as mediator, in the disputes between the emperor Lewis and his sons, and the rumor got abroad, that he would decide in favor of the latter, he met from the bishops belonging to the emperor's party a very unfavorable reception, and the stand which they took against him proves, how far it was from being even yet a common thing in France to acknowledge the supreme judicial authority of the pope in all matters; and the consciousness of defending against the pope the cause of divine justice, contributed no doubt to render their language still more emphatic. They addressed him as a colleague; they called him brother;[2] they reminded him of his oath of allegiance to the emperor; they assured him that if he had come to excommunicate them, he might perhaps return home excommunicated himself; *they threatened him with deposition.*[3] The pope was thrown by all this into the utmost consternation: but Wala proved to him by declarations of the older church-teachers and of his own predecessors, that he had in no respect overstepped the limits of his authority, by interfering in these affairs, for it belonged to him as St. Peter's successor, to send his delegates to all nations to preach the faith, and to promote the peace of the church. He was judge over all, none could be judge over him. By these representations, the pope was reässured; he issued a circular letter to the bishops reproaching them with their want of respect for his authority. The bishops, seized with indignation, that the pope should espouse so bad a cause, had made a distinction between the pope's person and the dignity of the apostolical chair, which they were careful to hold sacred; but the pope would not allow the validity of any such distinction, being of the opinion, that the respect due to the *cathedra pontificalis* was also due to the person who occupied it, in proof of which he alleged, that by virtue of his station, the gift of prophecy was ascribed even to a cruel and unbelieving Caiaphas. He repelled their threats, however, not merely on the ground that they had no right whatever to judge him, but because these threats were given on no sufficient cause of provocation.[4] Mean-

[1] See his Life of Paschasius Radbert. Mabillon Acta sanct. Saec. IV. P. I. l. II. f. 491. Habeat rex rempublicam libere in usibus militiae suae ad dispensandum, habeat et Christus res ecclesiarum, quasi alteram rempublicam, omnium indigentium et sibi servientium usibus suis commissam ministris fidelibus.

[2] The pope in his reply declares it a contradiction, to call him at once papa and frater.

[3] Not only is this said by Paschasius Radbert in the Life of Wala, l. c. f. 511. quod eundem apostolicum, quia non vocatus venerat, deponere deberent, but Gregory IV, in his letter in reply, intimates that such a threat had been expressed by them; quod minari vos cognoscimus periculum gradus. See the fragment of the letter in Agobard, opp. ed. Baluz. T. II. p. 60.

[4] Quantum sit absurdum et stultum, cum vestra comminatio non sit propter crimen, homicidium scilicet, sacrilegium aut furtum vel aliquid hujusmodi, sed nisi ita venerimus, sicut ipsi vultis. And: nullo modo fieri potest, ut si is qui locum Petri tenet, exhonoratur, *sine crimine duntaxat*, cathedra ejus honorata permaneat.

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time, the authority of the pope prevailed to such a degree, that the unlawful proceedings of the sons of Lewis obtained a momentary appearance of justification in the eyes of the people, and the emperor was forsaken by the major part of his army.

A new epoch in the history of the papacy begins with pope Nicholas I, in the year 858. Not only did he with a clear consciousness of his aim, a firm consistency, and an unceremonious use of his power, attempt to realize the ideal of the papacy sketched forth in the Pseudo-Isidorian decretals, but he expressly cited these decretals in justification of his proceedings; and then for the first time they were introduced into the use of the church. Nicholas acted under the belief, which he also expressed, that to him was entrusted the oversight and governance of the whole church; that it was for him to see to the removal of all abuses, to the maintenance and observance of the laws and to the punishment of injustice in the whole church; that he employed the bishops as his instruments, though entitled to do everything from the plenitude of his own power.[1] He conceived the plan of convoking synods in Rome, composed of bishops from different countries, so that by their collected reports the wants of the different churches might be known; of advising with these bishops, who could support him by their knowledge of particular nations and their circumstances, concerning the most suitable arrangements to meet these wants, and of providing by these means for the promulgation of the new ordinances in all countries.[2]

It could not fail to make a salutary impression in favor of the papacy on public opinion, that the pope made his supreme judicial authority over monarchs and bishops respected in one case, where he appeared as the protector of oppressed innocence, and a punisher of prelates who had forgotten their duty; where he employed his spiritual power to compel even the mighty of the earth to respect a sacred law; where it was shown by example, how beneficially in this rude state of society such a power, placed at the head of the whole church governance, could operate as a check upon the immorality of arbitrary self-will. Lothaire, ruler over the kingdom called after his own name Lotharingia, accustomed to obey only his own sinful lusts, was determined to get rid of his lawful wife Thietberga, so as to open the way for his marrying the guilty Waldrade, the object of a criminal passion. To render this possible according to the laws, which made the sacrament of marriage an indissoluble contract, he took counsel of certain vile ecclesiastics, who set him upon inventing an accusation against Thietberga to be industriously circulated in the form of a calumnious report, by means of which it was designed to procure a declaration, that the

[1] See ep. 18. to king Charles the Bald: Sedes haec sancta atque praecipua in omnibus mundi partibus dispositione salubri cuncta ordinare proficereque divino freta procurat auxilio, et quod singulari pro auctoritate perficere valet, multorum saepe sacerdotum decernit definire consilio. Harduin. T. V. f. 232.

[2] Si ex diversis provinciis fratres invicem convenissent, et nos consensu illorum quae decernenda sunt decerneremus et ipsi necessitates suas referentes et nos nostras exponentes, quae decreta fuissent melius in omnium notitiam facerent pervenire. Vid. ep. 27. ad Ludovicum Germ. et Carol. Calvum l. c. f. 245.

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marriage contract with her was rendered null and void. By threats and force the unfortunate woman was reduced to the necessity of resorting, as the only means of deliverance from these oppressions and of securing for herself a peaceful retreat in a convent, to a confession, though under protest that it was extorted by force, that this calumnious report was true. A synod at Aix, composed of bishops wholly subservient to the guilty pleasures of their prince, declared Lothaire's first marriage invalid, and gave him permission to conclude the marriage with Waldrade. Thietberga afterwards made her escape, and took refuge with Lothaire's uncle, Charles the Bald king of France, and under his protection appealed to the pope. Previously to this, Hinkmar archbishop of Rheims had protested against the proceedings of those bishops,[1] and had already declared, that the monarch, like every other man, must be strictly judged by the laws of the church. The pope brought the affair before his own tribunal. He convoked a synod at Metz for the purpose of entering into a new investigation of the whole matter, in which however that they might proceed more independently of the influence of Lothaire, not only Lotharingian but also French and German bishops were directed to assist; namely, two bishops from the kingdom of Charles the Bald, two from that of Lewis of Germany, his uncles; and two from the kingdom of his brother, Charles king of Provence. Two bishops sent by himself were to be present as his legates; and he reserved to himself the power of confirming the proceedings of this synod, according to their report which should be transmitted to him. He threatened Lothaire with excommunication, unless he appeared before the tribunal of this synod, afforded the satisfaction which it might require of him, and put away the sin of which he might be found guilty.[2] But without waiting for the pope's decision, Lothaire, in the year 862, celebrated his marriage with Waldrade, calculating that he should be able to make the synod convened by the pope at Metz for the new investigation of the matter, entirely subservient to his own will. He so arranged it by his intrigues that none but Lotharingian bishops, by presents or threats made dependent on himself[3] met at the council in 863; and the two archbishops, Thietgaud of Triers, and Gunther of Cologne, who from the first had been humble instruments of the king in the whole of this affair, had the direction of the assembly. The papal legates had also been won over to his interests by bribery. Thus the decision of the synod turned out according to the king's wishes. They drew up for the pope a respectful report of their decrees; and urged perhaps by some misgivings of conscience, these two archbishops repaired in person to Rome for the purpose of securing a favorable reception of their decision. But the object which Nicholas had in view was not simply to uphold the authority of his papal primacy, which indeed was in this case disputed by neither party, but to use this authority for the protection of a holy law, and in behalf of jus-

[1] See his tract written expressly on this subject.

[2] See ep. 22. ad episcopos Galliae et Germaniae, l. c. f. 237.

[3] Quos vel beneficiis vel minis jam ad votum suum deflexerat, says the pope in his 55th letter, to king Lewis of Germany. Harduin. T. V. f. 288.

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tice and innocence. At a synod held at Rome in the same year, he decided, after a careful investigation of all the facts, that the decrees of the synod convened at Metz, which council had presumed to anticipate the final sentence of the pope, and impertinently violated the ordinances of the apostolic chair, were null and void; that such an assembly, favoring the cause of adulterers, was not entitled to the name of a synod;[1] that the two archbishops, as men who had unrighteously trampled on the apostolical ordinances and the rules of justice, should be deposed from their episcopal offices, and rendered incapable of any priestly function. The rest of the bishops, who had subscribed their names to those foolish proceedings,[2] should be pardoned only on condition that, in their own persons or by their delegates, they testified their repentance[3] and their submission to the decrees of the apostolical chair, from which they had received the episcopal dignity.[4]

The two archbishops, however, considered this sentence of the pope alone, without the concurrence of a larger synod composed of metropolitans, before which they should have been cited, and where their defence should have first been heard, as an act of despotic and arbitrary will. They inspired the mind of Lothaire's brother, the emperor Lewis who was at that time in Italy at the head of an army, with violent indignation, by complaining of the grievous insult done to the envoys of that prince, in their own persons. He marched with his army to Rome, for the purpose of compelling the pope to retract his sentence, or at any rate of vindicating the injured honor of the imperial dignity. But the pope, conscious of the righteousness of his cause, and of the divine call in obedience to which he had acted, would neither allow himself to be terrified, nor consent to make the slightest concessions. He decreed a general fast and a penitential procession, that the Almighty might be entreated to inspire the emperor with a right disposition and respect for the authority of St. Peter. The procession was disturbed by the rude soldiery, and the pope obliged to retire for safety to the church of St. Peter, where he spent two days and two nights in fasting. Here he calmly awaited the issue. The unruffled dignity which he preserved, in the consciousness of maintaining a holy cause and of obeying a divine call, would naturally prove victorious over rude force, governed only by passion. The conscience of those who were acting, not by any fixed principles, but only by the impulse of momentary excitement would easily be terrified by any concurrence of circumstances which they interpreted as tokens of the divine anger. A soldier, who, in the confusion which followed the disturbance of that religious procession, had dashed in pieces a cross borne by one of the priests, and held in peculiar veneration, sud-

[1] Nec vocari synodum, sed tanquam adulteris faventem prostibulum appellari decernimus.

[2] Gesta insania.

[3] At a later period, he wrote to the bishops of Lotharingia (ep. 49, f. 263). Perhaps the evil would already have come to an end, if some of them had not looked to their own things more than to those of Jesus Christ. Quidam sibi peritura seu texicata beneficia subtrahi metuunt, pro justitia quidem loqui renuunt, favere autem moechis tota virtute contendunt ac per hoc aeternis beneficiis justo judice decernente privantur.

[4] Unde eos principium episcopatus sumsisse manifestum est.

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denly died. The emperor himself was attacked with a fever. By these occurrences, he himself, or his wife, was thrown into great consternation. He sent her away to the pope, and became reconciled with him.

Although the emperor now dropped the cause of the two archbishops, yet the latter by no means gave up their resistance. They published a protest against the pope's sentence, and a circular letter addressed to the bishops, wherein they declared their cause to be one which involved the interests of the whole body.[1] They accused him of aiming to make himself lord over all. They declared that, satisfied themselves with the fellowship of the whole church, they would not admit the pope into theirs.[2] They moreover connected themselves afterwards with the patriarch Photius of Constantinople, the latter being involved in a quarrel with pope Nicholas.[3] But although the two archbishops might adduce in their defence the principles of the older constitution of the church, yet, however much favored by the *form* of right, the *matter* of it was too decidedly against them to enable them to succeed in contending with a power which the prevailing tendency of the times, by a principle inherent in it, was more and more determined to favor. When Gunther of Cologne, in defiance of the papal interdict, continued still to exercise the episcopal functions, this appeared to his contemporaries the impious act of a man who had forgotten there was a God.[4] The pope, on hearing of it, excluded him, and all who followed him, from the communion of the church. No intercession of princes and bishops could prevail on Nicholas to remit any part of the sentence which he had pronounced on the two prelates. The most he would allow them to hope, in case they should endeavor to retrieve the wrong they had done, and should manifest true repentance, was that he would then bestow on them other church benefices. But he constantly insisted that they should never be restored to their episcopal rank, nor ever be capable of administering again the sacerdotal office. The Lotharingian bishops humbly sued the pope for pardon, which he granted, severely reproving them at the same time for the neglect of their duty as pastors, and imputing it to their fault that Lothaire's impiety had proceeded to such an extreme. Lothaire sought in vain to win the pope by professions of submission. He offered to come himself to Rome for the purpose of justifying his conduct personally before him. But Nicholas declared, that he could not appear before him so stained as he was with sin. He ought not to attempt it; for he could neither be received with honor at Rome, nor return back with honor to his home.[6] He required absolutely, that Lothaire

[1] Nec nostrae vilitatis personam attendentes, sed omnem nostri ordinis universitatem, cui vim inferre conaris, prae oculis habentes. See, respecting this whole event, the continuation of the Annales Bertiniani in Pertz Monumentis Hist. Germ. T. I. f. 463.

[2] Te ipsum in communionem nostram recipere nolumus, contenti totius ecclesiae communione.

[3] See below.

[4] In the above cited Annals, f. 465: Missas celebrare et sacrum chrisma conficere ut homo sine Deo praesumsit.

[5] See ep. 37, to Hinkmar of Rheims.

[6] See ep. 27, to Lewis, king of the Germans, and Charles the Bald: Cui interdiximus, et omnino interdicimus ut iter talis qualis nunc est non arripiat, eo quod Romana ecclesia talem respuat et contemnat;

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should in the first place abstain from his criminal connection with Waldrade; that he should send her to Rome, that she might there be condemned to a suitable church penance, and that he should receive and treat Thietberga as his lawful wife. Nor did he suffer himself to be deceived by any pretended compliances, or rest, till in the year 865 Thietberga was given over by a papal legate to Lothaire, in the presence of the majority of his nobles, when he received her and promised on his oath, that he would treat her for the future as his lawful wife and queen. Waldrade was required to accompany the legate to Rome, but was seized and carried off during the journey. Lothaire's wickedness devised a new expedient for the gratification of his lust. By ill-treatment he reduced Thietberga to such a strait, that with her own hand, and, as she said, altogether of her own accord, she wrote to the pope, declaring that her marriage with Lothaire had never been a valid one; that Waldrade was Lothaire's lawful wife; and expressing her resolution to consecrate herself from thenceforth to a life of chastity. But even by this the pope did not suffer himself to be balked. He replied to Thietberga in a letter written with much dignity,[1] "That he could not believe what she affirmed, since it was confuted by the reports which he had received from all pious men in Germany and France about the ill-treatment suffered by her; hence he had long foreseen that she would write to him thus." He admonished her not to suffer herself by any fear or force to be compelled to utter a falsehood, but to continue steadfast and unshaken in testifying the truth. Should she die for confessing that, it would be equivalent to martyrdom; for as Christ is the truth, it might be certainly affirmed, that whoever dies for the truth dies for Christ. For himself, he said he could not permit so great a crime to strike root, which if it were not utterly extirpated, must redound to the ruin of many. If he let this thing go, it would come to that pass, that every husband, as soon as he began to dislike his lawful wife, would compel her by ill-treatment to declare the marriage contract invalid, and herself guilty of any crime, which might be conjured up against her.[2] But he also gave her to understand, that she need have no fears for her life; for Lothaire would know for certainty, that if he dared commit so abominable a crime, or to plot against her life in any way whatsoever, he would by so doing only prepare the way for his own ruin and that of his kingdom. But even should she die, Lothaire should never be allowed to marry the adulteress Waldrade. "Be sure of one thing — said he to her — that in obedience to the will of that God, who is the judge of adulterers, neither will we endure, nor will the holy church allow it to happen, that Lothaire shall go unpunished, should he ever venture, after your decease, to take Waldrade again to himself.[3] Nor could he, according to the laws of the church, permit Thietberga to take the vow of

and ep. 55, to Lewis, king of the Germans: Si contra propositum nostrum forte praesumserit, minime qua cupit honestate vel hic suscipietur vel hinc profecto regredietur.

[1] Ep. 48.

[2] Sed nos — says the pope — tales fraudes praecavere debemus, et ne proficiant, in ipso novitatis eorum principio detruncare.

[3] Unum tamen scito, quoniam nec nos

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chastity, except in case both the wives, of their own free accord, came to the same resolution." — If, after all, the pope found it impossible to force Lothaire to the fulfilment of his duty towards his lawful wife, still it had an important influence on the moral condition of the age, that by his means a check was put to public scandals, and a just respect created for the sanctity of the laws. The same zeal for maintaining inviolate the marriage relation, was likewise shown by the pope in other cases.[1]

In still another contest, where the pope was brought into collision with the most important defender of the old ecclesiastical freedom, and of the old ecclesiastical laws, he came off victorious. This was an affair, in which he seems to have been more governed by the interests of the papal primacy, which inclined him to favor the appellants, than by the rights of justice and innocence; and he was here brought into conflict with a man of quite a different stamp from the wretched Lothaire, with a man who contended, and that, too, with great energy and firmness, for principles. This was Hinkmar, archbishop of Rheims. Hinkmar, at a synod held in Soissons, A. D. 863, had pronounced sentence of deposition upon bishop Rothad, with whom he had long been at variance. Rothad was accused of trespassing, in various ways, upon the metropolitan rights of his superior, and of many violations of pastoral duty. Here, however, it is necessary to bear in mind, that the accusations of Hinkmar, a passionate and ambitious man, cannot be regarded as unimpeachable evidence against a bishop who was his subordinate. Rothad appealed, it is true, to the pope; and his appeal had been recognized; but it was affirmed, though not admitted by Rothad, that by a subsequent step he had taken back that appeal, and chosen the bishops themselves for his judges, so that, according to the laws of the church, respecting judges chosen by the defendant himself, no further appeal was admissible. The synod made report of their proceedings in a respectful manner to the pope, and requested him to confirm them. But Nicolaus declined doing this, till he should have examined further into the matter, many other bishops having already interceded for Rothad. He insisted that either Hinkmar should at once restore Rothad to his office, upon his acknowledging that he had done wrong; or that Rothad, in pursuance of his appeal, should come to Rome, and Hinkmar personally, or by delegates, there present the charges he had against him. The pope carried his point so far as this, that Rothad, in the year 864, came to Rome and handed over to him his defence. There he remained nine months; and as no accuser, in compliance with the pope's invitation, appeared against him, the pope declared the sentence that had been passed against him invalid; and Rothad, who returned with an emphatic letter of the pope to the king and to the archbishop, was, without a word of opposition, reïnstated in his office.

nec eadem sancta ecclesia, Deo auctore, qui adulteros judicabit, Lotharium, si Waldradam quandoque resumserit, etiam te decedente, dimittet omnibus modis impunitum.

[1] As in the affair of Ingeltrud and of the count Boso.

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Still more important than the immediate object here gained, was the manner in which it was effected. That it would have been right in the pope to order a new investigation of Rothad's cause, in case the latter had persevered in his appeal, was a point on which Hinkmar and the French bishops certainly did not entertain a doubt. They simply maintained, that his appeal had been withdrawn by a later step which he had taken. This Rothad denied; and on this ground Nicholas may have considered himself justified, on a principle generally acknowledged, to bring the cause before his own tribunal. But it was upon other principles that he chiefly defended the legality of his procedure, and it was other principles which he purposely made prominent. He affirmed that, even if the supposition were correct, on which the bishops here proceeded; even if Rothad had not appealed, still they were not warranted, unless they had received plenary power for that purpose from the pope, to judge a bishop. Assuredly the affairs of the bishops, if any whatever, belonged to the class of *causae majores*, reserved for the decision of the pope.[1] The principles on which Nicholas proceeded were the following, which flowed immediately out of his idea of the papacy. The care of the whole church, which is committed to the successors of St. Peter, passes through all the divers organs, which form the members of the ecclesiastical body, back to the pope. Now in what way could this be applied to the case of the metropolitans, if they might act independently of the pope in a matter of so much importance, as pronouncing definitive sentence upon a bishop? The pope here stood forth as the champion of the episcopal dignity. Why should not their affairs belong to the class of causae majores, since they occupy the most important position in the church, — are pillars in the house of God? The metropolitans, in truth, did not constitute a distinct and separate order in the church; and as certainly, therefore, as it belonged to the pope alone to judge *them*, so certainly did it belong to him alone to judge bishops. The pope has to care for the whole church, hence also for all its *individual* members, even for the laity. This might suffice to show, that the pope was authorized to bring before his own judicature all affairs whatsoever, if he deemed it necessary or expedient. And we perceive here, how the bishops themselves, in things which seemed to them to be of no very great importance, contributed, involuntarily and unwittingly, to lay the foundation of an unlimited papal monarchy, by occasioning or suffering that to be done in the course of ecclesiastical business, which could be made use of as an unanswerable authority to establish all its claims. The pope, for example, appealed to the fact, that almost every day, laymen, either of their own impulse, or sent by the bishops, came from different countries to Rome, to receive a definitive judgment from the highest spiritual tribunal, and that by this tribunal absolution was

[1] E. g. in the letter to the French bishops, with which he sent Rothad back to France. Etsi sedem apostolicam nullatenus appellasset, contra tot tamen, et tanta vos decretalia efferri statuta et episcopum in consultis nobis deponere nullo modo debuistis. Harduin. T. V. f. 591

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either given or denied them.[1] The pope then argued a minori ad majus: How absurd, that when you yourselves send the most trifling causes in the church to the pope, for his decision, you should reserve the bishops, the most important members of the church, for your own courts alone.[2]

To demonstrate the truth of these assertions respecting his jurisdiction, the pope, if he did not find more than they contained in the older records of the church (as undoubtedly he did), had only to cite the declarations of the Pseudo-Isidorean decretals, and these he cited abundantly. The French bishops, who would have concerned themselves no further about the matter, had the pope cited these decretals on any other occasion, now became suspicious, because these decretals were employed to establish that which was contrary to their own church interests. They looked into their codex canonum (their uncorrupted Dionysian Collection), and found in it no such laws. This difficulty they made known to the pope.[3] But the pope affirmed, on the other hand, that the decrees of the popes must be admitted, whether they were to be found in that collection or not. He here fell into the fallacy of reasoning in a circle, which the bishops might easily detect, since their difficulty related simply to the question, — though they may not have been so clearly aware of it themselves, — whether those decrees really proceeded from the popes, whose names they bore. Nicholas could turn to still better advantage their own logical inconsistency and incapacity for critical investigations, in matters not touching their own immediate interests; since he was able to say, that they themselves had oftentimes cited, in their letters, those very decretals, when they could make them subservient to their own purposes.[4]

Nicholas was possessed with the idea, that the papacy was to be the foundation pillar of the theocracy, on which the weal of the whole Christian community, in church and state, must repose; so that it must be the interest of all to defend the rights of the apostolical see. "How could it be possible — he writes to king Charles the Bald of France[5] — for us, if occasion required it, to do anything for the advancement of your kingdom, or of the churches of your kingdom, or to afford you any protection against your adversaries, if you, so far as it depends on your government, should suffer those privileges to be curtailed, by means of which your ancestors attained to every increase of their dignity, and to all their glory?"[6] An incidental

[1] Laici, quos paene quotidie cum vestris et sine vestris epistolis ad discutiendos et judicandos suscipimus, et discussos vel judicatos vel absolutos dimittimus.

[2] Absurdum est enim, ut laicos quosque et minimos, qui sunt in ecclesiis vestris, nostro mittatis judicandos judicio et addatis quotidiano labori, et episcopos, qui praecipua ecclesiae membra sunt, vestrae subdatis deliberationis arbitrio.

[3] Haud illa decretalia in toto codicis canonum corpore contineri descripta.

[4] Cum ipsi, ubi suae intentioni haec suffragari conspiciunt, illis indifferenter utantur et solum nunc ad imminutionem potestatis sedis apostolicae et ad suorum augmentum priviligiorum minus accepta esse perhibeant nam nonnulla eorum scripta penes nos habentur, quae non solum quorumcunque Romanorum pontificum, verum etiam priorum decreta in suis causis praeferre noscuntur.

[5] Ep. 30.

[6] Quibus usi patres vestri omne suarum dignitatum incrementum omnemque gloriam perceperunt.

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remark of this sort gives us an insight into the connection of ideas in the pope's mind, and hints to us what extent of power he attributed to the popes, in reference to the determination of political matters. Perhaps he may have had in mind here the regal dignity of Pipin, the imperial dignity of Charlemagne. The privileges of the Roman church — says he — are the remedy against all the evils of the Catholic church; — they are the weapons against all the attacks of wickedness, the means of protection for the priests of the Lord, and for all who are in authority, as well as for all who are in any way oppressed by those in authority.[1] As reference had been made to the principle of the Roman law, according to which there could be no appeal from judges chosen by the person accused; he declared, on the contrary, in perfect consistency with his theocratical standing-point, that the laws of the emperors, which the church had often employed against heretics and tyrants, were not, indeed to be rejected; but they must be subordinated, however, to the ecclesiastical laws, and could in no case decide against them.[2] He wrote to the bishops, that it was for their own interest, to see that these privileges were maintained; for what happened to-day to Rothad, might happen to any other one of them to-morrow, and where then would they find protection?[3]

When archbishop Hinkmar asked him to confirm their privileges to the Frank churches, he reminded him, that with the privileges of the Romish church, all others which proceeded from the latter, must fall.[4] Thus in fact no branch of the papal theocratic monarchy, whether in relation to spiritual or secular matters, could unfold itself at any later period, which had not been already contained in the idea of the papacy, as it was apprehended by a Nickolas.

The successor of this pope, Hadrian II, who attained to the papal dignity in 867, zealously contended, it is true, for the same principles; but not with the same success. So much the louder, therefore, could that powerful defender of ecclesiastical freedom and of the old ecclesiastical laws, Hinkmar of Rheims, let his voice be heard. When, in the year 869, king Lothaire II. died, against whom, down to his death, Hadrian, like his predecessor, had maintained the rigid severity of the judge, his brother, the emperor Lewis II, ought to have been his legal heir. But his uncle, king Charles the Bald of France, took advantage of the unfavorable political situation of Lewis, to make himself master of the countries of the deceased Lothaire. He was acknowledged king by a number of Lotharingian bishops, and crowned by archbishop Hinkmar, in presence of a convocation held at Metz. Pope Hadrian declared strongly against this illegal proceeding, and threatened to resort to the authority of the church against the king,

[1] Privilegia Patri arma sunt contra omnes impetus pravitatum, et munimenta atque documenta Domini, sacerdotum et omnium prorsus, qui in sublimitate consistunt, uno cunctorum, qui ab eisdem potestatibus diversis afficiuntur incommodis.

[2] Ep. 32. Ad episcopos synod. Silvanectensis. Quod leges imperatorum evangelicis, apostolicis atque canonicis decreta quibus post ponenda sunt, nullum posse inferre praejudicium asseramus.

[3] L. c. fol. 258.

[4] Vid. ep. 28. fol. 248. Quomodo rogo privilegia tua stare poterunt, si ita privilegia illa cessentur, per quae tua privilegia initium sumsisse noscuntur.

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if he did not restore back to his nephew the kingdom of which he had been so wrongfully deprived. He called upon the nobles and bishops of France, particularly Hinkmar, to exhort him to make restitution. But king Charles paid as little respect as did his bishops, to these representations. After dividing his kingdom with his brother Louis of Germany, he was left still more secure in its possession. Incensed at this contempt shown to his papal authority, Hadrian repeated his representations in a still fiercer tone. He severely reprimanded the French bishops, and particularly archbishop Hinkmar. He bade the latter, if the king did not reform, to avoid all fellowship with him, on pain of an excommunication which should light upon himself. He threatened that he would himself come to France. The archbishop Hinkmar upon this issued a letter to the pope, in which, under another name, he told him many bold truths. He quoted to the pope the remarks which had been made by the nobles of the spiritual and secular orders, who were assembled at Rheims, when he communicated to them the pope's declarations. This procedure — they said — was an unheard of thing. Quite differently had earlier popes and other eminent bishops acted. They had never renounced fellowship even with heretical, apostate, tyrannical princes, where it was still necessary to maintain it. But their prince was not such a person. He was a Catholic, desirous of remaining in peace with the church, and prepared to defend himself against every charge, according to the laws of the church and of the state. And to say nothing of what was due to a king, he had not even been accused and informed of his crime, according to the laws of the church and of the state, and as was required in the case of every freeman in these countries. They reminded him of that which had been done by the older French monarchs, not by apostolical fulminations, but by brave conduct in the church; how they had delivered the church of Rome from its enemies in Italy; but how, when Gregory IV. came into France, peace had thereby been disturbed, and the pope was forced to return back to Rome, not with becoming honor as his predecessors had done[1] — a hint, no doubt, at the kind of treatment which the pope had reason to expect, should he carry his project of visiting France into execution. They appealed to the testimonies of secular writings, that the kingdoms of this world were acquired and preserved by the power of the sword, and not by the fulminations of the pope or the bishops; and they appealed to holy writ, where it is said, Ps. 22: 29, "The kingdom is the Lord's, and by him princes rule and nobles, even all the judges of the earth;" Prov. 8: 16, "And he giveth the kingdom to whomsover he will;" Dan. 4: 17, "By the hands of angels and of men whom he employs as his ministers." And though we may object to them — says Hinkmar — that which is written in James iv.: "Your sinful passions are the causes of wars, which you wage for the sake of temporal glory; if ye prayed devoutly to the Lord, he would bestow on you all earthly goods needed for your use, and along with these everlasting blessings." For the very rea-

[1] Et ipse papa cum tali honore sicut decuerat, et sui antecessores fecerunt, Romam non rediit

son that it is the Lord who distributes kingdoms, there is need of praying to him; — and when we appeal to the power to bind and to loose bestowed on the pope and the bishops, to all this they reply: then by your prayers alone defend the kingdom against the Normans and other enemies, and seek not protection from us. But if *you* would have from us the protection of the sword, as *we* would have the help of your prayers, say to the pope, as he cannot be at once king and bishop, and as his predecessors regulated, as they were bound to do, the relations of the church, and not those of the state, which is the business of princes,[1] so let him not order us to have for our king one who lives so remote that he could not defend us against the sudden and frequent attacks of the pagan nations, and let him not wish to make slaves of us Franks, since his predecessors laid no such yoke on our predecessors, nor could we bear it, we who hear it stands written in holy writ, that we must fight to the death for our freedom and birthright. And if a bishop excommunicates a Christian contrary to law, he deprives himself of the power to bind, but cannot deprive any man of eternal life, who is not already deprived of it by his sins. It becomes not a bishop to deny a Christian who has not shown himself incapable of reformation, his name of Christian, not on account of his sins, but on account of the investment of an earthly kingdom; to give over to the devil one whom Christ came to redeem by his sufferings and his blood from the power of the devil.[2] We cannot possibly believe a pope, who declares we can participate in the kingdom of heaven on no other condition than that of receiving *the earthly* king whom he may please to give us. In his own name, Hinkmar said to the pope, that he did not see how he could refuse all fellowship with his prince, without injury both to his own soul and to his diocese. He reminded the pope of what was taught in the Scriptures and by the older church fathers, respecting the mixture of the bad and the good in the present earthly condition of the church, about the sifting process reserved for the judgment of the Lord, the obedience which every Christian owes to the powers ordained of God, the limits between the spiritual and the secular power — how even Christ paid the tribute-money, and commanded to give to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's. He therefore begged the pope, not to bid him do that which must inevitably tend to engender a schism betwixt the episcopal authority and the regal power, betwixt the church and the state, which could not easily be removed again without injury to religion and to the church; and he concluded with expressing a wish that the pope would receive this humble representation with the same good will, with which the first of the apostles not only suffered himself to be corrected for his

[1] Quia rex et episcopus simul esse non potest, et sui antecessores ecclesiasticum ordinem, quod suum est, et non rempublicam, quod regum est, disposuerunt.

[2] Et si aliquis episcopus aliquem Christianum contra legem excommunicat, sibi potestatem ligandi tollit, et nulli vitam aeternam potest tollere, si sua peccata illi eam non tollunt. Et non convenit uni episcopo dicere, ut Christianum, qui non est incorrigibilis, non propter propria crimina, sed pro terreno regno alicui tollendo vel acquirendo nomine Christianitatis debeat privare et eum cum diabolo collocare, quem Christus sua morte et suo sanguine de potestate diaboli venit redimere.

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dissimulation by a younger apostle, but even endeavored to satisfy the doubts expressed by his subordinates, and to explain why he went to the uncircumcised gentiles.[1] These words are aimed without doubt against the arrogant pretensions of the popes, who wanted to rule and decide alone.

Furthermore, Hadrian, like his predecessor, sought in his contest with archbishop Hinkmar, to establish *the principle*, that in the causes of bishops a definitive judicial sentence could come only from the pope.[2] When the nephew of this archbishop, the younger Hinkmar, bishop of Laon, had, by various acts of arrogant and wanton caprice, violated the laws of the church, when he had in the most insolent manner defied the authority of his king and of his metropolitan, and would not be persuaded by any representations to take the course of prudence and moderation, he was deposed from his office by a synod held at Douzi in 871. The younger Hinkmar, however, was buoyed up by the confidence that he need recognize no other than the pope as his judge. He had refused to acknowledge the synod as a legal tribunal, had appealed to the pope and supported his protestations by various proofs taken from the Pseudo-Isidorian decretals. Yet the synod did not allow itself to be embarrassed by that circumstance; they acted according to the old laws of the church, and they afterwards sent their proceedings to the pope, allowing him, conformably to the decrees of the council of Sardica, a right of revision. But Hadrian pronounced that the sentence of the synod was rendered null by the younger Hinkmar's appeal; he required that he, together with his accusers, should be sent to Rome, that the cause might be examined anew by a Roman synod. Thereupon, however, king Charles the Bald issued a letter couched in very strong language, in which we may plainly discern the pen of Hinkmar, against the pretensions and reproaches of the pope. "The pope should understand — he wrote — that the French kings had ever been held the lords of their country, not the vicegerents of bishops. But what hell was that, which had nevertheless given birth to a law — a law that could not have proceeded from the Spirit of God, for it was such as no Christian and no pagan had ever expressed — that the king appointed of God, that he whom God had armed with the two-edged sword to punish the guilty and to protect the innocent, should not be allowed to judge a criminal in his own state, but must send him to Rome."[3] The pope now yielded so far as to send the king a new letter, composed in far gentler language, the whole drift and intention of which was to pacify him. This quarrel was of no slight importance, inasmuch as Hinkmar the archbishop was thereby led to expound and defend the principles of the older ecclesiastical law, against the new code grounded in the ecclesiastical monarchy of the papacy, and to make a sharp attack for

[1] Et hanc meae subjectionis humillimam suggestionem ea benignitate suscipite, quae primus apostolorum non solum minoris sui apostoli redargutiorem pro simulatione suscepit verum et minorum suorum quaestionem, cur ad praeputiatos intraverit, satisfacere ac lenire curavit. See this remarkable letter of Hinkmar in the second volume of his works.

[2] Opp. II. Hincmar. f. 706.

[3] L. c. f. 709.

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the first time on the Pseudo-Isidorian decretals themselves. In his controversial writing against his nephew, Hinkmar distinguishes the universal and immutable laws given under the guidance of the Holy Spirit by the general councils, and valid for the entire church, from such as are valid only for particular times, and for particular and individual portions of the church. No individual, not even a pope, can determine anything in contradiction to the former. By them all other ordinances and determinations are to be tried. The latter may stand in contradiction with each other, and cannot all of them possibly be obeyed at once, for the very reason that they were passed with reference to different and changing circumstances. Hence those individual briefs of the older popes should be received indeed with especial respect, but ought not to be converted into an unchangeable rule of ecclesiastical prescription. Nothing can be derived from them to the prejudice of the universally valid immutable laws of the church. Nothing in the old constitution of the church can thereby be overturned; but the maxim must here be applied: Prove all things, hold fast that which is good.[1] He no doubt also detected the marks of ungenuineness in those decretals, in so far as things occurred in them which did not correspond with the circumstances of the times from which they were said to have come; and he saw with indignation what they aimed at, and what they must bring about, if they were admitted. The whole church would be reduced to a servile dependence on an individual man. He called those figmenta compilata (compiled fictions), a poisoned cup besmeared with honey, — because the ill-digested decretals bore on their front the venerable names of the old bishops of the apostolic chair. He compared this compilation with the forbidden fruit, which, promising our first parents independent equality with God, brought on them a miserable bondage. So — doubtless he would say — those decretals promise the bishops full freedom, and independence of the metropolitans, but make them slaves of an individual.[2] And addressing the bishops as if in the name of the younger Hinkmar,[3] he says: "Cling only with me to this compilation, and defend it, and you shall owe obedience to no one but the pope; and you shall with me destroy the order of God in the community and the different grades in the episcopacy."[4] But an energetic opposition of this sort, which

[1] See the Opusculum 55, capitulorum adv. Hincmar. Laudumensem. T. II. opp. f. 413, 420, 456, 483. Salva reverentia sedis apostolicae dico, quia si illa, quae in eisdem epistolis continentur, et suis temporibus congrua fuerunt, subsequentibus temporibus, ita ut in iis continentur, omnia et in simul custodiri valerent, patres nostri in conciliis leges mansuras usque in saeculi finem non conderent.

[2] L. c. f. 559 and 560. Hoc poculum, quod confecisti ex nominibus sanctorum apostolicae sedis pontificum, quasi ad ora melle oblitum et indiscrete commixtum de quo tibi commissos clericos potionasti, et quod quibusdam episcopis obtulisti, et satanas primis parentibus nostris in paradiso obtulit, quando pomum bonum ad vescendum et pulchrum oculis ostendit, eisque dixit; quacunque comederetis ex eo, aperientur oculi vestri et eritis sicut Dii scientes bonum et malum, et quibus promisit divinitatem, tulit immortalitatem et pollicens liberam et nulli subjectam deitatis aequalitatem, captivitatis iis intulit miseram servitutem, quos sibi complices fecerat ad iniquitatem.

[3] Et si forte non verbis, rebus tamen quibusdam episcopis persuadendo.

[4] Hanc tenete et evendicate mecum compilationem et nulli nisi Romano pontifici debebitis subjectionem et dissipabitis mecum Dei ordinationem in communis episcopalis ordinis discretam sedibus dignitatem.

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however was not carried by Hinkmar into critical details,[1] because this lay too remote from the bent of the age, could be of no avail against these decretals, after they had once gained a current authority in the church,[2] and consistency in the application of these principles would necessarily lead continually onward from one step to another.

It was favorable for the popes who struggled for the realization of these principles, that while they themselves were inspired by one interest, consistently pursued one idea, they seldom, on the other hand, had for their opponents men of the logical consistency and firm intellect of a Hinkmar. On the contrary, the princes and the major part of the bishops were governed entirely by their momentary interests. Thus king Charles the Bald of France, who had so decidedly supported archbishop Hinkmar in his contest for the liberty of the church, induced by a momentary political interest, yielded everything to pope John VIII, who, in the year 872, succeeded Hadrian. Desirous of having the voice of the pope on his side when aspiring after the imperial throne, against his brother, king Lewis of Germany, he not only allowed the former to bestow it on him in a way which favored the papal pretensions on this subject, but he made no objections to the step, when the pope nominated Ansegis, archbishop of Sens, primate over the French church, and apostolical vicar, whereby was conceded to him the right of convoking synods, of making known the papal ordinances to the other bishops, and of reporting ecclesiastical causes to Rome. As by this arrangement the rights of all metropolitans were invaded, Hinkmar protested against it in the strongest terms in a letter addressed to the bishops of France,[3] where he strenuously defended the rights of the metropolitans, grounded in the universally current laws of the church; and led by his influence, the bishops declared, that they were ready to yield obedience to those decretals only so far as should be found compatible with the rights of the metropolitans and with the ancient laws of the church. The king however persisted in maintaining the papal ordinance.

At the close of this, and in the first half of the tenth century, followed a very disgraceful period for the papacy. Rome became the seat of every species of corruption. The influence and rivalship of the most powerful parties attached to noble Italian families, produced in that city the greatest disturbances, where there was no power at hand to check the insolence of arbitrary will, and prevent inextricable confusion. The markgrave Adelbert, of Tuscany, combined with the vicious Roman women, Theodora and her daughter Marozia, acquired an influence which operated disastrously even on the election of the popes. The papal throne was stained with crimes,[4] which, had there

[1] In direct contrast with this, is the critical skill subservient to a dogmatic interest, with which, in the time of the Gottschalkian controversies, the defenders of the strict Augustinian system disproved the genuineness of the Hypomnesticon attributed to Augustin.

[2] Hinkmar (l. c. f. 476) says the country was full of those decretals.

[3] Opp. T. II. f. 719.

[4] That severe censor of the morals of the clergy, Ratherius, bishop of Verona, who in these times of corruption wrote from his own observation, speaks of the generalis contemptus, ut neminem invenire eorum

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been the least susceptibility for such an effect in the spiritual life of the nations, would have served beyond anything else to deprive the papal dignity of the sacred character with which it had been invested. The dominant party, grown more and more arrogant, dared, in the year 956, to place on the papal throne Octavian, son of the patrician Alberic, a youth eighteen years old, who took the name of John XII.[1] — the first among the popes that altered his name to a more ecclesiastical form. But he altered nothing in the vicious life which he had always pursued.[2] The imperial throne of Germany was the first to assist in delivering the Roman church from these abominations; and the unworthy John was himself compelled to serve as an instrument for the accomplishment of this purpose. He had invited the German king, Otho I, to assist him against his enemies, the Italian king Berengar II. and the markgrave Adelbert. He gave Otho, in the year 962, the imperial unction; but afterwards, contrary to his oath, formed an alliance with Otho's enemies. Otho, who heard complaints of him from many quarters, first remonstrated with him by means of an envoy. John offered his youth as an excuse, and promised amendment; which, however, never took place. Invited by the Romans themselves, the emperor now returned to Rome with an army, and the pope fled. The Romans having sworn that they would never elect another pope without the concurrence of the emperor and his son, he held a synod, in the year 963, in the church of St. Peter, and here many grave charges were variously preferred against pope John. Luitprand, bishop of Cremona, who afterwards wrote the history of his times, acted as interpreter to the emperor, who could only express himself in the German language. The pope, instead of complying with

valeam curatorem, a vilissimo utique ecclesiae usque praestantissimum, a laico usque ad pontificem pro nefas! summum! See his tract de contemptu canonum d'Achery Spicileg. T. I. p. 347. And the same bishop now speaks, after this, of the fact, that such was the general contempt in which the ecclesiastical laws were held, that a person who, in spite of these laws, had attained to a spiritual office, and pursued the same vicious course of life when a clergyman, might be elevated to the papal dignity; and when such a pope would punish the violation of the ecclesiastical laws in any particular case, he might easily be reminded of his own greater sins, and thus be thrown into great embarrassment. "Pone quemlibet forte bigamum ante clericatum, forte in clericatu exstitisse lascivum, inde post sacerdotium multinubum, bellicosum, perjurum, venatibus, aucupiis, aleae vel ebriositate obnoxium, expeti qualibet occasione ad apostolatum Romanae illius sedis. Iste igitur si illegalitate publica forte fuerit in apostolica sede locatus, quod utique patienter, ut plurima, permittere valet longanimis Deus, quem si ego adiero, veluti injuriatus ad juris ministrum, et ille nisus injurias vindicare meas, ei apostolicae auctoritatis miserit literas, nonne ille, qui me tam sacrilege injuriavit, sed non adeo, ut iste, Deum et omnia jura tam divina quam humana, — si quidem ille me homunculum unum, iste totum penitus mundum, ille unam adulteravit ecclesiam, iste eandem et omnes per universum orbem diffusas, — si mei causa aliquid ei (the violator of the ecclesiastical law) durius mandaverit, nonne illico ille poterit ei rescribere illud de evangelio: Quid autem vides festucam in oculo fratris tui, trabem autem, quae in oculo tuo est non consideras?" L. c. f. 349.

[1] The corrupt influence of female supremacy in Rome, and the name Joannes, which some of these unworthy popes bore, may perhaps have furnished some occasion for the fabulous legend about pope Joan in the ninth century (855).

[2] An eye witness of the moral corruption in Rome, who, if we may judge from a comparison of his statements with other descriptions of the condition of Italy in these times, can hardly be accused of exaggeration, Luitprand, bishop of Cremona, says in his work De rebus imperatorum et regum, lib. VI. c. VI., that at that time *female pilgrims* ought to be afraid to visit Rome.

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the invitation to come and defend himself, insolently ventured to threaten the ban, which decided the course of the synod with regard to him. He was deposed; and an archdeacon of the Roman church, in good standing, was chosen pope under the name of Leo VIII.

If, after these occurrences, a new contest with the papal monarchy arose in any quarter, it would be seen, whether the abominations which had so long polluted the seat of the papal government and the papacy itself, had exerted any important influence on the public opinion with regard to it. Such a contest arose in France, in the time of pope John XV. In the French church, the principles of ecclesiastical freedom, so powerfully advocated by archbishop Hinkmar, always had an important party in their favor. Add to this, that at that time a new spiritual life began to emerge out of the darkness and barbarism of the tenth century. In particular, men like Gerbert, that zealous laborer for the advancement and diffusion of science, who was then secretary and president of the cathedral school attached to the church at Rheims, and Abbo, abbot of the monastery of Fleury, had united their efforts to excite a new scientific spirit and enthusiasm in France. Thus, through a small number of the clergy, of whom Gerbert formed the centre, was diffused a more liberal tone of ecclesiastical law, which would not suffer the condition in which the papacy stood at Rome in these last times, to pass unnoticed. An occasion was soon presented for this party to appear on the public stage.

Hugo Capet, who had made himself master of the royal government in France, was involved in a quarrel with Charles, duke of Lotharingia, the last branch of the Carolingian family. He had bestowed on his opponent's nephew, the young Arnulph, the bishopric of Rheims, vacated by the death of the archbishop Adalbero, expecting thereby to gain him over to his political interests. But Arnulph was afterwards suspected of having treacherously opened the gates of the city to the troops of duke Charles. Arnulph had now gained for himself a party; and as the new king, whose power was not yet fully confirmed, had so much the more cause to humor the public opinion, so in proceeding against Arnulph, he took care to conduct himself with the greatest prudence, and to bring it about, that the bishop should be sentenced by the voice of the pope himself. King Hugo and the French bishops in his interest, applied, in the year 990, to pope John XV, and invited him in the most respectful terms, implying an acknowledgment of his supreme jurisdiction over the whole church, to pass a definitive sentence of deposition on Arnulph, and to assist them in the appointment of a new archbishop. They went so far as to apologize in this letter for not having applied in any cause, for so long a time, to the Romish church.[1] But as the other party was seeking also at the same time to gain over the pope, the matter was spun out at great length in Rome, as usually happens when men are trying to find their

[1] Non sumus nescii, jamdudum oportuisse nos expetere consulta Romanae ecclesiae, pro ruina atque occasu sacerdotalis ordinis; sed multitudine tyrannorum pressi, longitudine terrarum semoti, desideria nostra hactenus implere nequivimus. Vid. Harduin. Concil. T. VI. P. I. f. 722.

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way out of a dubious and entangled affair. Meantime, the power of king Hugo had become sufficiently confirmed; and he revenged himself on the pope's authority, who refused to help him at the right moment, by proceeding in a way so much the more independent of him. To investigate this affair, the council of Rheims assembled in 991.[1] Gerbert's friend, Arnulph, archbishop of Orleans, was the soul of this remarkable assembly.

Several abbots here stood up for the principle, that the pope alone is the lawful judge of bishops, and as they cited in proof of this position passages from the Pseudo-Isidorean decretals, the archbishop Arnulph hereupon took occasion to stand forth as the advocate of ecclesiastical freedom. "*We* stand up for this — said he — that the church of Rome must ever be honored, on account of the memory of St. Peter; and we would in nowise place ourselves in opposition to the pope's decrees. Yet she must be so honored as not to injure the authority of the Nicene council,[2] which has ever been respected by this church of Rome; and so that, at the same time, the ecclesiastical laws drawn up at different periods and in different places, under the guidance of the same divine Spirit, shall continue to preserve an unquestionable validity. It cannot stand within the power of the pope, to render null, by his silence or by new ordinances, all the existing laws of the church; for thus *all* laws would be superfluous, and everything would depend on the arbitrary will of an individual. If the bishop of Rome is a man who recommends himself by his knowledge and his manner of life, we need fear from him neither the one nor the other. But if the pope is estranged from the right, by ignorance, fear, or worldly desires, or, as in these last times, fettered by the tyranny of another, we have so much the less reason to fear the silence or the new ordinances of the pope; for he who in any way stands in contradiction to the laws himself, cannot thereby effect anything against the laws." He takes occasion from this to glance at

[1] The transactions of this council were first published in full by Bongar, Frankfurt, 1600, reprinted in Mansi Concil. T. XIX. f. 109. To be sure, a suspicion might arise about the authenticity of these records (and this is the argument against them on which the papal party has always insisted) from the circumstance that this account proceeds from a man who was himself a party in the case, from *Gerbert;* and he says in his preface, that he has not reported everything that was said in the council, word for word, while in his letter to the archbishop Wilderod, of Strassburg, to whom he sent this report (Mansi Concil. T. XIX. f. 166), he intimates that the representation was the product of his own art. It should be considered, however, that this refers rather to the style of the production, than to the matter of the principles therein expressed; and Gerbert indeed intimates, that he had condensed a good deal which at the council had been more fully developed, and that he had softened in many cases the stern rigidity of the language. For he says: Earum (sententiarum) amplificationes, digressiones, et si qua ejus modi sunt, quodam studio refringam, ne odio quarundam personarum potissimumque Arnulphi proditoris moveri videar, quasi ex ejus legitima depositione Remense episcopium legitime sortitas videri appetam. After so frank a confession, his report on the whole is surely entitled to the greater confidence. It was in fact the spirit of Gerbert in his friends, which constituted the soul of this council; though we may believe the account given by Aimoin, that several or many were governed in their decisions by the authority of the king rather than by the influence of this spirit. See Aimoin. De gestis Francorum. L. V. c. 45.

[2] Probably in allusion to its sixth canon; see on this, Vol. II. pp. 162, 163.

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the condition of the Romish church in these last times.[1] He holds up to scorn the monsters, who, in the time of a John XII, and after him, ruled in Rome; and then remarks of such popes: "Is it a settled matter, then, that to such shameful brutes, utterly destitute of all knowledge of things human and divine, innumerable priests, distinguished throughout the world for their wisdom and for the purity of their lives, are to be subjected? For what — says he — do we hold him, who sits blazing with purple and gold, on a lofty throne? If he wants love, and is only puffed up with knowledge, then is he Anti-Christ sitting in the temple of God. But if he is wanting in both alike, then is he in the temple of God like a statue, like an idol; and to seek a decision from such an one, is like asking counsel of a block of marble.[2] Much better were it to apply where men might hope to find the fullest understanding of the divine word; for example, to worthy bishops in Belgium and Germany,[3] than to the city where everything at present is venal, and where judgment is distributed according to the amount of the bribe.[4] With what face can one of the Roman clergy, among whom scarcely a man is to be found, who has learned to read and write, venture to teach what he has not learnt himself? But supposing the Romish church still possessed of her primitive dignity; what more could have been done to show her respect? What more can be required, than that the causae majores, the causes of the bishops, should first be reported at Rome? This has been done by the bishops and by the king. The bishop of Rome has been duly consulted, respecting the deposition of Arnulph, and the appointment of a worthy successor to the place which he vacates; but why he has not answered, let those explain whom it concerns. Since, then, he to whom we have applied keeps silent, we must now endeavor to supply the wants of the people; and the bishops here convened from the adjacent provinces, must depose Arnulph, if he deserves to be deposed, and, if a worthier man can be found, appoint that man his successor." The proposition of Arnulph triumphed — though from this we are not authorized to conclude, that all the bishops of the council agreed, from free and independent conviction, in the principles here expressed. It may have been, that many allowed themselves to be determined, partly by the superior influence of a few liberal-minded men, and in part by the authority of the

[1] Lugenda Roma, quae nostris temporibus monstruosas tenebras futuro saeculo famosas effudisti.

[2] Ni mirum si caritate destituitur solaque scientia inflatur, Antichristus est, in templo Dei sedens. Si autem nec caritate fundatur, nec scientia erigitur, in templo Dei tanquam statua, tanquam idolum est, a quo responsa patere marmora consulere est.

[3] Certe in Belgica et Germania, quae vicinae nobis sunt, summos sacerdotes Dei in religione admodum praestantes inveniri in hoc sacro conventu testes quidam sunt.

[4] Ea urbs, quae nunc emptoribus venalis exposita, ad nummorum quantitatem judicia trutinat. Even that adherent of the papacy, the abbot Abbo of Fleury, was compelled to find this true by experience, when, under pope John XV, he visited Rome, to get the privileges of his monastery confirmed anew. In the account of his Life in Mabillon, Acta Sanct. O. B. Saec. VI. P. I. f. 47, § XI. it is said: "Turpis lucri cupidum atque in omnibus suis actibus venalem Johannem reperit, quem exsecratus perlustratis orationis gratia sanctorum locis ad sua rediit."

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king; and these might easily be made to waver again.[1] The hitherto archbishop of Rheims was deposed, and Gerbert chosen to fill his place.[2]

Pope John declared the sentence of this council an illegal and arbitrary act. He persisted in maintaining the principle, that in the Romish church alone was to be found the lawful tribunal by which bishops could be judged. He pronounced, in the mean while, on all the bishops who had taken part in the proceedings of that council, the sentence of suspension from their episcopal functions, and sent Leo, an abbot, to France, to carry his decrees into execution, and to press the deposition of Gerbert and the restoration of Arnulph. But Gerbert contended strenuously for the principles which had been expressed at the council of Rheims; in his letters, he spoke in the freest manner against the pretensions of the pope, and he represented to the bishops, how, by yielding ground under these circumstances, they would degrade their whole order and dignity, and entail the most dangerous consequences upon themselves and upon the church.[3] "The object aimed at — said he, in allusion to the arrival of the pope's legate — is something greater than merely *my own person.* (He cited the proverb from Virgil: Tunc tua res agitur, paries cum proximus ardet.) It was an attack on the authority and the rights of the bishops and of the king. If this matter were carried through, without the concurrence of the bishops, then their power and dignity would be annihilated, since the right would be taken away from them of deposing any bishop, however *guilty;* and no one should flatter himself that it did not concern him personally, for the question here did not relate to the indulgence of the judge, but to that which should once be actually established as a principle of law."[4] To Saguin, archbishop of Sens, who was inclined to submit to the pope's authority, he wrote:[5] "Your sagacity should have enabled you to escape the sly plots of cunning men, and to follow the precept of our Lord, 'If they say unto you, Lo, here is Christ, or lo, he is there, go not after them.' How say our opponents, that in deposing Arnulph, we should have waited for the decision of the Roman bishop? Would they be able to show, that the judgment of the Roman bishop is greater than the judgment of God? But the first Roman bishop, the first of the apostles, says: It is better to hearken unto God than unto men; and the apostle Paul declares: Though an angel from

[1] Aimoin (Hist. Franc. l. V. c. 45) says, the archbishop Saguin, of Sens, resisted this proceeding from the first, and also boldly told the king the truth; yet this is at variance with the tone in which Gerbert writes to him; from which we can only infer a want of firmness and constancy in the bold stand he had taken on the part of this archbishop.

[2] It is worthy of remark, that in the confession of faith, which Gerbert laid down before his ordination, he speaks only of a Catholic church, only of four general synods, but not of the Romish church; and that not a word occurs respecting the power conferred on the successors of St. Peter. Harduin. Concil. T. VI. P. I. f. 726.

[3] See the epistola ad Constantinum Miciacensem abbatem. Harduin. l. c. f. 731.

[4] Nec sibi quisque blandiatur quolibet conquassato, se in columi nec falso nomine sponsionis decipiatur, cum res et facta non ex indulgentia judicum, sed ex stabilitate pendeant causarum.

[5] L. c.

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heaven preach any other gospel unto you, let him be accursed. Because pope Marcellinus sprinkled incense to Jupiter,[1] must all bishops do the same? I say, and persist in it, that if the Roman bishop has committed a sin against his brother, and, having been often reminded of it, does not listen to the church, such a Roman bishop is, by the command of God, to be considered as a heathen and a publican; for the more exalted the station which one occupies, the deeper is his fall." He then proceeds to attack the pope's sentence, suspending him, and the others who had taken part in the proceedings at Rheims, from the sacerdotal functions: "If the pope — says he — holds us unworthy of his fellowship, because none of us would agree with him in that which is contrary to the gospel, yet he cannot, for any such reason, separate us from our fellowship with Christ." He quotes here Rom. 8: 35. "And what more grievous separation can there be, than to keep away a believer from the body and blood of the Son of God, which is daily offered for our salvation? If he who deprives himself or another of his bodily life is a murderer, what name shall we apply to him, who deprives himself or another of the *eternal* life? We must give no occasion for our adversaries to make the priesthood, which is everywhere one and the same, as the Catholic church is one, so dependent on an individual, that if his judgment is perverted by money, by favor, by fear, or ignorance, no man can be a priest, but he who recommends himself to him by such virtues."[2] That which should pass as the common law of the Catholic church was the gospel, the writings of the apostles and prophets, the ecclesiastical laws given by the Spirit of God, and current in all Christendom, and the decrees of the apostolic see not *standing in contradiction with these;* for to the latter he attributed only a conditional validity. His letter to Wilderod, bishop of Strassburg, in which he exposed at length the illegality of the pope's proceedings, he concluded with the following complaint:[3] "The whole French church is lying under the oppression of tyranny; yet the remedy is not sought among the French, but among these Romans. But thou, O Christ, art the only salvation of

[1] This story was probably taken from the forged records of the pretended synod held in a subterranean cavern, under the emperor Diocletian, near the Italian town Sinuessa. See Harduin. Concil. f. 217. These apocryphal records proceeded, on the one hand, from the same spirit which dictated the Pseudo-Isidorean decretals, and on the other, connect themselves with some more ancient tradition. It was a report current even in the time of the Donatists, that the Roman bishop Marcellinus had consented to burn the sacred Scriptures, and to sprinkle incense to the gods, in the Diocletian persecution. See Augustin. contra literas Peliliani l. II. § 202. But Augustin asserts his innocence, De baptismo contra Pelilian. § 27. Now, as such a tradition existed, it was determined to render it harmless to the papal authority, or rather to take advantage of it, by inventing the story, which is the substance of the transactions of that council, that the assembled bishops did not venture to judge the episcopum primae sedis, who could not be judged by any other authority; but that the pope could only then be deposed, when he confessed himself his own crime, and pronounced his own sentence. — Thus, this story could now be used both by the opponents and by the advocates of papal absolutism.

[2] Non est danda occasio nostris aemulis, ut sacerdotium, quod ubique unum est, ita uni subjici videatur, ut eo pecunia, gratia, metu vel ignorantia corrupto, nemo sacerdos esse possit, nisi quem sibi hae virtutes commenderint.

[3] Mansi concil. T. XIX. f. 166.

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men. The church of Rome herself, which hitherto has been considered the mother of all the churches, must curse the good, bless the wicked, in that she abuses the power to bind and to loose, received from thee, notwithstanding that with thee it is not the sentence of the priest, but the conduct of the accused, that avails anything, and it stands in the power of no man to justify the godless, or to condemn the righteous!"

But this bold spirit was unable to present any effectual check to the power of the papacy, already too deeply rooted in the minds of the people, and which was promoted by the influential monks, and by motives of temporal interest, whereby many bishops were determined. The terror of the papal excommunication had acquired already too much weight from public opinion for the voice of free-minded individuals, however supported by arguments, to avail anything against it. Besides this, Arnulph found personal sympathy; and Gerbert was accused of having acted from impure motives, and of having aimed from the beginning at obtaining possession of the archbishopric, and for this reason of having labored to procure the fall of Arnulph.[1] Leo, the pope's legate, appeared in 995 before a council at Muson, where he made known the papal decision. Gerbert still remained true to his principles, and made a powerful defence, in which he expressed them. He said, that all possible marks of respect had been shown to the apostolic chair. Eighteen months the pope's decision had been patiently waited for. But when no counsel was to be obtained from man, they had resorted themselves to the far higher word of the Son of God, and decided according to that. After the proceedings of the council had been brought to a close, Gerbert was invited by several bishops in the name of the pope's legate, to cease performing the priestly functions until the meeting of a greater French ecclesiastical assembly to be held at Rheims. But he refused; and declared in presence of the legate himself, it stood not in the power of any bishop, any patriarch, any

[1] Gerbert defends himself against this charge in a letter to the pope, ep. 38. in Du Chesne Scriptores hist. Franc. T. II. f. 839. Non Arnulfi peccata prodidi, sed publice peccantem reliqui, non spe, ut mei aemuli dicunt, capessendi ejus honoris, testis est Deus et qui me noverunt, sed ne communicarem peccatis alienis. He affirms in his speech in defence of himself before the council at Muson (Harduin. Concil. T. VI. P. I. f. 735) that the archbishop Adalbero, who contrary to his own plans had ordained him a priest, intended on his death to make him his successor; but Arnulph had contrived to obtain the office by simony. In ejus decessu ad Dominum coram illustribus viris futurus ecclesiae pastor designatus. Sed simonaica haeresis Arnulfum praetulit. In evidence of the truth lying at the bottom of this testimony we have also what Gerbert says in a confidential letter (ep. 152. f. 824), in Du Chesne. Pater Adalbero me successorem sibi designaverat cum totius Cleri et omnium episcoporum ac quorundorum militum favore. It is, in itself considered, not improbable, that Adalbero would have been very glad to have the distinguished man, who stood so near him, for his successor; and the literary merits of Gerbert would recommend him above all others to those, who were chiefly governed by the spiritual interest. But a man descended from so respectable a family, should he attain to one of the highest ecclesiastical stations in France, would naturally excite the jealousy of many against him; the knights, barons and all those who were chiefly governed by secular considerations would naturally prefer for their bishop a person of exalted rank like Arnulph, and hence it is easy to see how it was, that this party, which at first had favored Arnulph, was also at a later period the more inclined to attach themselves to the papal interest.

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apostolic prelate, to exclude any believer whatsoever from the communion of the church, except after voluntary confession, or when convicted of a crime, or when he refused to make his appearance before a council. Nothing of all this was to be applied to him, and therefore he would not pronounce on himself the sentence of condemnation. At length he suffered himself to be persuaded by his friend, Ludolph, bishop of Triers, that he would out of obedience omit the celebration of mass until the next council at Rheims.[1] But Gerbert found himself in no condition to maintain his stand against the fanaticism and fury of the multitude excited by the influence of the papal legate. Knights and ecclesiastics not only avoided taking any part in the divine worship held under the direction of Gerbert, but even shunned all intercourse with him as an object of abhorrence.[2] Yielding therefore to the dictates of prudence, he withdrew for a while, to a secret place of refuge, determined, however, still to maintain the justice of his cause against this arbitrary exercise of papal power. "The churches — he wrote to Queen Adelaide of France — which by the judgment of the bishops were committed to my guidance, shall not be otherwise abandoned by me than by the judgment of the bishops; nor against the judgment of the bishops, if no higher authority exists, shall they be forcibly retained."[3] He was for having the decision depend, therefore, upon a more numerous assembly of bishops. The contest between the party of Gerbert and that of the pope lasted until the time of this pope's successor, Gregory V. The latter threatened to put the whole French church under the ban.[4] Hugo Capet's successor, king Robert, sought by yielding a little here to obtain the pope's recognition of the validity of his marriage with Bertha, notwithstanding the canonical objections.[5] This led on to new negotiations by the mediation of the venerated abbot, Abbo of Fleury, one of the representatives of the papal party. The latter conducted them in a personal interview with the pope, and the reconciliation was effected on terms satisfactory in all respects to the papal authority. At a second council, held at Rheims in 996, the decrees of the first were completely reversed, Gerbert was deposed, and Arnulph restored. So in this case also the principles of the Pseudo-Isidorian decretals triumphed, and everything that had been done in contradiction to them, appeared as an act of arbitrary will. Gerbert himself must have been constrained at last to yield to the superior power of the papal system; for he was afterwards appointed, through the influence of his pupil, the emperor Otho III, to the archbishopric of Ravenna; and pope Gregory V, would beyond

[1] Ne occasionem scandali suis aemulis daret, quae jussionibus domini apostolici resultare vellet, said the archbishop of Triers.

[2] Memini meos conspirasse non solum milites, sed et clericos, ut nemo mecum comederet, nemo sacris interesset, in the letter to Queen Adelaide of France in Harduin. l. c. f. 734.

[3] L. c. f. 733.

[4] See the Life of the abbot Abbo of Fleury § XI. Acta sanct. O. B. of Mabillon f. 47. Saec. VI. P. I.

[5] As Gerbert says, in the letter to Queen Adelaide, cited above, Leo Romanus abbas, ut absolvatur Arnulfus obtinuit, ob confirmandum regis Roberti novum conjugium. Yet even by this means the king could not prevent the pope from commanding him afterwards, on pain of the ban, to separate from Bertha.

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a doubt have refused to sanction this choice, and give him the pall,[1] if Gerbert had not in some way or other become reconciled with the papal see.

It is remarkable, that in the year 999, Gerbert, the same man who had so strenuously contended against the papal power, was by the influence of Otho III. chosen pope. He took the name pope Silvester II. As it is evident from what we have already remarked, that he must have given up those principles of ecclesiastical law which he at first maintained, so it was not necessary for him when pope to assume any new ground of action. But in his adjudging to Arnulph, archbishop of Rheims, all the rights and privileges connected with this dignity, and securing him against all detriment which might accrue to him on account of former offences, we perceive his design of uniting the justification of his own earlier line of conduct, with the maintenance of the papal authority.[2] His reign, which lasted only till the year 1003, was too short, to allow him any opportunity of exerting the influence which might have been expected from the character of his mind; yet with him probably originated the idea of a crusade to liberate the holy cities from the dominion of the Turks, an idea which found a benignant soil not till long afterwards.[3]

After the death of Otho III, the haughty Italian nobles were no longer kept in restraint by dread of the imperial power, and the same disturbances and disorders arose again which had sprung from like causes in the tenth century. The two contending parties of Toscana and of Tuscoli had the most corrupting influence on the Romish church. The counts of Tuscoli became continually more powerful, and with their power rose their pride. In the year 1033, they had the boldness to elevate to the papal dignity Theophylact, a boy twelve years old belonging to their own family. He called himself Benedict IX.[4] He gave himself up to every species of vicious excess; and

[1] See the documents on this point in Harduin. l. c. f. 740.

[2] Harduin. l. c. f. 760. Considered in this light, this letter which could only have been written by a person in the position of Silvester, to whom the superscription attributes it, explains itself. It delicately hints, that though Arnulph had deserved to be deposed, yet his deposition was not formally valid, quia Romano assensu caruit. And so the plenary power of Peter is shown in this, that he could, notwithstanding his guilt, be again restored to that dignity, as if nothing had been done. Est enim Petro ea summa facultas, ad quam nulla mortalium aequiparari valeat felicitas. Nostra te ubique auctoritas muniat, etiamsi conscientiae reatus occurrat.

[3] The complaint of the desolated Jerusalem or of the universal church, composed by him, if indeed that tract is genuine: Enitere ergo miles Christi, esto signifer et compugnator et quod armis nequis, consilii et opum auxilio subveni.

[4] Desiderius, abbot of Monte Cassino, whose youth falls in a period when all this was still in lively remembrance (who was afterwards pope under the name of Victor III,) says in the third book of his Dialogues, containing wonderful tales of his own times: "Dum per aliquot annos nonnulli solo nomine pontificum cathedram obtinerent, Benedictus quidam nomine, non tamen opere, cujusdam Alberici consulis filius, magi potius Simonis, quam Simonis Petri vestigia sectatus, non parva a patre in populum profligata pecunia summum sibi sacerdotium vendicavit, cujus quidem post adeptum sacerdotium vita quam turpis, quam foeda, quamque execranda extiterit, horresco referre," — and he names among his acts rapinas, caedes aliaque nefanda. See Bibl. patr. Lugdunens. T. XVIII. f. 853. Another older contemporary, Glaberius Rudolph, monk of Cluny, says of him near the close of his history of the times. "Fuerat Romanae sedi ordinatus quidam puer circiter annorum duodecim. Horrendum referre, turpitudo illius conversationis et vitae."

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of course this enthronement of mean profligacy on the chair of St. Peter, had, by reason of the relation of the papacy at that time to the Western church, the most baleful influence on the condition of Christian life, especially in Italy. But at the very time when such corruption prevailed in this country, the counteracting influence of a Christian spirit which both required and promoted holiness of heart, was felt in the life and labors of the younger Nilus, a pious monk of Grecian descent, who first made his appearance among the Greeks of Calabria. Exhibiting, in the midst of a corrupt generation the example of a life wholly consecrated to Christian love,[1] he had been the means of calling many to repentance, and had boldly rebuked transgression even in high places. The same spirit animated his disciple, the abbot Bartholomew of Crypta (Grotta) Ferrata. In a paroxysm of alarm from his troubled conscience, the young pope is said to have applied to this venerated monk, and asked him what he must do in order to make his peace with God. Bartholomew, as it is reported, frankly told him, that stained with such crimes, he could no longer minister as a priest. No other course remained for him but to lay down his office, and spend a life devoted wholly to penitence in solitude. But Benedict, although touched perhaps for a moment by the voice of truth echoed from his own conscience, felt the rebuke only as a transient impression, which soon vanished away under the influence of his profligate family and chosen associates.[2] The unfavorable light, however, in which his public conduct was viewed, could be turned to more account by the party opposed to him. They succeeded, A. D. 1044, in ejecting Benedict and making John, bishop of Sabina, pope, under the name of Sylvester III.[3] Benedict was enabled, it is true, by means of his powerful connections, to drive this rival from Rome, and compel him to return home to his bishopric. But satisfied that he could not maintain his seat on the papal throne in spite of the abhorrence and detestation of mankind; and placing a higher value on the means of gratifying his pleasures than on any dignity of station;[4] he resolved to follow the traffic in benefices at that time so common in

[1] See below, the further development.

[2] In the Greek Life of Bartholomaeus of Crypta Ferrata, which was published by the Jesuit Petrus Passinus in his Thesaurus asceticus, Paris, 1684, it is narrated (see p. 440) that Benedict was actually induced by these words to abdicate the papal dignity. But we assuredly cannot prefer this single, untrustworthy authority, where not even the *name* of the pope is mentioned, to the various and credible accounts of the manner in which Benedict resigned his station; nor can this single testimony from an obscure source, furnish sufficient grounds for the hypothesis of another earlier or later abdication of Benedict. At the same time, however, the story about the conversation between the pope and the monk may be true, and the biographer did but erroneously connect the pope's abdication, which was known to him, with the impression which that monk had made on the pope's mind.

[3] Non tam vacua manu, says the abbot Desiderius; for that a sum of money proportionate to its value had to be paid for every spiritual office, was once, especially in these districts, a ruling principle.

[4] Desiderius says of him: Quia durum est in corde veteri nova meditari, in eisdem pravis et perversis operibus, ut ante, perseverabat. Cumque se a clero simul et populo propter nequitias suas contemni respiceret, et fama suorum facinorum omnium aures impleri cerneret, tandem reperto consilio, qui voluptati deditus ut Epicurus magis quam pontifex vivere malebat, cuidam Joanni archi—presbytero, qui tunc in urbe religiosior caeteris clericis videbatur, non parva ab eo accepta pecunia, summum sacerdotium relinquens tradidit.

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Italy, and disposing of the papal office at a bargain, to retire with the avails to the quiet enjoyments of his castle. The bargain was made with John Gratian, an arch-priest belonging to the better class of the clergy, who perhaps flattered himself that he should be able to sanctify the wicked means by the good end he had in view, which was to put a stop to this scandalous state of things at Rome, and to use the papal power as a means of checking the progress of corruption in the church, that had been making such rapid strides under the influence of the bad example of a degenerate papacy. We see from the language addressed to him by a Peter Damiani — that earnest laborer for the restoration of ecclesiastical order — what hopes the party of the more seriously disposed clergy, the party which longed for a reformation of the church, believed they might repose in him.[1] Damiani expresses the hope, that he would at last put a stop to crying abuses, to the practice of simony in appointments to benefices, that he would provide for the better distribution of these benefices, and bring back the church to its former splendor.[2] But Benedict afterwards concluded not to give up the papal dignity, and so there were three popes at once. Henry III, the emperor elect, was called upon by the well-disposed of all parties, to put an end to this inextricable confusion. In the year 1046 he entered Italy at the head of an army, with the intention of being crowned emperor in Rome. Gregory VI, the purest of the three popes, and who considered himself the rightful one, conceiving that he had no cause for fear, came to meet the emperor at Piacenza.[3] Yet what he had to offer in justification of himself was not found satisfactory; and all the three popes were deposed at a council held at Sutri.[4] Soon after this, another council was held in Rome,

[1] Glaber Rudolph, who concluded his history of the times when Gregory had attained to the papal chair, and when all well-disposed persons were placing their hopes on him, ends his history with the following words: Tunc vero (Benedictus) cum consensu totius Romani populi atque ex praecepto imperatoris ejectus est a sede et in loco ejus subrogatus est vir religiosissimus ac sanctitate perspicuus Gregorius natione Romanus, cujus videlicet bona fama, quicquid prior foedaverat, in melius reformavit. Du Chesne Script. Hist. Franc. T. IV. f. 58. Also another contemporary writer, the author of a short biography of Halinardus, archbishop of Lyons, designates John Gratian as the then acknowledged pope: "Johannes cognomento Gratianus tunc residebat in sede apostolica." And we see from what is there related, how much pains he took to induce a pious man, who was desired by the clergy and the community of Lyons as their archbishop, to accept that office. See the Chronicon S. Benigni Divionensis in D'Achery Spicileg. T. II. f. 392.

[2] See his first letter to this pope, with which his collection of letters begins: Laetentur coeli et exsultet terra et antiquum sui juris privilegium se recepisse sancta gratuletur ecclesia. Conteratur jam milleforme caput venenati serpentis, cesset commercium perversae negotiationis, nullam jam monetam falsarius Simon in ecclesia fabricet.

[3] According to the report of Desiderius, the emperor himself summoned Gregory by bishops sent to him for that purpose, to a council to be held under his presidency, at which the affairs of the church, and particularly the matter of the three claimants to the title of pope, were to be discussed. Joannem missis ad eum episcopis, ut de ecclesiasticis negotiis maximeque de Romana tunc ecclesia, quae tres simul habere pontifices videbatur, ipso praesidente tractaretur, venire rogavit.

[4] According to the report of Desiderius, Gregory, feeling the weight of the arguments brought against him, voluntarily laid down his office, and sued for pardon. Agnoscens se non posse juste honorem tanti sacerdotii administrare, ex pontificali sella exiliens ac semet ipsum pontificalia indumenta exuens, postulata venia, summi sacerdotii dignitatem deposuit. The contemporaneous writer of the Life of archbishop Halinardus, of Lyons, says of the emperor: Fecit deponi Joannem, qui tum Cathedrae

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where a pope was chosen; not, however, from the Roman clergy, for there no individual of their body was considered fit for the office; but the choice fell on a German of more undoubted worth, Suigder, bishop of Bamberg, who called himself Clement II.

A new spirit of reform now began in the Roman church,[1] evoked by the boundless corruption[2] which had hitherto prevailed. The party who took an interest in this movement of reform, was, for the most part, the same as had wished to make the church independent of the secular power, and cherished the idea of the papal theocracy. This party was profoundly impressed with a sense of the contrast between what the papacy and the church *then were*, and what the papacy *should be*, and the church, through the papacy, *should become*. They desired a reformation, which, beginning at the head, should spread through all the members of the church. But as it was impossible in Italy, for the present, to stay the corrupting influence of the Italian secular parties on the papal elections, and on the church of Rome, except by the power of the emperor,[3] who, as all were forced to acknowledge, was animated by a sincere regard for the weal of the church, so it became necessary, for the present, to side with him, in order to secure the election of popes devoted to the reforming interest; for of course there were many in Italy and Rome, both ecclesiastics and laymen, who had found their account in the old disorders and abuses, and who, therefore, would have preferred that there should be no popes of that character. Thus, through the influence of the emperor, German bishops, not infected with the corruption of the Italian clergy, were raised to the apostolical chair. Poppo, bishop of Brixen, who by this influence had been created pope, under the name of Damasius II, having died a few weeks afterwards, the Roman clerus again sent delegates[4] to the emperor, who met them in the diet at Worms, where he conferred the papal dignity on one of his kinsmen, Bruno, bishop of Toul, a man distinguished for his monkish austerities, his zealous devotion to the external and internal affairs of the church, and his activity in the discharge of such secular business as devolved on him, in his political capacity; while, no doubt, he must have already acquired a good reputation among the Romans, by his practice of making a yearly pilgrimage to Rome.[5] With this pope, Leo IX, in the year 1049, begins a new epoch in the history of

praesidebat et Benedictum atque Silvestrum, qui in concilio tunc habito examinata eorum culpa inventi sunt non solum simonaici, sed etiam perversores ecclesiae Christi. D'Achery, L. c. f. 393.

[1] Desiderius says: quia in Romana ecclesia non erat tunc talis reperta persona, quae digne posset ad tanti honorem sufficere sacerdotii.

[2] The bishop Bruno of Segni (Bruno Segniensis, or Astensis), a man belonging to the age of Hildebrand, says, in his Life of Leo IX, after describing the corruption of the church, which called forth this tendency to reform: "Talis erat ecclesia, tales erant episcopi et sacerdotes, tales et ipsi Romani pontifices, qui omnes alios illuminare debebant, omne sal erat infatuatum neque erat aliquid, in quo condiretur."

[3] Desiderius regards it as a work of God, brought about by the hands of the emperor: qualiter omnipotens Deus in faciem ecclesiae sit dignatus respicere.

[4] The contemporaneous writer of the Life of archbishop Halinard, says: Hoc namque a Romanis imperator data pecunia non parva exegerat, ut sine ejus permissu papa non eligeretur. l. c. f. 393.

[5] See his Life of Wibert, lib. II. cap. I.

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the papacy, in which the reforming interest already spoken of, and the effort to make the papacy and the church wholly independent of the secular power, were chiefly prominent. Neither Leo IX,[1] nor his successors, down to the end of this period, were men of so much importance, that a new epoch of ecclesiastical development could have been introduced by their sole agency. The personal character and talents of the popes are, in the present case, matters of small account. *They* were but the instruments of that system of reformation, which had sprung up among a portion of the stricter clergy and monks in Rome, in opposition to the hitherto prevailing corruption, and as the necessary reäction of a more serious Christian spirit, against the same. As the representative of this tendency to reform necessarily proceeding from the development of the church, we may consider Cardinal Peter Damiani, bishop of Ostia, a man distinguished for his earnest, though narrow and bigoted zeal for the restoration of the dignity of the priesthood, and of a stricter church discipline. But the man who, by the superiority of his intellect, and by the firmness and energy of his character, did most for the establishment and carrying out of this system, and who may be justly styled the soul of this new epoch of the papacy, was the monk *Hildebrand.* It was by his activity, down to the close of this period, that the way was prepared for a work, which, in the commencement of the following, he himself placed at the head of the papal government, carried to a full completion. On this individual we must from the present

[1] Worthy of notice, as serving to characterize Leo, are several traits incidentally mentioned by Berengar of Tours, which, though some allowance should be made on account of the hostile feelings of the reporter, yet mark him as a man extremely dependent on the influence of those around him, one who could easily be led and deceived by others. The pope, who was so zealous for the strict moral discipline of the clergy, on coming to Vercelli, in the year 1050, took up his residence with the bishop of that city, who had seduced the betrothed wife of his uncle, a nobleman, and lived with her on terms of unlawful intercourse; and this nobleman could obtain no hearing for his complaints against the bishop, either from the council or from the pope. There was a division, at that time, among the adherents of the principles of reform, some going so far in their zeal against the heresy of simony, that, as none of the bishops who had obtained their places by simony were, in their opinion, true bishops, they declared the ordinations also performed by them to be invalid. The other more prudent party held fast, even here, to the principle of the objective validity of the sacramental acts. Pope Leo was in the beginning inclined to the principles of the former party, at the head of which stood Cardinal Humbert, until it was represented to him, that if all such ordinations should be considered null, the churches in Rome would be left without priests, and no mass could be celebrated; see Peter Damiani liber gratissimus, or Opusc. VI. § 35. (in which book he combats this view). But at Vercelli he was once more induced to consider these ordinations as null, and to ordain over again those who had been so ordained. It being again represented to him, that such a proceeding was at variance with the principle of the objective validity of the sacraments, he rose up in the council from his papal chair, and begged the assembled bishops to pray the Lord that he might be forgiven. But on his return to Rome, the influence of Humbert again prevailed, and he continued to reördain in the same manner. Berengar says, it was easy to see from this, quanta laboraret indigentia pleni, quanta ageretur levitate, quam omni circumferretur vento doctrinae. Vid. Berengar de coena sacra ed. Vischer, pag. 40. Nor does it exactly impress us with a favorable opinion of his inward worth, to be told that Leo, amid the severe labors and cares of his office, sought relaxation from a parrot, the present of some king, which had learned to repeat "Papa Leo," which was afterwards related as a marvel by those who honored him as a saint. See Wibert c. II.

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fix our eye, as the founder of a new period introduced by the historical development of the church.

Hildebrand received his first training in the monastic life, under the direction of an uncle, who presided as abbot over a monastery in Rome. A mind of more than ordinary seriousness, such as we recognize in his case, could not be otherwise than disgusted at the corruption then prevailing in Rome, and roused to opposition against it. When Hildebrand observed the wide mischief which had sprung out of the confounding together of ecclesiastical and secular affairs, the idea would naturally be suggested to him of a necessary reformation of the church; and when he saw two parties in contention, of which one fought for the interest of the secular power, the other for the interest of the papal Theocracy, he would be led of course, in tracing as he did the corruption of the church to the influence of a rude secular power subordinating everything to itself, to regard the interest of ecclesiastical reformation as identical with that of the church Theocracy. And it was indeed precisely on these views, that all those persons in Rome were acting, who, like Damiani, were filled with pious zeal against the abomination in the sanctuary. Hildebrand would of course soon become connected with them by the tie of a common interest. His education in the monastic life, as well as the revulsion of his moral feelings against the corruptions around him may possibly have nurtured within him a certain stoicism which repressed the gentler sentiments of human nature, and hence Christianity may not have so penetrated, softened, and ennobled his inward life and character, as it might otherwise have done. Hildebrand, while yet a youth, was a friend of Gregory VI; for even the latter as we have already remarked, was for undertaking and administering the papacy in accordance with the views of the stricter party, of which a Damiani was representative. Hildebrand might no doubt also from *his own* ethical point of view, approve the principle followed by Gregory VI. in obtaining possession of the papal dignity, — the principle that the end sanctifies the means. He remained faithful to that pope[1] even in his change of fortune, and accompanied him to France, to which

[1] Hence the passionate enemy of Hildebrand under Henry IV, Cardinal Benno, represents him in his fierce invective which in other respects certainly is entitled to no credence, a disciple of Gregory VI. He also confirms the account of his residence in Germany, and of his return from that country to Rome in the suite of Leo IX. But the story that Hildebrand with his teacher was banished by the emperor from Germany, is doubtless to be attributed simply to the blind passion of Benno. He says of him; Hildebrandus Tenelicto monastino praedicto archpresbytero (that Joannes Gratianus) adhaesit——; he says of the emperor Henry III: Sextum Gregorium cum Hildebrando discipulo suo in Teutonicas partes deportatione damnavit. It is characteristic of the man, that he complains of the injury done by the emperor by his too great clemency. Had he ordered Hildebrand to be confined for life, a Gregory VII. would never have been the author of so much mischief. Nimia tamen pietate deceptus nec ecclesia Romanae nec sibi nec generi humano prospiciens, novos idololatros nimis laxe habuit, quorum memoriam aeterno carcere a contagione hominum removere debuit. Vid. in Orthvini Gratii fasciculus rerum expetendarum ac fugiendarum, f. 42. We may perhaps compare with this judgment of Benno another pronounced from an entirely different point of view, that if Charles V. had but ordered the death of Luther at the diet of Worms, the whole mischief of the reformation would have been prevented.

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country he retired. That he still regarded him as being the lawful pope, after he had been deposed by the influence of an emperor, seems evident from his choosing to name himself after his friend, Gregory VII.[1] Next, he repaired to Germany,[2] and probably fell in with Leo at Worms itself. Hildebrand, who possessed that within him which enabled him to exercise an extraordinary power over the minds of others, seems thus to have soon acquired great influence over Leo, who was easily led by his advisers. He made him repent that he had been appointed pope by a layman, an emperor; and, to make some atonement for this false step, as well as to avoid establishing a precedent for the future, recommended that throwing aside all pomp he should travel to Rome in the habit of a pilgrim, and not consider himself as invested with the sacred office, until he should have been there chosen pope in the customary form. Leo followed this advice; and perceiving the great benefit which might accrue to the church of Rome from having devoted to her interests a person possessed of the zeal and energy of the young Hildebrand, he took him along with him to Rome, where he consecrated him to the office of sub-deacon. Here

[1] The German historian, Otto of Freisingen, to mark the Cato-like character of Gregory in his relation to Gregory VI, applies to him the passage in Lucan: "Victrix causa diis placuit sed victa Catoni.

[2] Here a contradiction exists among the ancient accounts. According to the report of Otto of Freisingen, who wrote however a century later, Leo met with Hildebrand in the monastery of Cluny, received from him here the advice which he followed, and took him along with him to Rome. To the report of this later historian we ought doubtless to prefer the earlier reports, according to which Leo first met with the monk Hildebrand in Germany. Bruno, bishop of Segni, who had received many accounts from the mouth of his friend pope Gregory VII. himself, states, in his Life of Leo IX, that the latter had from the first accepted the papal dignity only under the condition, that he should be voluntarily chosen by the clergy, and community. Then he remarks: Illis autem diebus erat ibi monachus quidam Romanus, Hildebrandus nomine, nobilis indolis adolescens, clari ingenii sanctaeque religionis. Is erat autem illic tum discendi gratia (he was seeking therefore more knowledge than could be acquired at that time in Italy, the seat of moral corruption and ignorance,) tum etiam, ut in aliquo religioso loco sub Benedicti regula militaret (therefore not in a French monastery). This person attracted the notice of Leo, cujus propositum, voluntatem et religionem mox ut cognovit, he requested him to go with him to Rome. But Hildebrand declined, as he said to him: Quia non secundum canonicam institutionem, sed per saecularem et regiam potestatem Romanam ecclesiam arripere vadis. The pope now submitted, as Bruno intimates, to be governed by the young man, who was still so superior to him in intellect and power. Ille autem, ut erat natura simplex atque mitissimus, patienter ei satisfacit, reddita de omnibus sicut ille voluerat ratione. According to the narrative of the canonical priest Paul Bernrieder of Regensburg, a contemporary, in his Life of Gregory VII, § 11, in Mabillon Acta Sanctor. O. B. Saec. VI. P. II, or in the Bollandists, at the 25th of May of the VI. Tom. — Hilbebrand betook himself first to a French monastery; he then visited the court of the emperor Henry III, whence he returned to Rome; and then went back again to Germany. Now it might be during his last residence in Germany that he fell in with Leo IX. Another contemporary, Wibert, who had been archdeacon of the bishop Bruno at Toul, in his Life of Leo IX. says nothing indeed of his connection with the monk Hildebrand; but he reports (l. II. c. I. vid. Acta Sanctor. at the 19th April), that the bishop Bruno, when the choice fell on him, requested in the first place a delay of three days, to decide whether he would accept of the papal dignity; and, having spent these three days in fasting and prayer, finally declared that he was ready to accept of it, under the condition, si audiret totius cleri ac Romani populi communem esse sine dissidio consensum. Here we may easily bring it in, that Leo had, in the mean time, spoken with Hildebrand, who confirmed him in his resolution of accepting the papal dignity, only on condition it could be done without infraction of the canonical form of the papal election.

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the influence of Hildebrand continued to grow from day to day, and he was often employed also on important missions to foreign countries.

There were two things in particular, at which it appeared that the plan for a reformation and emancipation of the church must aim — the introduction of a stricter moral discipline among the clergy, by reviving the ancient laws concerning celibacy, and the abolition of simony in the disposing of the offices of the church, so as to cut off from the secular power its often abused influence, in the dispensation of benefices. In both respects, men might be contending simply for the restoration of that order, which was required by the laws of the church, feeling themselves bound to put an end to existing irregularities. In respect to the last, the words of an unprejudiced and liberal-minded man of this age, Berengar of Tours, may suffice to show what corruption had come upon the church from the arbitrary modes of disposing of church benefices, and how imperative was the call for a decided change in this particular, to prevent everything from going to ruin. His opponent, Lanfrick, having spoken of a *holy council* in these times, Berengar replied to him: "You must know yourself, that you speak falsely; for I know the bishops and abbots of our times, and am certain that you also must know them. I speak of a fact, which no man can deny, when I say that in these times no cities receive bishops by ecclesiastical appointment."[1] As to the other particular, the laws respecting the celibacy of ecclesiastics remained valid *in theory*, from times very remote, but they were nowhere observed; and there was a reluctance to apply the strict letter of the law in cases of this sort, lest the clergy should be brought into contempt with the laity, by the exposure of their immoralities.[2]

Meantime, it was impossible to prevent illicit connections among the clergy — and every marriage connection of an ecclesiastic was so regarded — from becoming known to the people, or to put a stop to the contempt and ridicule to which they exposed themselves, by their notoriously immoral lives.[3] No doubt, the best means for counteracting the corruption of morals among the clergy, would have been,

[1] Novi nostrorum temporum episcopos et abbates, quam nullae urbes hoc tempore ecclesiastica institutione episcopos accipiant. Berengar de sacra coena ed. Vischer. Berolin. 1834. pag. 63.

[2] Damiani says, in his Opusculum 17. De coelibatu sacerdotum, which is addressed to pope Nicholas II. (T. III. opp. fol. 188): Nostris temporibus genuina quodammodo Romanae ecclesiae consuetudo servatur, ut de caeteris quidem ecclesiasticae disciplinae studiis, prout dignum est, moneat, de clericorum vero libidine propter insultationem secularium dispensatorie contiscescat.

[3] Damiani says to pope Nicholas II, in the place above cited, representing to him that it was absurd to fear the publication of that which was already publicly known: Omni pudore postposito pestis haec in tantam prorupit audaciam, ut per ora populi volitent loca scortantium, nomina concubinarum. Ratherius says, that in no Christian land were the clergy so despised as in Italy, owing to their debauched and immoral lives. Quaerat aliquis, cur prae caeteris gentibus baptismo renatis contemptores canonicae legis et vilipensores clericorum sint magis Italici. And he attributes this wholly to the bad example, which the clergy set by their own lives, for they were to be distinguished from the laity only by their tonsure, their dress, and the rites which, negligently enough, they performed in the churches. Indé illi eos contemnunt et execrationi, ut dignum est, habent de contemptu canonum. P. II. f. 354. D'Achery Spicileg. T. I.

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to yield to the want which could not be repressed, and provide a way for its being satisfied in conformity with law; as, on the other hand, the imposed restraint of the unmarried life, unless where these laws were directly braved, only served to superinduce still more disastrous effects.[1] The former means was resorted to at that time by Cunibert, bishop of Turin. He gave all his clergy permission to marry,[2] without doubt, on the principle, that by so doing he should preserve his own see from the immorality which prevailed in other portions of the church; for he himself led a strictly unmarried life;[3] and Peter Damiani, the zealous advocate of the celibacy of the clergy, was forced to acknowledge, that the clergy of this church were markedly distinguished, by the purity of their lives, and by their knowledge, from the clergy of other churches. In this case it would have been natural to inquire, how far the ordinances of this bishop had operated on the condition of his clergy; but zealots like Damiani were too much blinded by their prejudices, to see the truth on this subject. In fact, the idea of the necessary celibacy of priests was closely connected with the whole idea of the priesthood, the idea of a priestly caste, separated from the world, and destined to guide its social relations; just as this notion of the priesthood stood closely connected with the whole churchly theocratic system. From this point of view, at which marriage in ecclesiastics appeared an illicit connection, the strict execution of the laws of celibacy appeared to be the only means of checking the progress of corruption among the clerical order. But the popes favoring the system of reform, in their attempts to enforce obedience to the law, met with the most determined resistance. Peter Damiani had to contend, not only with such as acted rather from the impulse of their inclinations than from settled principles, but also with such as attempted to justify their concubinage as a lawful thing, and who wished to obtain from some pope the abrogation of the laws of celibacy in a lawful way. They argued that St. Paul, in 1 Corinth. 7: 2, had made no exception whatsoever, and probably appealed to other similar passages also;[4] they cited the ancient canons of the council of Gangra, according to which, whoever refused to attend divine service performed by a married priest, should be excommunicated from the church,[5] and a canon drawn up by a synod at Tribur, whereby the marriage of priests was permitted,[6] which canon Damiani declared to be spurious. As whatever is said

[1] Ratherius says: Quam perdita tonsuratorum universitas, si nemo in iis, qui non aut adulter aut sit arsenokoïta. Adulter enim nobis est, qui contra canones uxorius. Vid. Discordia inter ipsum et clericos. l. c. f. 363.

[2] Vid. Damiani in the Opusculum, addressed to the same (18.): Permittis, ut ecclesiae tuae clerici, cujuscunque sit ordinis, velut jure matrimonii confoederentur uxoribus.

[3] The opposite of that which was practised in other places. Vid. Damiani Opusc. 17. ad Nicol. II. c. I. Contra divina mandata personarum acceptores in minoribus quidem sacerdotibus luxuriae inquinamenta persequimur, in episcopis autem, quod nimis absurdum est, per silentium tolerantium veneramur.

[4] See l. V. ep. 13. to the chaplains of duke Godfrid, who defended the marriage of priests.

[5] Damiani resorted here to the arbitrary interpretation, that the reference is only to such as had lived in marriage before their entrance into the spiritual order.

[6] Opusc. 18. c. 3. T. 3. f. 200

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concerning the priesthood in the Old Testament was often applied to the Christian priesthood, so the defenders of priestly marriage adduced also, in defence of their principles, the fact, that in the Old Testament priests were by no means bound to celibacy.[1] Many of the clergy excused themselves, on the ground of their peculiar circumstances; they could not possibly dispense with domestic help.[2] The enforcement of the laws of celibacy being opposed, then, to the interests and to the inclinations of so many, and the defenders of priestly marriage being in part conscious to themselves of having so much right on their side, it was natural that the papal legislation on this subject should not be able to push its way through, until after a long and difficult contest.[3] Pope Leo IX. not only held synods for the reformation of the clergy in Rome, but his frequent journeys to France and Germany, and even to Hungary, by occasion of ecclesiastical and political affairs, where his mediation was solicited, gave him opportunity, at ecclesiastical assemblies which were held under his direction, to spread and to inculcate everywhere, in person, those laws against simony, and immoral excesses, as well as the illicit connections of the clergy, and also to carry them into execution on ecclesiastics found guilty. Many stories were circulated of remarkable judgments inflicted by the divine hand on such unworthy ecclesiastics, and which ought to serve as a warning for others.[4]

[1] Si sacerdotes nubere peccatum esset, nequaquam hoc in lege veteri Dominus praecepissit. Opusc. 18. Diss. II. c. II. f. 199. Damiani affirms, on the contrary, this was otherwise ordered under the Old Testament, because the priesthood was confined to a particular race, and therefore provision must be made for its continuance.

[2] Opusc. 18. Diss. I. f. 195. Muliebris sedulitatis auxilio carere non possumus, quia rei familiaris inopiam sustinemus.

[3] Damiani, in his Opusculum ad Nicolaum II, calls the defenders of the law of celibacy a secta, cui ubique contradicitur; and he says, concerning the obligation of obedience to these papal ordinances, Aliud quidem quodcunque vestrae constitutionis imperium sub spe perficiendi fidenter indicimus. Hujus autem capituli nudam saltem promissionem tremulis prolatam labiis difficilius extorquemus.

[4] The bishop Bruno of Segni, in his Life of Leo IX, among other statements received from the mouth of Gregory VII, cites the following: That while Leo was holding his synods of reform in France, where many bishops were accused of simony, one of these appeared particularly liable to suspicion, but still the evidence was not sufficient to convict him. The pope was therefore disposed to try him by the judgment of God, and imposed on him as the trial, that he should repeat the Gloria Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui Sancto. But when he came to the name of the Holy Spirit, he began to stammer, his conscience not permitting him to utter these words; thus he betrayed his guilt. This example made such an impression, that many were constrained to confess themselves guilty. Vid. opp. Brunonis ed. Marchesi Venet. 1651. T. II. f. 148. Peter Damiani relates the same thing in his Opusculum ad pap. Nicolaum II. XIX. de abdicatione episcopatus c. IV, and he too reports it as having been received from the mouth of the then archdeacon Hildebrand; but, according to his account, this occurred at another time, and on a different occasion; namely, when pope Victor II. had sent the then subdeacon Hildebrand to France, and the latter removed from their stations six bishops, accused of various misdemeanors. Among these was also the one abovementioned, of whom Damiani says: Ad Spiritum Sanctum vero cum venisset, mox lingua balbutiens tandem rigida remanebat; merito si quidem Spiritum Sanctum, dum emit, amisit, ut qui exclusus erat ab anima, procul esset etiam consequenter a lingua. As the account given by Damiani is drawn up more freshly according to the event, it may be considered the more credible account; Bruno perhaps, by a slip of memory, transferred the anecdote to Leo IX. With this story agrees also the testimony of Desiderius, abbot of Monte Casino, who moreover affirms, that he had often heard it repeated by Gregory him-

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But when the pope, on returning from his journeys, in the year 1052, assembled a council at Mantua, with a view to exercise there his highest spiritual jurisdiction, for the maintenance of those laws, a fierce uproar was excited against him, by those bishops who had reason to dread his severity, and whose cause was blended with the interests of powerful families,[1] so that he was under the necessity of dissolving the assembly. Yet this was but a momentary effervescence of passion, having no connection whatever with fixed principles; for on the very next day the guilty bishops begged him for absolution, which he bestowed on them.

This pope, who was so very zealous against the abuses which had crept into the administration of ecclesiastical affairs in these last times, himself however, set an example of violating the laws of the church, when, in the year 1053, he in person led an army against the neighboring Normans,[2] who had laid waste the territories of the church. Though his sympathy in the fate of so many who had cruelly suffered, might serve as some excuse for him, yet by the men of the more strict and serious party, who were earnest for the restoration of church discipline, it was disapproved and regretted that the head of the church should fight with the secular sword.[3] Cardinal Damiani remained firm in maintaining that the priest ought in no case to contend with the sword, not even in defence of the faith, much less in defence of the goods and rights of the church; for it behooved the priest to make the life no less than the doctrines of Christ his own rule of living, and accordingly he should follow the example of Christ in subduing the wrath of the world only by the might of an invincible patience. He reckoned it as belonging to the principle which required the secular and the spiritual power to be kept distinctly apart, that the priest must contend only with the sword of the Spirit, only with the Word of God. If king Uzziah was covered with leprosy, because he arrogated to himself. He quotes Hildebrand's language as follows: In nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, cujus donum gratiae te comparasse audivimus, ut hujus rei nobis veritatem edisseras, adjuramus. Quod si amplius, ut coepisti, negare tentaveris, Spiritum Sanctum, donec quae vera sunt, confitearis, nominare non valeas. Dialog. l. III. Bibl. patr. Lugdunens. T. XVIII. f. 856. It seems very much like Hildebrand, the favorer of the judgment of God, that he should impose on the bishop such trial of his innocence. If we connect with this, the look and the words of so uncommon a man as Hildebrand, accustomed to exercise so great a power over the minds of others, it will be still more easy to conceive how his suggestion may have made such an impression on the mind of the bishop. And here we are presented with a not unimportant trait in the character of Hildebrand. Many others are also to be found among the anecdotes of Damiani and of Desiderius, from which we see, that Hildebrand took special delight in the marvellous. This was in perfect consistency with his Old Testament, theocratical principle.

[1] Wibert, in his Life of Leo, says (§ 21): Familiae eorum fautrices scelerum subitaneum contra domini apostolici familiam moverunt tumultum.

[2] Already, when deacon to bishop Hermann of Toul, he had undertaken to lead the troops, which his bishop was compelled to send as a contribution to the Heerbann of the emperor Conrad, — in noticing which, to be sure, his biographer adds, salvo tamen per omnia proprii gradus sacramento, which means, doubtless, that he ordered the whole arrangement of his troops — Wibert boasts of his skill in such matters — but did not himself fight with them; see the Life above cited, l. I. c. II. § 12.

[3] Bruno, bishop of Segni, says, in relating this, fol. 147: Zelum quidem Dei habens, sed non fortasse secundum scientiam, utinam non ipse per se illuc ivisset; sed solummodo illuc exercitum pro justitia defendenda mississet.

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self a priestly function, what punishment does not a priest deserve, who grasps — what certainly belongs only to the laity — the weapons of war? In setting forth this doctrine, he put it as an objection, that Leo IX, though a holy man, often busied himself with the affairs of war; to which he answers, that the good and bad must not be judged by any standard of human merit, in which we find both, but by the quality of the things themselves. Peter did not arrive at the apostolic primacy by his denial.[1] Did Gregory the Great, who had so much to suffer from the Longobards, either act thus, or teach that it was proper to act thus?"[2] The unfortunate issue of the war, when the pope was conquered and taken captive, appeared to many in the light of a divine judgment.[3] And even in the Christian consciousness of many a layman, the disadvantageous impression which this expedition of his had made, seems to have raised objections against paying him the honors of a saint at whose tomb miraculous cures could be wrought.[4] On the other hand, however, the story got abroad, that in a vision of the night the slain in that battle had presented themselves to Leo as martyrs, and that miracles would be performed at their graves.[5] This report was eagerly seized upon to guard and protect the sanctity of Leo against a step which threatened to be injurious to his memory. To secure him this reverential respect, would be an object of so much the greater importance to the advocates of the theocratical system of reform, because he was the first in the line of the popes who labored to carry these principles into full effect; and men related, that shortly before his death, in the year 1054, he spoke words of exhortation and rebuke against simony and the concubinage or unchastity of the clergy.

Hildebrand, who under Leo IX, became a subdeacon of the Roman church, had meantime been continually rising to still greater influence. He was the head and the soul of the stricter party. It was he by whose craft and sagacity the new choice of a pope was determined. Among the Roman clergy he could find no one who seemed to him calculated to prosecute with vigor the already begun work of reformation in the church. On the other hand, he had reason to hope that Gebhardt, bishop of Eichstadt, at that time the most eminent and the most wealthy prelate of Germany, the most influential counsellor of the emperor, who had been hitherto the most zealous promoter of the imperial interests, would prove as pope a no less zealous champion of the papal interests.[6] He got himself appointed plenipotentiary of the Ro-

[1] Dico quod sentio, quod quoniam nec Petrus ob hoc apostolicum obtinet principatum, quia negavit, nec David id circo prophetiae meretur oraculum, quia torum alieni viri invasit, cum mala vel bona non pro meritis considerentur habentium. Sed ex propriis debeant qualitatibus judicari.

[2] Damiani, l. IV. ep. 9.

[3] Hermann Contract. at the year 1053: Occulto Dei judicio, sive quia tantum sacerdotum spiritualia potius quam pro caducis rebus carnalis pugna decebat sive quod nefarios homines secum ducebat.

[4] Bruno of Segni relates, that when, after Leo's death it was reported that persons possessed of evil spirits were healed at his tomb, a certain woman exclaimed, Pope Leo, who caused so many men to shed their blood, drive out evil spirits! When Leo can expel evil spirits, then I shall be a queen, and all those whom he killed by his impiety will be restored to life again.

[5] See the two Lives above cited.

[6] See the Chronicon Casinense, l. II. c. 89 in Muratorii script. rer. Italicar. T. IV f. 403.

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man clerus, and of the Roman community, for the purpose of effecting in the name of both the choice of a pope. In this character he proceeded to the court of the emperor, where he accomplished his object, and this bishop became pope (Victor II.). Upon his death, in the year 1057, Hildebrand, then absent, was already proposed as a candidate for the papal dignity. Others demanded, that the papal election should be deferred until his return.[1] But it turned out, that a man devoted to the interests of Hildebrand's party, Frederic, abbot of Monte Cassino, was chosen to the office, Stephen IX. When the latter, in 1058, sent the subdeacon Hildebrand to Germany on certain public business at the court of the widowed empress Agnes, the Romans were obliged, on penalty of the ban, to bind themselves by oath, that if he should die during Hildebrand's absence, the papal election should be deferred till his return.[2] The death of Stephen actually occurred during Hildebrand's absence; and the party to whose inclinations and interests the reforming tendency was opposed, hastened to forestall the influence of Hildebrand, and to set up by force a pope according to their own mind. It came about, perhaps by a craftily concerted plan, that they made choice of a man who had at least some pretensions in his favor, since he did not belong to the class of ecclesiastics notorious for their bad morals, while at the same time he was so ignorant and spiritually incompetent, that they might hope to be able to make use of him as their tool.[3] This was John, bishop of Veletri. It is true, the party of cardinal Damiani protested against the proceeding, but they could effect nothing against superior force. They were obliged to seek safety in concealment,[4] and a cardinal priest, of whom Damiani says that he could not even fluently read,[5] consecrated him pope. He named himself Benedict X. Hildebrand, on his return to Rome, however, soon obtained the upper-hand by his superior energy, and a man devoted to his own principles, bishop Gerhard of Florence, was, with the concurrence of the imperial court, consecrated pope Nicholas II.[6] He pronounced the ban upon his opponent; but Benedict soon submitted, and received absolution. To prevent for the future disputes and disturbances similar to those which had arisen after the death of the last pope, Nicholas, at the Lateran council in 1059, enacted a special law on the subject of papal elections, by which it was provided that the pope should be chosen by the cardinal[7] bish-

[1] L. c. c. 97.

[2] L. c. c. 100.

[3] Benedict excused himself on the ground that he was forced to accept the papal dignity, and his opponent Damiani does not venture to assert the contrary, but writes to Henry, archbishop of Ravenna (l. III. ep. IV.): Ita est homo stolidus, deses ac nullius ingenii, ut credi possit nescisse, per se talia machinari, and he says he was ready to acknowledge him as pope, si unum non dicam psalmi, sed vel homiliae quidem versiculum plene mihi valeat exponere.

[4] Nobis episcopis per diversa latibula fugientibus, says Damiani in the letter above cited.

[5] Presbyter Ostiensis, qui utinam syllabatim nosset vel unam paginam rite percurrere.

[6] Of his personal qualities, Berengar gives an unfavorable account: "De cujus imeruditione et morum indignitate facile mihi erat non insufficienter scribere." De coena sacra, p. 71.

[7] From the eleventh century, it had gradually become customary to confer the title "cardinal" on the Romish church in particular. The epithet Cardinalis praecipuus was at first applied to all the churches, in which sense it frequently occurs in the letters of Gregory the Great. Cardinalis sacerdos, the title of a bishop; cardinales

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ops and priests, with the concurrence of the rest of the Roman clergy and of the Roman people, and with a certain participation of the emperor,[1] and that none other than a person so chosen should be considered pope. Thus was laid the foundation of the college of cardinals.

Under this pope, the party of Hildebrand and Damiani labored still more strenuously for the reformation of the clergy, the suppression of simony and of unchastity among ecclesiastics. The defenders of simony, as well as of the married life of ecclesiastics, were represented in direct terms as heretics. At the Lateran council already mentioned, of 1059, the pope forbade, on penalty of excommunication, all ecclesiastics who lived in wedlock to celebrate mass, or hold divine worship. They were to receive no portion of the church revenues.[2] The laity were called upon not to be present at any act of worship performed by such ecclesiastics.[3] This was a well-contrived means for enforcing obedience on such of the clergy as were not disposed to comply with the papal ordinances, by immediately addressing their interests, and their fear of the indignation and abhorrence of the people, who would refuse to have fellowship with such men. Thus the cause of the papacy was made the cause of the people; the popes entered into a league with the people against the higher orders, to which the more eminent ecclesiastics belonged, and which in various ways were identified with them in interests. Thus it happened, that from the bosom of the lower clergy and of the monks, came forth men of more serious aims and purposes, who, disgusted with the depravation of

presbyteri, diaconi, were names given to those who held an office in the church, not provisorily, but as a fixed appointment. Hence incardinare, cardinare, to denote the bestowment of such an appointment. In the tenth century, the canonicals of the cathedral churches, in contradistinction from the clergy of the parochial churches, were denominated cardinales. Vid. Ratherii Itinerarium D'Achery Spicileg. T. I. f. 381. In this eleventh century, however, the name was conferred on the seven episcopos collaterales of the pope, who belonged to his more immediate diocese, and on the priests and deacons of the Romish clergy — cardinales episcopi, presbyteri, diaconi; — and now another meaning was introduced into the title; it was referred to the Romish church as the cardo totius ecclesiae, as Leo IX. gives it in his letter to Michael Cellularius, patriarch of Constantinople. The cardo immobilis in the ecclesia Petri, unde clerici ejus cardinales dicuntur, cardini utique illi, quo caetera moventur, vicinius adhaerentes. Harduin. Concil, T. VI. P. I. f. 944. This interpretation of the term must have become widely spread at a later period; for the Byzantine historian George Pachymeres assumes it as a settled point. He thus explains the term *καδδηναλίοις*: *στρόφιγξιν ὁ ἕλλην εἴποι, ὡς θύρας, οὔσην τοῦ πάπα κατὰ τὴν Χριστοῦ μίμησιν.* Hist. l. V. c. 8. ed. Bekker, p. 360. From a comparison which Berengar employs, it may be gathered that the cardinals were regarded as standing in the place of the popes, as their representatives: Si dicat quis, magno dedecore apostolicum afficiam in cardinali suo, etc. Vid. Berengar. De sacra coena, ed. Vischer, p. 273.

[1] The editions of these enactments vary from one another, especially in reference to the share which was in this case conceded to the emperor. Compare, on the subject of these variations, Gieseler's Kirchengeschichte. Bd. II. Iste Abtheilung, S. 187, and Pertz Italienische Reise, or Archiv der Gesellschaft für altere Deutsche Geschichtskunde. Bd. V. S. 83.

[2] The ordinance of this council: Quicunque sacerdotum, diaconorum, subdiaconorum, post constitutum papae Leonis de castitate clericorum concubinam palam duxerit vel ductam non reliquerit, ut missam non cantet, neque evangelium vel epistolam ac missam legat, neque in presbyterio ad divina officia cum iis, qui praefatae constitutioni obedientes fuerint, maneat, neque partem ab ecclesia suscipiat.

[3] Peter Damiani says, Opusc. 18. Diss. II. c. II.: Nos plane quilibet nimirum apostolicae sedis aeditui hoc per omnes publice concionamur ecclesias, ut nemo missas a presbytero, non evangelium a diacono, non denique epistolam a subdiacono prorsus audiat, quos misceri feminis non ignorat.

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morals among the clergy, and the traffic carried on with spiritual things, attached themselves to the papal interest as noisy zealots for the reformation of the church. These might easily form a popular party, which would be used at Rome as an instrument against the corrupt and haughty ecclesiastics to force them into obedience to the popes. But it was a dangerous means here resorted to by the popes; for they called forth with the intention of using for their own ends, a popular movement, which might easily take also another direction; — they gave the impulse to a force which it was not always in their power to guide, and which, when once aroused, might sometime or other become dangerous to the interests of the dominant church itself. Easily might a separatism,[1] directed in the first place against a corrupt clergy, and the offices of public worship administered by them, become a hostile opposition to a corrupt church generally, and its entire authority, and furnish a foot-hold for many heretical tendencies, as the case really turned out from the eleventh century onwards; and even at the present time many stood forth, who maintained that the universal prevalence of simony in the church had destroyed all genuine priesthood,— a position from which the inference might readily be drawn, that the sacramental acts could no longer be performed even in the dominant church after a valid manner.[2]

The most violent commotions arose in the important church of Milan, distinguished by the memory of an Ambrose, which mindful of its ancient dignity, asserted a sort of independence, and was by no means inclined to submit to the new papal monarchy. Here the practice of simony had reached such an extreme that for every spiritual office a sum was paid proportionate to its value, the bishop Guido himself having arrived at his office in this way; and hence too by this traffic in benefices many unworthy men of altogether worldly lives, had made their way to important stations in the church.[3] There came to Milan

[1] A spirit of this sort manifested itself at Florence, where violent contests arose between the higher clergy on the one side and a portion of the monks and laity on the other, which Peter Damiani was sent to appease. The monks and their adherents affirmed that the unworthy clergy could perform no true and real sacramental act "per hujusmodi temporis sacerdotes nullam in sacramentis posse fieri veritatem." Thus, as Damiani relates, thousands of men in Florence had died without communion, because they would not receive it from the hands of these ecclesiastics. Many churches were looked upon by them as utterly polluted; they despised all ecclesiastics and monks who did not belong to their party, vident monachum incedentem, aspice, inquiunt, unum scapulare, presbyterum vel episcopum abire prospiciunt, barbirasos se videre fatentur. We might in fact infer from Damiani's language, that they did not even spare the pope himself. Non est, inquiunt, papa, non rex, non archiepiscopus neque sacerdos. Vid. Damiani opusc. 30. c. III.

[2] Bishop Bruno of Segni says in his Life of Leo, after having spoken of the simony which universally prevailed till the time of pope Leo IX.: "unde etiam usque hodie inveniuntur quidam, qui ab illo jam tempore sacerdotium in ecclesia defecisse contendunt."

[3] In the Life of Ariald, written by his scholar Andrew, the condition of the Milanese clergy is thus described: Alii cum canibus et accipitribus huc illucque pervagantes, alii vero tabernarii, alii usurarii existebant, cuncti fere cum publicis uxoribus sive scortis suam ignominiose ducebant vitam. Vid. cap. I. in the Actis Sanctor. at the 27th of June, f. 282. In another Life of Ariald, also composed by a contemporary and eye witness, Landulph de St. Paulo, which Puricelli has published along with several other records relating to this epoch in the history of the Milanese church (Milan, 1657), the following is said (c. II.),

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a young clergyman by the name of Ariald, born in the village of Euzago, between Como and Milan,[1] who from his childhood following the bent given him by a religious education, had led a pious and strictly moral life. He felt impelled to present himself before the people,—a people who followed the example of their corrupt clergy, and by a clergy as ignorant as they were immoral had never been made to understand the Christian vocation and its duties,—as a preacher of repentance. He felt impelled to attack rudely the corruption of a clergy who set so bad an example to the people.[2] He at first preached in his own country-village against the worldly life and vices of the clergy. These, however, replied to him, that as they were ignorant people, he could soon finish the business with them. If he was sure of his cause, he had better attack the clergy in Milan;—there he would find men, who were learned enough to answer him.[3] During the reign of pope Stephen II, in the year 1056, Ariald first made his appearance in Milan, and was able to prosecute his labors for ten years. He first applied to the clergy; and being repelled by them with contempt, he turned to the laity.[4] Christ — said he — has left behind him two lights, the *word* of God and the *life of its teachers*. One of these lights he gave to the clergy, who were to possess the knowledge of the sacred Scriptures. But to the unlearned, he appointed the life of their teachers to be a doctrine. Yet through the power of Satan and of sin, and by the negligence of the clergy, it had come to pass that the laity had lost their light. The clergy were lacking in the knowledge of the divine word, and to the laity the life of the clergy no longer shined. And to decieve the more effectually, Satan had suffered those whom he had robbed of holiness, to retain the outward show of it. This he said with sorrow, not to insult them, but for the purpose of warning them and others. Christ says, Whosoever would be my disciple let him follow me; but the life of the clergy at the present time was directly the opposite to the life of Christ. He then contrasted the ex-

Istis temporibus inter clericos tanta erat dissolutio, ut alii uxores, alii meretrices publice tenerent, alii venationibus, alii aucupio vacabant, partim foenerabantur in publico, partim in vicis tabernas exercebant cunctaque ecclesiastica beneficia more pecudum vendebant. And as this is said of the then condition of the clergy generally, it is added with regard to Milan in particular: quanto urbs ipsa populosior est, tanto iniquitas copiosior erat. And even the Milanese historian Arnulph, interested as he was in favor of the Ambrosian Clerus and against Ariald and the Hildebrand party, still cannot wholly deny the guilt of the Milanese clergy. He says (l. III. c. 12. in Muratori Script. hist. Ital. T. IV. f. 29.): ut caveatur mendacium, non ex toto fuerunt omnes ab objectis immunes.

[1] The aristocratic spirit of those who estimated the clergy by their ancestry is shown in a passage of Arnulph, l. III. c. 8: modicae auctoritatis, humiliter utpote natus.

[2] We have, to be sure, no wholly impartial account of these events; on the one hand, the partizan accounts of the life of Ariald, written in a rhetorical style of eulogy (which applies however still more to Andrew's than to Landulph's) and of Erlembald, which was first published by Puricelli, at Milan, 1657; on the other hand, the narrative of Arnulph written in the interest of the opposite party. A comparison of the two representations teaches us that neither is free from all partiality.

[3] See the Life of Landulph de St. Paulo published by Puricelli, c. III. Nobis haec ideo loqueris, quia ineruditos nos esse cognoscis, sed urbanis haec praedica, qui tibi suis scientiis respondere poterunt.

[4] The words attributed by his biographer to Ariald in his address to the people, allude to this (c. I. § XI.: Conatus sum reos reducere ad suam lucem, sed nequivi.

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ample of humility which Christ had given with the worldly pride of the clergy, with their luxurious palaces; his poverty, with their eagerness to amass riches; his purity, with their illicit connections. How could *they*, then, be imitators of Christ! Such ecclesiastics were to be regarded rather as enemies than as disciples of Christ. He called upon them to repent; he had come — he said — to bring them to this or to die.[1] We see called forth here, by the antagonism to the secular spirit of the church, the idea of the clergy as appointed to follow Christ in poverty, purity and humility, — which idea, in the next succeeding centuries, came forth, under various appearances, in opposition to the prevailing corruption; sometimes siding with the papacy, sometimes attacking it as well as the whole church fabric erected thereupon. Ariald's discourses met with a favorable reception from the multitude. Those who were susceptible to religious impressions gladly heard him, because so earnest a piety, which insisted on the imitation of Christ in the affections of the heart, had not been witnessed for a long time in this city, and such as were conscious of a deeper religious need, would hence feel themselves the more strongly attracted by his fervent zeal. Novelty enticed the many who are ever eager after some new thing,[2] and the populace willingly listened to reproofs and censures administered against the higher class of citizens. Thus the clergy, who in spite of their personal worthlessness, had, by virtue of the reverence felt for the dignity of the priestly office, been hitherto the objects of general respect, became gradually objects of detestation and abhorrence.[3] In addition to this, by the preaching of Ariald, the deacon Landulph, a young man of high birth, belonging to the family of De Cotta, one of the most distinguished in Milan and — an important consideration in that city — a member of its own clerus, was won over to the spirit of reform, and converted into a zealous champion for the cause.[4] Landulph spoke with still greater vehemence than Ariald; and he was better fitted to act the part of a demagogue. He is said to have been a powerful popular speaker. Before this change, he was a great favorite with the people as a preacher,[5] and perhaps even before Ariald's appearance in Milan, he had been inclined to some such views of reform. Various means were now employed to operate upon the people. They were called together to hear the new sermons by cards of invitation scattered through the city, and by the ringing of little bells.[6] Next appeared a man out of the very midst of the laity, who took hold of this movement of reform with great zeal. Nazarius, a man con-

[1] See his Life of Landulph, l. c. c. VI.

[2] Landulph says, in the account of his life, c. VI.: Nunciantur novae praedicationes, ad quas populus semper novorum avidus cumulatur.

[3] In verbis ejus plebs fere universa sic est accensa, ut quos eatenus venerata erat ut Christi ministros, damnans proclamaret Dei hostes animarumque deceptores.

[4] Arnulph, the violent enemy of this party, seems indeed to intimate, that he was a layman, and finds something irregular in his putting on the preacher when a layman, and setting himself up as a censor of the clergy. But even Landulph designates him as a Levite, a deacon. It is characteristic of Arnulph to say of the man who required of the clergy a strictly unmarried life: Hic quum nullis esset ecclesiasticis gradibus alteratus, grave jugum sacratorum imponebat cervicibus, quum Christi jugum suave et ejus leve sit onus. l. III. c. 8.

[5] See Landulph de St. Paulo, c. III.

[6] Landulph, c. VI.: Per urbem mittuntur chartulae, tinniunt tintinnabula, nunciantur novae praedicationes

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nected with the mint, the pious head of a family, who had hitherto been accustomed, even in the corrupt clergy, to honor their calling, listened with enthusiasm to men who were seeking to bring back the clergy to a life corresponding to their exalted station. He was ready to devote himself, with his family and his entire substance to the service of a cause which appeared to him so holy.[1]

Ariald and Landulph exhorted the people to shun all intercourse with the clergy who would not come off from the heresy of the Nicolaitans,[2] and of simony; and to refuse from the hands of such the administration of the sacraments. They declared that, by consenting to receive the sacraments from the unworthy hands of these heretical ecclesiastics, men only became partakers of their condemnation, but could experience no saving benefit from the sacred rites themselves. In exhorting the people not to be present at the administration of holy rites by such unworthy ecclesiastics, they in truth did but follow the principles publicly expressed by the pope; but it might easily happen, that hurried on by a fiery zeal, they might venture to use expressions which were at variance with the doctrine of the church, concerning the objective validity of the sacraments.[3] Still less could the people understand those nice distinctions in the theory of the sacraments; it was impossible for them to receive it any otherwise, than that the ceremonies performed by these unworthy priests were not to be regarded as sacraments at all. But when now the followers of this party asked, What, then, are we to do without sacraments and priests? Ariald answered them: they had nothing to do but their own duty, — to go out from the midst of the unclean, and trust in God, who would not forsake them. He who had bestowed on them the greater blessing, given himself for their salvation, *he* would not deny them the lesser, faithful shepherds. They might, therefore, confidently withdraw themselves from all fellowship with the heretics; and so praying in perfect faith for good and faithful shepherds, they would assuredly obtain such.[4] Soon the clergy were forced by the people either to separate from their concubines, or to withdraw from the altar.[5] Ariald was ready to stake his all upon the cause of working out a reformation of the clergy, according to his own views. He had so

[1] In the above cited Life of Andreas, c. II, the following language is put into the mouth of Nazarius, to show the contrast between that which the clergy actually were, and what they were designed to be: "Quis tam insipiens est, qui non lucide perpendere possit, quod eorum vita esse altius debet a mea dissimilis? Quos ego in domum meam ad benedicendam voco, juxta meum posse reficio et post haec manus deosculans munus meum offerro, et a quibus mysteria, pro quibus aeternam vitam expecto, omnia suscipio. Sed, ut omnes inspicimus, non solum non mundior, verum etiam sordidior perspicue cernitur."

[2] The marriage of ecclesiastics being placed without hesitation in the same category with whoredom, to its defenders was applied the heretical name Nicolaitans.

[3] If we might place any reliance on the report of the hostile Arnulph (l. c. l. III. c. 9,) Landulph had made use of such expressions against the unworthy clergy: eorum sacrificia idem est ac si canina sint stercora, eorumque basilicae jumentorum praesepia.

[4] See Life of Ariald by Andreas, c. 3.

[5] Andreas, in his Life of Ariald, c. 2, says on this point: Stupra clericorum nefanda sic ab eodem populo intra aliquanta tempora sunt persecuta et deleta, ut nullus existeret, quin aut cogeretur tantum nefas dimittere vel ad altare non accedere, and the same is remarked by Landulph of St. Paulo.

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wrought upon the conscience of one clergyman, who had acquired his office by simony, that he repented of it, and was desirous of making restitution. But to lose the money which he had disbursed, and could not recover, was not to be thought of by one in his circumstances. Ariald made up the sum for him, when he resigned his office, and the place was filled again in the canonical manner.[1] Under his direction was formed a society of clergymen and laymen, who lived together in the form of a canonical community.

The whole population of Milan was separated into two hotly contending parties. This controversy divided families; it was the one object which commanded universal participation.[2] The popular party, devoted to Ariald and Landulph, was nick-named *Pataria*, which in the dialect of Milan signified a popular faction;[3] and as a heretical tendency might easily grow out of, or attach itself to, this spirit of separatism, so zealously opposed to the corruption of the clergy, it came about that, in the following centuries, the name Patarenes was applied in Italy as a general appellation to denote sects contending against the dominant church and clergy, — sects which, for the most part, met with great favor from the people. But it was not strange, that the fanatical zeal of the people being once aroused, violent outbreaks should ensue, and that many impure motives should mix in with the rest.[4]

In the meantime, both parties lodged complaints against each other with pope Nicholas II, and the latter sent the cardinal Peter Damiani, and the archbishop Anselm of Lucca,[5] to Milan, for the purpose of investigating the affair;[6] the former of whom convoked a synod there for this object. But when he here asserted the authority of a papal legate, claiming in this character the presidency in the synod, and placing the associates of his mission, archbishop Anselm and archbishop Guido of Milan, the one on his right hand and the other on his

[1] See Ariald's Life, c. 15.

[2] In the Life of Ariald by Andreas, c. 3: In his diebus si per illam urbem incederes, praeter hujus rei contentionem undique vix aliquid audires.

[3] Arnulph l. III. c. XI.: Hos tales caetera vulgaritas ironice patarinos appellat.

[4] We cannot decide whether any truth lies at the foundation of Arnulph's report (l. III. c. IX.), that Landulph, in a passionate declamation, stimulated the populace to rob and plunder the corrupted clergy.

[5] If the report of Landulph de St. Paulo is correct, the selection of archbishop Anselm of Lucca for this embassy was not calculated to make a very favorable impression on the Milanese clergy; for, according to his story, Anselm was the first who persecuted such a reforming spirit in the Milanese church. This Anselm, descended from the Milanese family de Bandagio, belonged to the clergy of Milan. He was a favorite preacher, and declaimed against the vices of the corrupt clergy. In vain did Guido, archbishop of Milan, admonish him not to make such things public. To get rid of him, he persuaded the emperor to bestow on him the archbishopric of Lucca. But he found himself deceived in his expectations. For when Anselm could no longer himself operate immediately in Milan, he was the more busy with his agents, Landulph and Ariald. Sic haec proclamatio contra clericos lascivos et simoniacos, per Arialdum et Landulphum diutius continuata, a praefato Anselmo de Bandagio sumsit exordium. See c. 16.

[6] The cardinal Hildebrand cannot, as the Milanese historian Arnulph says, have been one of these legates; for Damiani, in the Opusculum V, which is addressed to him, and which contains the Actus Mediolanenses, relates to him these incidents in such a way as presupposes that he was not present at the time of their occurrence.

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left, the pride of the Milanese nobility, of the spiritual and secular orders, was greatly offended. This proceeding appeared to them derogatory to the ancient dignity of the independent Ambrosian church.[1] The excitable populace, who had before been inflamed by the zeal of Ariald and Landulph against the clergy, were at present quite as easily hurried to excess by their zeal for the dignity and freedom of the Ambrosian church. A violent uproar arose, the tocsin was sounded. But the prudent compliance of archbishop Guido restored tranquillity; and as Damiani acted in the consciousness of the authority of the Romish church resting on a divine foundation, he was neither intimidated nor disturbed by any contradiction. To the excited multitude he addressed a discourse, exhorting them to obedience to the church of Rome, the common mother, by whom the dignity of her daughter, the Ambrosian, was by no means denied or injured.[2] The confidence with which he spoke could not fail of its effect on a multitude, acting without any clear knowledge of their aim; but *he* regarded it as a proof of the power of this undeniable elevation, by divine right, of the Romish church upon the minds of men. Thus he was enabled to hold his spiritual court without further disturbance.

Simony being so dominant an evil in the Milanese church, he deemed it necessary to allow of some mitigation of the severity of the ecclesiastical law towards such a multitude of the guilty. Pardon was to be secured to all on condition that downwards from the archbishop, who undertook to perform a pilgrimage to St. Jago de Compostella in Spain, they should bind themselves to undergo a penance proportionate to their sin, and should subscribe an oath, in which they agreed to renounce altogether the heresy of simony and of the Nicolaitans. Yet only that part of the clergy who were found qualified for their duties by their mode of life and their knowledge, should continue to retain their places.[3] And those who retained their places, should be indebted for them, not to the illegal manner in which they had obtained them, but to the special interposition of the pope's plenary power. This was for the present a mighty triumph of the Romish church over the spirit of independence before so strongly ex-

[1] Damiani says: Factione clericorum repente in populo murmur exoritur, non debere Ambrosianam ecclesiam Romanis legibus subjacere nullumque judicandi vel disponendi jus Romano pontificii in illa sede competere. The Milanese historian Arnulph, who was actuated by this spirit of church freedom among the Milanese, says in speaking of the Roman thirst for power: Qui quum principari appetant jure apostolico, videntur velle dominari omnium et cuncta suae subdere ditioni quum doctor evangelicus suos doceat humilitatem apostolos; whereupon he cites Luke 22: 25.

[2] In the words here spoken by Damiani, as he cites them himself, is contained the entire Hildebrandian system of the papacy. The power conferred on St. Peter's successors alone is immediately from God; on the other hand, patriarchates, metropolitan sees, bishoprics are of human origin, founded by emperors or kings. Romanam autem ecclesiam solus ipse fundavit, qui beato vitae aeternae clavigero terreni simul et coelestis imperii jura commisit. Non ergo quaelibet terrena sententia, sed illud verbum, quo constructum est coelum et terra Romanam fundavit ecclesiam. Hence he concludes that, he who deprives other churches of their rights does a wrong indeed, but he who attacks the rights of the Romish church incurs the guilt of heresy, since he contends against a divine right.

[3] Qui et literas eruditi et casti et morum gravitate viderentur honesti.

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pressed by the Ambrosian clerus, and would of course be extremely humiliating to Milanese pride.[1]

It was natural, that after the death of pope Nicholas II. in 1061, the contest between the two parties, which continued through this whole period of time, should burst forth again in some more violent outbreak at the new papal election. Thus far, the party in favor of reform had attached itself to the imperial interest, and used the emperor's power as a counterpoise to the arrogance of the Italian nobles. Still, however, the tendency of the Hildebrandian party would necessarily lead in the end to the making the election of the pope independent of the imperial power, as Hildebrand himself had long before distinctly intimated; and Hildebrand's opponents now sought on their side to attach themselves to the interests of the emperor; hoping, perhaps, that by professing to stand up for the rights of the emperor, they might succeed, with his assistance, in accomplishing their objects. The party led by archdeacon Hildebrand intended at first to avail themselves of the minority of Henry IV. as a suitable opportunity for establishing again the example of a papal election carried through without the concurrence of the emperor; but then again they were obliged to hasten forward the election, and to forestall their opponents, in order to secure a pope devoted to Hildebrand's principles.[2] The other party sent delegates with the imperial crown to the court of Henry IV, and endeavored to effect the election of a new pope there. The Hildebrandian party also despatched, it is true, the cardinal Stephen to the court of Henry IV.; but he was not even admitted to an audience. Hildebrand meantime turned the election of the pope on a man of the stricter party, Anselm, archbishop of Lucca, of whom we have already spoken. He named himself Alexander II. Thus was elevated to the papal throne a man who was known from the first as a zealous friend of the principles of reform, and who had already labored in the same cause at Milan, without standing in any outward

[1] Hence Arnulph mournfully exclaims (l. III. c. 13): O insensati Mediolanenses! Quis vos fascinavit? Heri (in the quarrel of the archbishop with Damiani) clamastis unius sellae primatum. Hodie confunditis totius ecclesiae statum, vere culicem liquantes et camelum glutientes.

[2] The imperial party could appeal to the fact that even after the order for the election of pope passed at the Lateran council under Nicholas II, no such order could be carried into execution without the emperor's concurrence. And in the disceptatio synodalis inter Romanae ecclesiae defensorem et regis advocatum, which Damiani composed in behalf of the council of Osborn in Germany, in which he employed all the sophistical arts of an advocate in defence of the papal interest, he did not himself venture to deny the right grounded thereupon, but on the contrary affirms, that men were forced by the necessity of the case to deviate from this rule, in order to prevent the dissention, uproar and bloodshed which threatened to ensue in case the election were hastened. "Ad hoc nos invitos traxit imminens periculum." He then seeks to prove, by a variety of examples taken from Holy Writ, whose meaning he perverts with the most unconscionable sophistry, that it was impossible to have here any invariable rule of proceeding, but that it was necessary to do what was best according to discretion, looking at all the circumstances. Everything depended on the disposition. The Roman church, the common mother, which was the mother of the emperor in a much higher sense than his bodily mother, the empress Agnes, had exercised as guardian the right which belonged to her. "Quid ergo mali fecit Romana ecclesia, si filio suo, quum adhuc impubis esset, quum adhuc tutela egeret, ipsa tutoris officium subiit, et jus quod illi competebat, implevit?" It is here seen, as in the whole of his written vindication, how much dishonesty could flow from that party-interest which kept down the sense of truth.

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connection with Hildebrand, having become first connected with the latter by identity of principles. By the imperial party in Germany, however, he was not acknowledged, but this party chose for their pope, at a council held at Basle, Cadalous, bishop of Parma, under the name of Honorius II. The contest between these two popes was undoubtedly a contest between two opposite tendencies of ecclesiastical law. The opponents of the Hildebrandian system flattered themselves at least with the hope, that, if Cadalous triumphed, he would abolish the ordinances respecting the celibacy of the clergy.[1] Had Cadalous therefore been able to maintain himself, a reäction would have ensued against the Hildebrandian system of church government. The present, then, was one of those critical epochs in history, when a decisive turn must be given one side or the other to the ecclesiastical development of the middle ages. But from this it may be gathered, that although a single event — that Hanno, archbishop of Cologne, succeeded in wresting the tutorship of Henry IV. out of the hands of the empress Agnes — had especial influence in bringing about a more speedy decision of this contest, yet the decision of it generally rested on a deeper and more necessary ground, in the progressive development of humanity and of the church. A momentary triumph which Cadalous obtained by resorting to force, could never have served, however, to advance a cause which had the worthiest portion of the church against it. Alexander was first acknowledged at the synod of Osborn in 1062, then more generally at the synod of Mantua in 1064.[2] Pope Alexander labored on after the same plan with his predecessors,[3] stimulated

[1] Damiani (T. III. Opusc, 18, contra clericos intemperantes, diss. II. f. 206,) says: Sperant Nicolaitae, quia, si Cadalous universali ecclesia antichristi vice praesiderit, ad eorum votum luxuriae frena laxabit.—It is to be lamented, that we have no accurate account of the synod held at Basle, by the Lombardian and imperial party. Though we cannot place implicit confidence in the report of Damiani, in the above cited disceptatio synodalis, yet there is probably some foundation of truth in what he says respecting the actions of this synod in relation to the abrogation of the ordinances made under pope Nicholas: Conspirantes contra Romanam ecclesiam consilium collegistis, papam (Nicolaum) quasi per synodalem sententiam condemnastis et omnia, quae ab eo fuerant statuta, cessare incredibili prorsus audacia praesumsistis.

[2] The fierce opponent of Cadalous, cardinal Damiani had predicted to him that he would die in that same year, non ego te fallo, coepto morieris in anno. As this prediction was not fulfilled, the opposite party triumphed over the false prophet; but Damiani got off by explaining that the prophecy was fulfilled, if not by the temporal, yet by the spiritual demise of Candalous, alluding to the sentence of condemnation passed upon him by the synod at Osborn. See T. III. opp. Damiani, f. 206.

[3] The letters of Damiani to this pope show how much the former had at heart the purification of the church from wicked abuses, the appointment of worthy men to the ecclesiastical offices, and the improvement of the spiritual order; and how earnestly he was bent on making the papal power subservient to these objects. Nor for the sake of promoting them did he fear to attack the pride of the hierarchy itself. There was a law, that no ecclesiastic or layman should appear as an accuser against his bishop. Damiani earnestly demanded of the pope that this law might be abolished, since it secured the bishops against punishment in all their criminal and arbitrary proceedings: Quae tanta superbia, ut liceat episcopum per fas et nefas ad propriae voluntatis arbitrium vivere, et quod insolenter excessum est, a subjectis suis dedignetur audire? — Ecce dicitur: ego sum episcopus, ego sum pastor ecclesiae, etenim in causa fidei dignus sum, etiam in pravis moribus, aequanimiter ferri. To this he opposes the precept in Matt. xviii., and says: Si ecclesiae ergo referenda est causa quorum libet fratrum, quomodo non etiam sacerdotum? We see here how Damiani was drawn by his purer regard for Christianity into an antagonism even with the principles expressed in the Pseudo-Isidorian decretals. Furthermore, he was scan-

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by the zeal of a Damiani, and a Hildebrand, and supported by the energy of the latter.[1]

The disturbances in the Milanese church, which had been quelled in the time of pope Nicholas, broke out again more violently under Alexander. The archbishop and the rest of the clergy did not long suffer themselves to be bound by the engagements into which they had entered. Some of the learned among the clergy there now stood forth, who confidently believed they could prove from Holy Writ, and from the older fathers and ecclesiastical laws, the legality of the marriage of priests.[2] But the contest was not waged merely with spiritual weapons, especially after a warlike knight had joined himself to Ariald, as a popular leader against the aristocratical party. For, on the death of Landulph, his place was filled by his brother

dalized at the custom of affixing to all papal ordinances the anathema against such as refused to comply with them, thus applying it indiscriminately to all transgressions, even in matters of the least importance. Delinquit itaque, quisquis ille est, in illud apostolicae constitutionis edictum, et aliquando levi quadam et perexigua offensione transgreditur, et continuo velut haereticus et tanquam cunctis criminibus teneatur obnoxius, anathematis sententia condemnatur. It should be considered — he said — how much this word imported; it related not to the deprivation of civil liberty, not to the confiscation of worldly goods, but to the exclusion of the individual from the highest of all blessings: Sed Deo potius, omnium scilicit bonorum auctore, privatur. In the ancient decretals, such a threatening was never to be found, except where the question related to the faith. Therefore, in decretals relating to other matters, other penalties should be threatened; such, for example, as pecuniary mulcts, ne quod aliis est ad tuitionis munimenta provisum, aliis ad perniciem proveniat animarum. See lib. I. ep. XII. Truly, we may here discern quite a different spirit, on the ethical and religious side, from that which reigns in the Pseudo-Isidorian decretals.

[1] Respecting the prevalence of simony, as it had existed up to this time, the pope (ep. 35.) says to the clergy and community of Lucca: fiebat ecclesia et res ejus ita venalis, veluti quaedam terrena et vilis merx a negotiatoribus ad vendendum exposita.

[2] A contemporary of Milan, the elder Landulph, a zealous advocate of the marriage of ecclesiastics, and a violent opponent of the Hildebrandian principles, says, concerning the most eminent and learned speakers of the other party: Hi autem quum diu per apostoli Pauli et canonum auctoritatem altercarentur; Arialdus et Landulphus proclamare coeperunt; vetera transierunt et facta sunt omnia nova. Quod olim in primitiva ecclesia a patribus sanctis concessum est, modo indubitanter prohibetur. They would admit only the decisions of Ambrose, who, to be sure, spoke plainly enough against priestly wedlock. Their opponents did not venture, indeed, to impugn his authority; but they cited only those passages of Ambrose, which spoke of the sacredness of marriage, which described the chastity of the unmarried life as a charisma, a thing which no person could bestow on himself, — and from this they argued, that what was a gift of grace, ought not to be made a law for all. Imposing a yoke on the clergy, which they were unable to bear, was only laying the foundation for greater evils. Natura humana dum magis constringitur, amplius illicitis accenditur. Vetando unam et propriam uxorem centum fornicatrices ac adulteria multa concedis. Vid. l. III. c. 23. etc. in Muratori Scriptores rer. Italicar. T. IV. Though the discourses which the historian here introduces are not composed by himself, yet we perceive from them, that there were still those who knew how to defend the marriage of ecclesiastics on good grounds, and who valued more highly the decisions of the sacred oracles, and of the common Christian consciousness, than the papal decretals. This Landulph complains, that the clergy, through indolence, neglected the means of defending themselves, by the sacred Scriptures, against the false priests. Ecclesiastici ordinis multos quodam fastidio nequissimae pigritiae taediatos cognosco, qui in posteris multa sacrarum scripturarum rudimenta ostendendo tradere potuissent, quibus sese a pseudo-sacerdotibus defendere ac liberare potuissent minime operam dederunt, qui dum falsas praedicationes per simulatam castitatem ac ficta jejunia, caritatem habere sese omnino simulantes donis, privatis divitiis, in domibus viduarum aut in angulis platearum praedicantes, gladios acute subministrant acutissimos. See c. I.

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Erlembald, a knight, and captain. This person had just returned from a pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre, and was intending to retire from the world to monastic life. But Ariald dissuaded him from this step, telling him, that he would better serve God by uniting with him in defending the faith and fighting against the heretics. He invited him to leave his vocation as a secular knight, and become a knight of God and of the Catholic church. "Let us deliver the church, which for so long a time has been languishing in bondage — said he to him — thou by the law of the sword, we by the law of God."[1] He first undertook a pilgrimage to Rome,[2] where he accused the archbishop before pope Alexander, as a recusant and a perjured man, who was again promoting Nicolaitanism and simony; and as the pope had in his youth been among the first instigators of these movements in Milan, he was the more inclined to favor them now. He exhorted Erlembald to defend without wavering the cause of the faith. He presented him with the consecrated banner of St. Peter, which he was to unfurl in case of necessity, as a champion for the apostolical chair, and for the faith. He appointed him vexillifer Romanae et universalis ecclesiae[3] (standard-bearer of the Roman and of the universal church). Erlembald brought back with him also a declaration of the pope, by which the archbishop was excommunicated. This was the signal for bloody quarrels in Milan. The people, fickle in their favor, in their zeal, and in their passions, sometimes allowed themselves to be inflamed by the speeches of Ariald, against the corruptions of the clergy, sometimes by declamation about the liberty and dignity of the Ambrosian church, and against the disgrace brought upon them by Roman arrogance. Ariald, after ten years of toil, fell himself a victim, in the year 1067, to the cruel vengeance of the exasperated aristocratical party. Upon this, plenipotentiaries were sent from Rome to Milan, for the purpose of healing these schisms in the church. By these, the former ordinances against simony and Nicolaitanism were renewed; but, at the same time, it was forbidden the laity to set themselves up, under the pretext of zeal for the ecclesiastical laws, as judges over the clergy, or to use violence against them.

In Florence, also, through the influence of monks fired with zeal against the corrupted clergy,[4] and led on by the venerable abbot John Gualbert, of Vallombrosa, near Florence, divisions ending in bloodshed had been created between the party of the archbishop, who was accused of simony, and a portion of the clergy and of the people. In vain had Peter Damiani sought, by personal negotiation and by

[1] See the Life of Ariald, by Landulph de St. Paulo, c. 16.

[2] According to the report of Landulph de St. Paulo, Ariald and Erlembald travelled in company to Rome, and Ariald was received by Alexander II. as an old friend.

[3] See Landulph de S. P. c. 16, and the other Life by Andreas, T. IV. § 34. Respecting this banner of St. Peter presented to Erlembald, Arnulph, however, says: Quod appensum lanceae homicidiorum videtur indicium, quum profecto nefas sit, tale aliquid suspicari de Petro aut aliud habuisse vexillum praeter quod datum est in evangelio; qui vult venire post me, abneget semet ipsum et tollat crucem suam et sequatur me.

[4] See above, p. 394.

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letters, to heal the divisions and to put a stop to separatism. But when Peter, a monk, delegated by the abbot John Gualbert, was supposed to have proved by the judgment of God, having passed between the flames of two lighted pyres placed near each other,[1] that the charges laid against the archbishop were true, and had thus gained over to his side of the question the enthusiasm of the whole populace, the archbishop was compelled to resign his office, and thus quiet was restored.

Hildebrand, who already for a long time past had been the soul of the papacy, was now more so than ever, when at length, as archdeacon and chancellor of the Romish church, he stood at the head of all its affairs. He whose superior understanding all acknowledged and followed; whom his enthusiastic friend Damiani, because he was forced to serve him often in spite of himself, was wont to call his St. Satan,[2] he, as Damiani says of him, ruled at Rome more than the pope himself.[3] He was considered the founder of a new empire of Rome over the world.[4] Accordingly, on the death of Alexander II, in the year 1073, he had sufficiently prepared the way by his labors and efforts, extending through more than twenty years, to enter into the contest under his own name, for the full realization of the system of church government, the grand features of which we have already seen clearly defined in this last epoch.

[1] See the report of the party opposed to the archbishop, concerning this incident. Life of Johannes Gualbert, c. 64. Mabillon Acta Sanc. O. B. Saec VI. P. II. f. 283, and Victor III. or Desiderii Casinens. Dialog. III. f. 856. Bibliothec. patr. Lugd. T. XVIII.

[2] Sanctum Satanum meum. Ep. l. I. ep. 16. T. I. f. 16.

[3] Damiani's verses upon him:

Vivere vis Romae, clara depromito voce;
Plus domino papae, quam domino pareo papae.

And on Hildebrand's relation to the pope, who was raised by him to the summit of power:

Papam rite colo; sed te prostratus adoro,
Tu facis hunc Dominum, te facit iste Deum.

On Hildebrand's short stature, whence he was called by his enemies Hildebrandellus:

Hunc qui cuncta domat Sisyphi mensura coarctat,
Quemque tremunt multi, nolens mihi subditur uni.

[4] This is expressed in a remarkable way, in a poem by Alphanus, archbishop of Salerno, written on Hildebrand after Alexander II. had by his means gained the victory, — published by Baronius at the year 1061, N. 32. It contains a characteristic comparison of the old and the new Rome, of her political and her spiritual sovereignty over the world. Concerning the artibus Hildebrandi:

Ex quibus caput urbium
Roma justior et prope
Totus orbis eas timet. —
Quanta vis anathematis?
Quicquid et Marius prius
Quodque Julius egerant
Maxima nece militum
Voce tu modica facis.

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II. HISTORY OF THE CHURCH CONSTITUTION IN ITS OTHER RELATIONS.

1. Relation of the Church to the State.

The plan which, in the history of the popes since the time of Leo IX, we saw continually becoming more distinctly defined, the plan of making the church wholly independent of the secular power, had still to contend with obstacles which passed over from the preceding period into this. The fact that the abuses springing out of the influence of a rude secular power on the church had reached such a pitch, was the very one which, as we have shown in the preceding remarks, called forth the opposite efforts of the party in favor of reform. Among the most pernicious influences of this kind, was the influence in *disposing of church benefices*. We noticed in the preceding period, what had been done in the Carolingian age to put a check to the abuses thence arising by the revival of the regular mode of ecclesiastical elections; and the effort was so far successful, as that the ancient form in the election of bishops was again introduced. Synods of the ninth century endeavored by new laws to preserve this custom in force. Thus the third council of Valence in 855 decreed in its seventh canon, that on the death of a bishop, the monarch should be requested to allow the clergy and the community of the place to make a canonical choice; and then a worthy person should be sought for within the diocese itself, or at least, if that were not possible, in its neighborhood. But even should the king send along one taken from the clergy of his court, still his qualifications in respect to moral character and knowledge should be carefully inquired into, as well as the fact whether or no he had attempted to procure the office for himself by simony, and only when no objection could be brought against him in these respects, should he be accepted. It was made the duty of metropolitans to see that these determinations were exactly observed. Yet the law made by this synod proves it to be the fact also, that encroachments of various kinds were to be apprehended from the monarchs, and it is presupposed by the law, that their permission was needed to institute such an election. There was a standing formulary, for expressing the permission granted by the prince to proceed to an ecclesiastical election of this sort.[1]

[1] Petitam electionem concedere; see Hincmar. opuscul. XII. c. 3. T. II. f. 190. and as we see from that passage, it was from this customary formula, the right of the monarchs to intermeddle with the election itself was drawn by others

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This, in the design of the church, was to be nothing more, it is true, than a mere formality; but it might easily fall in with the humor of the monarch, to make more out of it, to consider himself entitled to refuse the permission for holding such an election, or to refuse the confirmation of it, to appoint some other person in place of the one elected in canonical form. There were those who said to the monarchs; "in your giving permission to hold a church election it is implied, that such a person must be chosen, as *you* would have him to be."[1] "The property of the church — said they — is in the monarch's power so far as that he may bestow it on whom he pleases,"[2] and much was now depending on the fact, how the bishops would demean themselves with respect to these claims of the sovereign power. Very far was it from being the case, that all could show the energy and firmness which a Hinkmar, archbishop of Rheims displayed in defending the liberties and rights of the church against the aggressions of monarchs and no less of popes. Lewis III, king of France, refused to recognize the election of a bishop of Beauvais, made by a provincial synod, held under the presidency of archbishop Hinkmar, but appointed a person bishop, who was chosen, it is true, by the clergy and the community of Beauvais, but had been found by the bishops of the province unfit for the office both in respect to mental capacity and knowledge, and in respect to moral qualifications. But Hinkmar protested against this sort of proceeding; and the language above described, with which flattering courtiers justified the conduct of their sovereign, he compared to that of the seducer of our first parents, language spewed from hell.[3] Yet in the majority of cases, where the princes had not to do with such firm and consistent defenders of church freedom, they could succeed without difficulty in deriving from the right once conceded to them of exercising an influence in the choice of bishops more than was thereby intended to be conceded.[4] Accordingly it became a common thing in France for the kings to appoint men from among the clergy of their own court to the more important episcopal stations.[5] Bishops, who found it for their interest so to do, themselves contributed to make the churches thus dependent on the monarchs. In addition to this, the universal custom of feudal relations, caused these to be transferred to the property and right of the church, as in fact the bishops and abbots sustained a peculiar character as political orders in the state. Now as the symbols of feudal tenure differed in

[1] Illum debent episcopi et clerus ac plebs eligere, quem vos vultis et quem jubetis. See archbishop Hinkmar's letter to king Lewis III. l. c.

[2] Vid. l. c. c. IV.: Res ecclesiasticae episcoporum in vestra sunt potestate, ut cuicunque volueritis eas donetis. l. c.

[3] Ille malignus spiritus, — he writes to king Lewis, — qui per serpentem primos parentes nostros in paradiso decepit et inde illos ejecit, per tales in aures vestras haec sibilat.

[4] Among the letters of Servatus Lupus, ep. 79. ad Ratramnum monachum, we find the nomination of a French bishop by the king cited with the formula: quem rex esse episcopum jussit, and in the 81st letter it is said, pope Zacharias conceded to king Pipin, out of respect to the bad times, the right to provide for the supplying of vacant bishoprics with suitable men, ut acerbitati temporis industria sibi probatissimorum decedentibus episcopis mederetur.

[5] Vid. l. c. ep. 81: Non esse novicium aut temerarium, quod ex palatio honarabilioribus maxime ecclesiis (rex) procurat antistites.

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such a way as to indicate the different official relations of vassals, so to express the feudal tenure of bishops a symbol was employed corresponding to their official character. This symbol was the presentation of a bishop's staff and ring, the scandalous thing about which was, that the symbol referred directly to the spiritual authority of the bishops, and it might therefore seem as if monarchs who were laymen were wishing to interfere with the spiritual province.[1] The monarchs and the defenders of their sovereign prerogatives appealed to the fact, that bishops and abbots, as vassals, stood in precisely the same relation with all other subjects to the secular power; that the latter had to determine respecting the disposition of that which was its own, and that bishops and abbots, as vassals, acknowledged their relation of dependence on it, and like all others were obliged to take the feudal oath according to ancient usage. It was in this sense, the archbishop Hinkmar, in his letter already referred to, addressed to pope Adrian II, represented the king as having replied to his threat that he the archbishop would withdraw fellowship from him if he did not hearken to the pope "in that case, you may be at liberty to perform the ecclesiastical ceremonies, but you shall lose all your power over the country and the people."[2] On the other hand, it was maintained by the other party, that property once consecrated to the church had become thereby sacred to God, a holy, inalienable possession of the church, and that monarchs incurred the guilt of sacrilege, whenever they presumed arbitrarily to determine anything about it;[3] and by stretching this point a little farther, it was found that bishops, as persons consecrated to God, as the organs of union between heaven and earth, must be distinguished from secular vassals, and it was deemed scandalous that hands made sacred by the priestly character and worthy of producing the Lord's body, should be bound to render so secular a service as the oath of vassalage.[4]

[1] Cardinal Humbert, one of the fiercest zealots for the principles of the Hildebrandian church-reform, in his work: Adversus Simoniacos, which has been published by Martene and Durand in the Thesaurus novus anecdotorum, T. V, seeks to show (l. III. c. XI), how through the fault of the bishops, the influence of the monarchs had increased in appointing to church benefices. Nam (potestas saecularis) primo ambitiosis ecclesiasticarum dignitatum vel possessionem cupidis favebat prece, dein minis, deinceps verbis concessivis, in quibus omnibus cernens contradictorem sibi neminem nec qui moverit pennam vel aperiret os, ad majora progreditur et jam sub nomine investiturae dare primo tabellas vel qualescunque porrigere virgulas, dein baculos. Quod maximum nefas sic jam inolevit, ut id solum canonicum credatur nec quae sit ecclesiastica regula sciatur aut attendatur. We here then recognize already the principle, for which Hildebrand afterwards so stoutly contended, that the lay investiture must be done away with as a thing utterly impious. Et quidem memini — he says next — me vidisse a saecularibus principibus aliquos pastoralibus baculis et annulis investiri de episcopatibus et abbatiis metropolitanosque eorum et primates, quamvis praesentes essent, nec inde requisitos nec aliquid contra hiscere ausos.

[2] Quoniam si in mea sententia permanerem, ad altare ecclesiae meae cantare possem, de rebus vero et hominibus nullam potestatem haberem. Vid. Hincmar. Opp. T. II. f. 697.

[3] See e. g. Hincmar in the above cited letter concerning the arrogated election of a bishop,—addressed to king Lewis III.: Res et facultates ecclesiasticae oblationes appellantur, quia domino offeruntur, T. II. f. 191. and in his letter to king Lewis of Germany, Hincmar, Opp. T. II. f. 140. says he: Ecclesiae nobis a Deo commissae non talia sunt beneficia et hujusmodi regis proprietas, ut pro libitu suo inconsulte illas posset dare vel tollere, quoniam omnia, quae ecclesiae sunt, Deo consecrata sunt, unde qui ecclesiae aliquid fraudatur aut tollit, sacrilegium facere noscitur.

[4] Vid. Hincmar. l. c. f. 140: Et nos epis-

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Midway between the two parties thus diametrically opposed to each other, of which the one defended the interest of the secular sovereign, the other, that of the hierarchy, both in a one-sided manner, sprung up still a third and moderate party of a conciliating tendency, consisting of such pious bishops as clearly distinguished and separated spiritual things from secular, in reference to the latter acknowledging and endeavoring faithfully to fulfil their duties towards the ruling powers, while they aimed on the other hand to fulfil their *spiritual* calling in a manner so much the more independent, and free from all disturbing influences — men whose principle it was to follow the directions laid down in the New Testament concerning obedience to magistrates — to give to God the things that are God's, and to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's.[1]

That right of investiture which the monarchs claimed in respect to bishoprics, was continually abused by them more and more; either by capriciously bestowing them as benefices on their favorites, or in making them a matter of traffic and sale. Among the political disturbances of the tenth century, and among the detestable scenes of confusion and disorder which at that time proceeded from the very seat of the popes, the abuse of simony went on with gigantic strides, as has already been made sufficiently manifest by what we have remarked in the history of the papacy. Already, at the commencement of the eleventh century, before the papacy had become stained anew in so disgraceful a manner, the venerable abbot William of Dijon wrote a very bold letter to pope John XVIII, calling upon him in the most decided and emphatic language to repress the plague of simony which was now spreading on all sides. "They who should be styled the salt of the earth, and the light of the world, ought at least to have pity on Christendom. Enough, that Christ has been *once* sold for the salvation of the world. How offensive must the water of the fountain-head become at the extremes, if the brooks near by it are so foul! The pastors and the priests, yea all should remember the judge who with the axe in his hand stands before the door."[2]

It was attempted to palliate this simony by resorting to the distinction already mentioned between matters spiritual and secular. The

copi Domino consecrati non sumus hujus modi homines saeculares, ut in vassalatico debeamus nos cuilibet commendare aut jurationis sacramentum, quod nos evangelica et apostolica auctoritas vetat, debeamus quoquo modo facere; manus enim chrismate sancto peruncta, quae de pane et vino aqua mixto per orationem et crucis signum conficit corporis Christi et sanguinis sacramentum, abominabile est, quicquid ante ordinationem fecerit, ut post ordinationem episcopatus saeculare tangat ullo modo sacramentum.

[1] Among such belonged Adalbero, bishop of Metz, who administered this office from A. D. 984 to A. D. 1005. Of him, an anonymous biographer, his contemporary, says: Noverat et sapienti ingenio praeviderat, quoniam quidem licet esse genere et sanguine nulli mortalium inferior, licet posset, non debere resistere potestati, dicente domino ac jubente, reddere quae sunt Cæsaris Cæsari, videlicet Cæsari tributum, vectigal, censum, Deo autem pietatis opera, orationum munera, eleëmosynarum fructum. He deemed it better sua quam se pessundare, terrena distrahere quam spiritualia. See Labbe Nova Bibliotheca manuscriptorum, T. I. f. 678. This also was the principle of Bernhard, bishop of Hildesheim, in the beginning of the eleventh century. Vid. Mabillon Acta Sanct. O. B. P. I., the account of his life, § 37, f. 223.

[2] See the Life of abbot Wilhelm, § 19. 1 Januar. or Mabillon Acta Sanct. O. B. Vol. VI. P. I. f. 330.

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money, it was said, is given only for the property, not for the spiritual office. The consecration to the spiritual office is bestowed for nothing.[1] The bishops followed the example of the princes, when after having obtained their own places by simony, they sought to indemnify themselves for what they had been obliged to pay, by sales of benefices which they made themselves.[2] This abuse had for its natural consequence, that the most incompetent and the most unworthy men might aspire and could attain to episcopal and other spiritual offices, and in the churches the most enormous depredations were committed.[3]

Among the state burdens, from which the churches were not exempted, belonged the obligation of the bishops and abbots to furnish their respective contributions to the general Heerban, or fine for the army. True, the clergy were, in the preceding period, declared exempt from the obligation to do military service in person, and they were forbidden to engage in war by the laws of the church;[4] but owing to the twofold spiritual and secular vocation of the bishops, and to the wars and desolating incursions of barbarians in those agitated times which followed the Carolingian period, it came about, that these ancient and ever and anon freshly inculcated laws were often violated, while the violation of them failed to attract notice. In the ninth and tenth centuries, when Germany and France were given up to the devastations of pagan tribes, the Slavonians, Normans, and Hungarians, even those pious bishops, who would gladly have lived exclusively devoted to their spiritual vocation as pastors, were moved by concern for their communities, to direct the measures for defence, and by their per-

[1] The famous abbot, Abbo of Fleury, in the tenth century, said on the contrary: Hujus modi emtores quasdam velut telas aranearum texunt, quibus se defendunt, quod non benedictionem, sed res ecclesiae possessuri emunt. Cujus vero possessio est ecclesia, nisi solius Dei? See Aimoin's Life of Abbo, Mabillon Acta Sanct. O. B. sacr. VI. P. I. f. 45. Thus we find this species of traffic prevailing in the tenth century; and it extended into the eleventh: for in the measures proposed for the reform of the church under Henry III, it was necessary to combat in particular this pretext in defence of simony. See Damiani Epp. I. 13: Nonnulli clericorum vitam per exterioris habitus speciem mentientes hoc pertinaciter dogmatizant, non ad simoniacam haeresin pertinere, si quis episcopatum a rege vel quolibet mundi principe per interventionem coëmptionis acquirat, si tantum modo consecrationem gratis accipiat: and Cardinal Humbert compares those who supposed they could justify their simony in this way with the Pharisees. Matt. 23: 16. Ac si praepostero vestigio callem Pharisaeorum terentes, astruere contendant solum sanctificatorem honorari debere, sanctificata autem nihil esse. See his Work Adversus Simoniacos, l. III. c. 1.

[2] That zealous laborer for the interests of the church, archbishop Gerhard of Arras and Cambray, wrote to bishop Adalbero of Laon, in the beginning of the eleventh century, in reference to this: Nihil defuturum arbitramur, si hujusmodi usus increverit, ut non sedes ecclesiae venales existant, et summa sacerdoti mercaturae compendiis venundetur sicque pecuniosus quisque ad culmen pastoralis regiminis aspiret.

[3] Humbert describes (in l. II. c. 35) the ruin of the churches which proceeded from the bishops and abbots seeking to indemnify themselves for what they had paid or promised for their benefices, at the expense of the churches. He says that many churches and monasteries, especially in Italy, were in this way plundered and desolated.

[4] Yet Servatus Lupus, abbot of Ferrieres, a man of piety and a zealous promoter of learning, had not only to complain that his monastery was impoverished by contributions levied for military service, but that he was obliged to sacrifice his all to obtain from king Charles the Bald exemption from personal service. He says of this monarch, in allusion to this circumstance, (ep. 18): Ut quoniam studia mea non magnifacit, vel dignetur considerare propositum et alia mihi injungere, quae ab illo penitus non abhorreant.

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sonal influence, which was most efficient, to stimulate the zeal and courage of the combatants. Thus about the middle of the ninth century, when the Hungarians, after having committed enormous depredations in a wide circle of country, threatened the city of Cambray, the bishop Fulbert not only provided for the fortification of the town, but appeared himself on the bulwarks, running from place to place, and exhorting his soldiers to fight manfully, for God would give them the victory over the heathen foreigners.[1] So, when in the year 955, the Hungarians deluged Bavaria, and threatened the unfortified town of Augsburg, Ulric bishop of Augsburg, who cheerfully sacrificed himself for the good of his community, mounted on horseback, in his priestly robes, without shield or buckler, and amid flights of javelins and stones, hurled into the city, directed the defence of it at the first pressure of danger, and then after the termination of the first engagement, gave orders for the erection of fortifications until night-fall, spending the rest of the night, a few hours for repose excepted, in prayer. Then after matins, he distributed the holy supper to the combatants, who were about to return to the fight, exhorting them to put their trust in the Lord, who would be with them, so that they had nothing to fear, even in the shadow of death.[2] So Bernward, bishop of Hildesheim in the beginning of the eleventh century, provided for the defence of the people committed to his guidance against the incursions of the Normans.[3] Yet even where such extremities were not urging, it was reckoned by many as part of the duty of giving to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, that they should personally lead their troops to the Heerban,[4] while others endeavored to unite both together, giving to God what is God's, and to Cæsar what is Cæsar's, in such way, as that they might contribute to the war in all that duty required, without doing military service in person.[5] And many influential voices spoke also decidedly against uniting the spiritual vocation with the secular sword. Thus Radbod, archbishop of Utrecht, in the tenth century, declared to his prince, "We are bound indeed to obey magistrates, but it becomes not a bishop to intermeddle in secular concerns. Their only business is to contend with spiritual weapons for the weal of the king and of the people, and with persevering prayer to seek for the conquest of souls.[6] We have already remarked on a former page, how energetically, not sparing even a pope, a Damiani protested against this unspiritual behavior. He speaks in the letter referred to,[7] very strongly against those bishops who, when the possessions of their own church were attacked, forthwith appealed to the force of arms in their defence, and perhaps retaliated the wrong they had suffered, with another still greater. "With what face," says he, "can the priest, as his duty requires,

[1] See the Chronique d'Arras et de Cambray par Balderic. ed. Paris, 1834. l. I. pag. 114.

[2] Life of bishop Ulrich in Mabillon l. c. Saec. V. f 440. § 42. or in the Actis S. Bolland. IV. Jul.

[3] See his Life, Mabillon l. c. Saec. VI. P. I. f. 206.

[4] Like the above mentioned Bernward, l. c. f. 223.

[5] Like the above mentioned bishop Adalbero of Metz. Labbe Bibliotheca Ms. T. I. f. 678.

[6] See his Life. Mabillon, l. c. Saec. V. f. 30.

[7] Lib. IV. ep. 9. f. 56. T. I

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undertake to reconcile contending parties with each other, while he himself strives to recompense evil with evil? Among all the jewel virtues, which our Saviour brought from heaven, there were two, which shone with the greatest brilliancy, which he first exhibited in his own life, and then taught his people to exhibit in theirs, love and patience. It was love that moved the Son of God to come down from heaven; by patience he overcame the devil. Armed with these virtues, the apostles had founded the church, and its defenders, the martyrs, had triumphantly endured many kinds of death. If then it is nowhere allowed to grasp the sword for the faith in which the universal church lives, how should this be permitted for the temporal and perishable goods of the church?" Following out these principles, he declared, that in like manner there was no authority for resorting to force against idolaters and heretics, and that the pious should prefer rather to be slain by them, than to be compelled to this.[1] He cites an example to show how much more could be effected in these times when religious impressions were strong, by such means, than by violence. A French abbot, with whom a more powerful man had a dispute about some property, having been attacked by the latter with force of arms, forbade his subjects to seize their weapons in his defence. With a band of unarmed monks, dressed in monkish habits, and marching under the banner of the cross, he went out to meet the armed force. But the knight and his followers were seized with such awe at this spectacle, that they dismounted from their horses, threw away their weapons, and sued for pardon.[2] After the same manner with Damiani spoke another eminent bishop of the eleventh century, Fulbert, of Chartres, against bishops who had recourse to the sword. He would not allow such persons to be called bishops; for this would be a desecration of that venerable name.[3] They should follow — he said — the example of Christ, and conquer their enemies only by patience and meekness. Nor would he allow any weight whatever to the authority of any person, however exalted in rank or influence, which was brought against him in justification of this abuse; appealing to the words of St. Paul, that not even an angel from heaven could preach any other gospel.

We noticed in the preceding period the influence which the church gradually acquired over the administration of justice, as opposed to arbitrary will and violence. To this point belongs the spiritual judicature of the pope and of the bishops, which was indeed recognized even by the laity, and which could punish many species of immorality that could not be reached by any other judicial power. Already was the principle established in theory, that persons excluded from the communion of the church were rendered incompetent also for all civil

[1] Sancti viri, quum praevalent, haereticos idolorumque cultores nequaquam perimunt; sed potius ab eis pro fide catholica perimi non refugiunt. Quomodo ergo pro rerum vilium detrimento fidelis fidelem gladiis impetat, quem secum utique redemptum Christi sanguine non ignorat?

[2] Also in his letter to Pope Alexander II. (l. I. ep. 15.) Damiani, speaking of the corruption of the clergy, complains of the employment of the clergy in military service, "ferro contra nostri ordinis regulam dimicamus."

[3] Sane nequaquam audeo illos episcopos nominare, ne religioso nomini injuriam faciam. Vid. Martene et Durand Thesaur. nov. anecdotor. T. I. f. 130

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offices and occupations. From the church proceeded the first attempts to place a check, at least for the moment, on the general right of private war, and to introduce cessations of hostilities for certain periods. Thus in France, when after several years of severe famine, the people were delivered from great suffering and distress by an unlooked for year of plenty, and the public mind was thereby disposed to gratitude to God, and made susceptible to feelings of contrition, the bishops and abbots, in the year 1032, availed themselves of the opportunity at several ecclesiastical assemblies, to exhort the people to peace.[1] The circumstances of the times procured a ready admission for their counsels into the minds of the people, and with hands outstretched to heaven, all ranks and classes exclaimed, "Peace, Peace." The bishops required that the weapons of war should be laid aside, and all injuries mutually forgiven. Every Friday, the people should restrict themselves to a diet of bread and water; on Saturday, they should abstain from flesh and from all food in which there was fat; and in undertaking this, all should bind themselves under oath, and in recompense for it all should be freed from every other species of church penance. But whoever refused to bind himself in this way, should be excluded from the communion of the church, should be debarred from the sacraments in the article of death, and refused burial according to the rites of the church. These measures were opposed by Gerhard, bishop of Arras and Cambray, who maintained that the bishops had no right to bind such burdens on the people, and no authority to prescribe as law what the gospel left to the free choice of all. Owing to the diversity of the physical powers of endurance, as well as of moral condition, it was impossible to impose the same kind of fasting on all, nor could this one species of penance be sufficient for all. These representations of Gerhard made, it is true, no sort of impression; nor did that purposed universal peace really go into effect; for this high excitement of feeling passed away quite as suddenly as it had arisen, and the great number of bad ecclesiastics did not know how to throw themselves into the crisis so as to derive enduring effects from this awakening. On the contrary, the wicked lives of many bishops, who obtained their places by simony, had the opposite influence.[2] Ten years later, however, the requisitions were let down at several French synods, and men were content to settle the matter thus: that in remembrance of the time of preparation for Christ's passion to the resurrection, that is from Thursday evening till Monday morning, no person should be arraigned before a tribunal, and no person use violence towards another. These intervals of peace were styled treugae or treviae Dei (the truces of God); and it was the church which ordained them, and saw that they were sacredly observed.[3]

[1] According to the Chronicle of Baldrich (c. 47.) one of the bishops resorted to a "pious fraud," pretending he had received a letter from heaven, which contained an invitation to peace on earth. Similar frauds may have contributed to the wonderful works performed, as the story went, before the assembly of bishops, though a good deal may be referred to the strong excitement which then prevailed. See Glaber Rudolph Histor. sui temporis, l. IV. c. V.

[2] See the complaints of Glaber Rudolph, l. c.

[3] See the Chronicle of Glaber Rudolph, l. c., and Harduin's Concil. T. VI. P. I. f. 919

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2. Internal Organization of the Church.

The church in its internal organization presents to view the same causes of corruption, in the mixing in of secular with spiritual matters, which we have had occasion to observe in what has gone before; and we perceive that the great mass of abuses of the grossest description would of necessity call forth the effort after a radical reformation, unless the church had become thoroughly secularized, and deprived of all power of healthy action. Undoubtedly, pious bishops might avail themselves of their two-fold character, as spiritual shepherds, and as political orders and secular lords, to introduce many improvements in the relations of civil society, to operate in manifold ways for alleviating the distress of the people,[1] and for the promotion of trades, arts and sciences; and many pious and active men, especially in Germany, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, as, for example, a Bernward,[2] and a Godehard [3] of Hildesheim, an Ulric of Augsburg, particularly distinguished themselves by such labors for the good of Germany. But the advantages to be derived by pious bishops from

[1] Fulbert of Chartres demands of the bishops, in the above cited letter: "Pascant pauperes ecclesiae, causa viduarum et pupillorum ingrediatur ad eos, vestiant nudos, et caetera paternitatis officia filiis suis impendant." And pious bishops of these times responded to this demand by true works of holy love. It is related of Radbod, bishop of Triers, that he renounced all the pomp of the episcopal office, so as to have it in his power to devote his whole income to the support of the poor and sick. It was his daily task to visit the sick and provide for the indigent. See his Life Mabillon Acta Sanctor. O. B. T. V. f. 28. When Ethelwold, bishop of Winchester, had in a time of great scarcity exhausted his whole treasury, to alleviate the distress, he, in order to give further assistance, converted all the ornaments and silver vessels of the church into money, saying he could not endure it that dead metal should remain unconsumed while men created after God's image, and redeemed by the precious blood of Christ, were dying with hunger. He purchased up provisions, and supported a very large body of poor people, who from every quarter took refuge with him. He rescued from starvation those whom he found lying half dead in the public highways, and he daily distributed means of subsistence to all, as long as this time of distress lasted. Mabillon, l. c. f. 617. The same prelate took great pains to provide for the instruction of the youth; he taught the young men to translate Latin books into English, he instructed them in music and metre, scattering among them as he taught friendly and wholesome words of advice. Priests, abbots, and bishops were among his scholars. Adalbero, bishop of Metz, concerning whom we have spoken already, displayed a Christian love that overcame all feelings of disgust, when that terrible pestilence of the middle ages, the St. Anthony's fire (ignis sacer or St. Antonii), made such ravages. Manibus pedibusque ardentes, hic perdito uno, hic utroque truncatus pede, hic medio adustus, aliquis tunc primum aduri incipiens undecunque confluebant; every day he devoted himself personally to eighty or a hundred of these sick persons. See Labbe Bibliotheca nov. Ms. T. I. f. 673.

[2] The daily employments of bishop Bernward, of Hildesheim, till noon, are thus described by priest Tangmar, his teacher, who wrote his Life: "After having celebrated mass, he first examined the suits and difficulties which were brought before him; then he attended to the settling of accounts with his clergy, whom he had commissioned to distribute alms and to look after the poor; then went round the workshops, and inspected all the labors, in order to encourage industry. He himself had learned something of the useful arts and occupations, and he endeavored to promote them with great zeal within his own diocese. He constantly took with him many sprightly young men, whom he stimulated on the spot to imitate everything which he saw beautiful and new in the arts. See Mabillon Act. Sanct. O. B. T. VI. P. I. f. 205, or in Leibnitz Script. rerum Brunsvic. T. I.

[3] Bishop Godehard, Bernward's successor, prosecuted these labors. As there was

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this union were also accompanied by great evils. Many entirely forgot in the secular, the spiritual character. In candidates for the episcopal office, men looked rather at the fact whether the person was of noble descent, whether he had powerful connections and a talent for worldly business, than whether he was possessed of the true spiritual qualifications. And the external advantages connected with these offices, made them coveted the more by such as were aiming only after power and gain; and thus the ancient laws of the church respecting the qualifications requisite for such offices, and respecting the canonical age, fell more and more into desuetude, so that even children could be promoted to episcopal posts, in whose case the customary forms for the installation of a bishop according to the ecclesiastical laws, could only be gone through with in mummery, as that zealous advocate for the reformation of the church, Atto, bishop of Vercelli, bitterly complains.[1]

As with the bishoprics, so was it also with the other subordinate offices of the church, which allured men by the revenues and honors attached to them; and the well-disposed bishops must have felt themselves embarrassed, when they could find among their clergy no men actuated by a like spirit with their own, no willing and competent organs.

We saw springing up in the preceding period an attempt at a reformation of the clergy, which, for a beginning, had salutary effects, viz. the canonical constitution of the clergy. But the best laws and forms could avail nothing, without the true animating spirit; and the thing turned by degrees into a mere show. Nobles, attracted by the property and income of the canonicates, intruded into them; the ancient rule was every day less observed, and one body after another fell back into the ancient forms of the society. Finally nothing was left but community of residence. They availed themselves of their collegial union only in the chapter of the cathedral, for the purpose of rendering themselves more independent in the administration of the church funds, and of withdrawing themselves entirely from the bishop's oversight. They tolerated none but the nobly born in their midst; and if a bishop, who would reduce them to order, was not a man of particular descent, they thought themselves the more entitled to despise him.[2] Those nobles, who had managed

a marshy district of country near the city, the scene of many ghost stories, and a terror to the populace, he founded on the spot a chapel dedicated to St. Bartholomew, and a hospital for the poor, and so put an end to the fear of ghosts and to superstition. See the account of his life at the IV. May, c. IV.

[1] See his tract De pressuris ecclesiasticis. Vid. D'Achery Spicilegia, T. I. f. 423: Quidam autem adeo mente et corpore obcoecantur, ut ipsos etiam parvulos ad pastoralem promovere curam non dubitent, quos nec mente nec corpore idoneos esse constet. And Glaber Rudolph complains bitterly of the fact, that as a boy was chosen pope (Benedict IX.) so too there were bishops in the age of boyhood. Hist. IV. c. V.

[2] Thus the clergy, who were dissatisfied with the zeal for reform manifested by Ratherius, bishop of Verona, inferred from the circumstance that he made no great parade, that he surely must have been of low origin; and they reproached him with this. Ratherius represents them as saying of him: Forsitan in patria sua fuerat bacularis (a magistrate's servant); ideo illi tam honor omnis est vilis, filius carpentarii, ideo tam gnarus tamque voluntarius est basilicas struendi vel restruendi. See his

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to procure for themselves the first places, distributed among themselves all the revenues; and often for the clergy of lower grade, educated in the schools, so as not to be on the same level with their predecessors in ignorance, nothing was left but the reversion. Men appealed to usage in defence of this abuse.[1] Those often enriched themselves the most, who cared little or nothing for the service of the church, to the injury of those who labored hardest, but who received little or nothing at all from the revenues, and had to be content with the expectancy.[2]

If people taken from the then rude order of knights, men who sought in the revenues of the church only the means of comfortable or luxurious living, could acquire church benefices without any further preparation, it may be readily inferred what ignorance and rudeness must have prevailed among the clergy. A Ratherius must exhort his clergy not to frequent the public houses, for the purpose of drinking, not to get drunk, not to appear with the marks of intoxication at the altar, not to keep dogs and falcons for the chase, not to wear weapons, not to come to the altar with side-swords and in spurs. To be sure Ratherius labored in a country where the corruption of the church had reached its highest pitch.[3]

The influence of a secular family interest could not be prevented from insinuating itself, in the appointments to church offices, by the laws of celibacy; for as Boniface had already met with much resistance in introducing these laws, so the disregard to them became continually more common.[4] Ratherius found it was a common thing for clergymen to live in wedlock, and to leave their property to their children; in which way property of the church, wrongfully inherited, became private property. He found it customary for the sons of clergymen to become clergymen again, for children from the families of clergymen to marry into them again; so that he must entreat

qualitatis conjectura opera ed. Ballerin. f. 376, or D'Achery Spicilegia T. I. f. 358.

[1] The bishop Ratherius, who failed in all his attempts to have the income of the church benefices divided more equally, and in a manner more conducive to the benefit of the church, among the haughty and intractable clergy who were combined against him, says on this subject: Quod generaliter omnibus est Clericis delegatum, ita inaequaliter et per massaritias (by the single estates apportioned as benefices) dividere, ut quidam illorum inde fiant ex pauperrimis locupletissimi, quidam mediocriter, quidam paene nihil ex eo accipiant omnino per usum et consuetudinem illorum quos jamdiu tenet barathrum; i. e. those from whom this dissolution of the canonical life had originally proceeded, whom he describes as being in hell. See his tract De discordia inter ipsum et Clericos. D'Achery l. c, f. 364. opp. Ballerin. f. 487.

[2] Ratherius says: Qui majus Deo in ecclesia exhibent servitium, aut nihil aut modicum accipiant, qui paene nihil de famulitio unquam actitant domini, locupletes de rebus ecclesiasticis fiant.

[3] Vid. Rather. synodica ad presbyteros, f. 377 and 378. D'Achery l. c. In order to accustom his clergy to do without the common game of dice, the archbishop Wibold of Cambray invented for his diocese an ingenious game of dice, with stones named after the Christian virtues, clericis aleae amatoribus regularem ludum artificiose composuit, quo in scholis se exercentes saecularem et jurgiosam aleam refugerent. See Balderick's Chronicle of Cambray, l. I. c. 88.

[4] In Normandy the marriage of bishops was, in truth, a common thing: Sacerdotes ac summi pontifices libere conjugata et arma portantes ut laici erant. See the Life of Herluin, abbot of Bec, in the eleventh century. Mabillon Acta Sanct. O.B Saec. VI. P. II. f. 344.

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them, at least, not to allow their sons to become clergymen again, nor their daughters to marry clergymen, lest this criminal, unspiritual mode of life, should be propagated without end.[1] And Atto, bishop of Vercelli, in a letter to the clergy of his diocese, complains of the manner in which the church funds thus became alienated and dissipated.[2] In order to prevent this, and to discountenance the marriage of the clergy, laws were passed, requiring that no son of a priest, deacon, or subdeacon, should be ordained to the clerical office.[3] The pious Adalbero of Metz considered it unjust, however, to expose the sons of the clergy to a disgrace not incurred by any fault of their own, as with God there was no respect of persons, and he who feared God and wrought righteousness, was accepted of him.[4]

The efforts directed against the licentiousness of the clergy by Dunstan archbishop of Canterbury,[5] by Ratherius of Verona, and by Atto of Vercelli, in the tenth century, grew out of the same wants, and had the same tendency, with the great plan of reformation constituting the epoch of Hildebrand. The effort to reclaim the clergy to a mode of life better becoming their sacred vocation, went hand in hand with the effort to procure obedience to the laws of celibacy. It was the struggle to support culture against barbarism, the dignity of the priesthood against its desecration; and as the requisition of celibacy was closely connected with the prevailing conception of the idea of the priesthood, hence but few could defend, with a purely Christian interest and on principle, the marriage of the clergy; though this may have been done, perhaps, by the Scottish clergy, who had inherited from their ancestors a more liberal spirit, and who were challenged by the opponents of the strict church discipline of archbishop Dunstan,[6] to defend their cause; and though it must have been done by Ulric, bishop of Augsburg, in the ninth century, if we may consider as genuine the letter to pope Nicholas I, which is ascribed to a person of that name.[7] Archbishop Dunstan, by a firmness of will

[1] See D'Achery l. c. f. 371: Quia prohiberi a mulieribus nullo modo valetis, says he to his clergy.

[2] Unde meretrices ornantur, ecclesiae vastantur, pauperes tribulantur. D'Achery l. c. f. 439.

[3] See the council of Bourges, Bituricense a 1031. c. XI.

[4] The abbot Adalbero's contemporary, who wrote his life, says in relation to this: Episcopi sui temporis aliqui fastu superbiae, aliqui simplicitate cordis filios sacerdotum ad sacros ordines admittere dedignabantur. Labbe, Bibliotheca Ms. T. I. f. 677.

[5] Comp. respecting him the admirable exposition in Lappenberg's History of England, Bd. I. p. 400, etc.

[6] See Osborn, Life of Dunstan, l. I. c. 8. § 47, at the 19th of May.

[7] This tract (published by Martene and Durand, in the collectio amplissima T. I. f. 449.) bears altogether the stamp of a party opposed to the Hildebrandian plan of reform, a party which, no doubt, took the liberty to forge records against the law of celibacy, like the above cited (p. 383) decrees of the council of Tribur; and most probably this letter is to be referred to this last Hildebrandian epoch. In this tract, the arguments derived from the Old and New Testaments are arrayed against the law of celibacy, which arguments (see above, p. 383) were adduced by the defenders of priestly marriage in the age of Hildebrand. The author points to the melancholy consequences arising from forced celibacy. He by no means absolutely rejects the celibacy of the clergy; but is of the opinion, that the pope should simply exhort to the observance of celibacy, not lay down a common law for all. He should leave it free for each individual to take upon himself the vow of celibacy or not, as he pleased, and he should have no authority to require the observ-

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and energy of character, before which even the secular power submissively bowed, was enabled to carry his point in the English church; but bishop Ratherius, under less favorable circumstances, addressing himself to the work with less coolness and wisdom, and hurried by his pious zeal into the indulgence of passion, proved inferior to the task of contending successfully with a barbarized clergy. So much the more was he reproached with his devotion to books, a habit so utterly repugnant to the tastes and inclinations of such a clergy.[1] When he was intending to resume the oversight over the management of the church property, with a view to check the arbitrary proceedings which had come to his notice, the clergy, who had no wish to surrender their independence in this respect, affected the utmost concern lest their bishop should forfeit something of his dignity. "It is beneath the dignity of the bishop — said they — to measure out corn and wine, and to distribute the avails to the clergy." To this Ratherius replied: "It is very true, that the bishops might commit such business to presbyters and deacons, could they find any that might be trusted. But when a bishop is necessitated to do this by his own hands, no feeling of pride should deter him; for with such a course He is by no means displeased, who said: 'He who would be greatest among you, let him be your minister.'"[2]

Though in the preceding period many laws had been passed against the abuse of the practice of absolute ordinations,[3] and against the evils arising from a vagrant clergy (clericos vagos et acephalos) who made themselves independent of the oversight of the bishops; yet in the ninth century these abuses reached their highest pitch, and so long as simony prevailed in the church, neither could this evil be repressed. An Agobard, archbishop of Lyons, had surely good cause to be zealous for the dignity of the spiritual order and calling, and to lament over its degradation, when many of the nobles procured the most unsuitable men, sometimes their own slaves, to be ordained as priests, and employed these, their own bondsmen, sometimes mechanically to perform the rites of worship in the chapels of their castles, sometimes to discharge at the same time the most menial services, to feed their hounds, and to wait upon their tables.[4] The bishops assembled at Pa-

ance of such a vow, except from those who had voluntarily undertaken it. Christ says: Qui potest capere, capiat. Isti nescio unde instigati dicunt: Qui non potest capere, feriatur anathemate. Many suffered themselves to be misled, by the one-sided interest of their hierarchical standing-ground, to say it was better for the clergy to maintain unlawful connections, provided they were unknown to the laity, than to confess before the laity to a regular marriage. Against such sentiments, the interest of Christian morality here beautifully expresses itself: Quod profecto non dicerent, si ex illo vel in illo essent, qui dicit per prophetam; vae vobis Pharisaei qui omnia propter homines facitis. Matth. 23: 5. Praeposteri, homines, qui nobis prius deberent persuadere, ut in conspectu ejus, cujus nuda omnia et aperta sunt conspectui, erubescamus peccatores esse, quam in conspectu hominum homines esse.

[1] They said of him, as D'Achery cites: Solus si liceret tota die sederet, libros versaret vel reversaret. Vid. qualitatis conjectura in D'Achery, f. 359.

[2] L. c. f. 347 beginning.

[3] The ordinationes absolutae. See Vol. III. p. 108.

[4] See Agobard's book De privilegio et jure sacerdotii, wh'ch book taking for its point of departure he then existing notion of the priesthood, was opposed to this degradation of it, c. XI.: Foeditas nostri temporis omni lachrymarum fonte ploranda,

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via,[1] in the year 853, who by the invitation of the emperor Lewis came together to deliberate on the best means for reforming the church, complained that the multiplication of chapels in castles contributed greatly to the decline of the parochial worship and to the neglect of preaching, the nobles being satisfied with the mechanical performance of mass by their priests, and taking no further concern in the public worship of God;[2] whence it happened, that the parish churches were frequented only by the poor, while the rich and noble had no opportunity of hearing sermons calculated to recall their thoughts from the earthly concerns in which they were absorbed, and to remind them of the oppressions suffered by the poor.[3] The council of Pavia also, in the year 850, issued a canon[4] against those vagrant clergy (clerici acephali). It was indeed a praiseworthy thing — the council declared — that the laity should be desirous of having the mass celebrated continually in their houses; but they should employ for this purpose none but ecclesiastics duly approved by the bishops.[5] The people were warned against ecclesiastics and monks roving about from one district to another, who disseminated many errors.[6]

The abuse of the right of patronage, which we already noticed as existing in the preceding period, made continual and rapid strides also amid the confusions of the ninth and tenth centuries; so that the descendants of church-founders carried on a certain traffic with the churches,[7] or exercised an oppressive lordship, with arbitrary extortions, over the parish priests appointed over the churches built by their ancestors.[8] To put a stop to the arbitrary exercise of the right of patronage, the council of Seligenstadt[9] in 1020, decreed, that no layman should confer a church on a priest without the concurrence of

quando increbuit consuetudo impia, ut paene nullus inveniatur quantulumcunque proficiens ad honores et gloriam temporalem, qui non domesticum habeat sacerdotem, non cui obediat, sed a quo incessanter exigat licitam simul atque illicitam obedientiam, ita ut plerique inveniantur, qui aut ad mensas ministrent aut saccata vina misceant, aut canes ducant, aut caballos, quibus feminae sedent, regant aut agellos provideant. The contemptuous words are quoted, with which a person of this class applied for the ordination of one of his servants: Habeo unum clericionem, quem mihi nutrivi de servis meis, volo ut ordines eum mihi presbyterum.

[1] Ticinum.

[2] Agobard: Tantum, ut habeant presbyteros proprios, quorum occasione deserant ecclesias seniores et officia publica.

[3] Quidam laici et maxime potentes ac nobiles, quos studiosius ad praedicationem venire opportebat, juxta domos suas basilicas habent, in quibus divinum audientes officium ad majores ecclesias rarius venire consueverunt. Et dum soli afflicti et pauperes veniunt, quid aliud, quam ut mala patienter ferant, illis praedicandum est? Si autem divites, qui pauperibus injuriam facere soliti sunt, venire non renuerint, admoneri utique possent, ut eleemosynis peccata sua redimerent, ut a fluxu rerum temporalium se abstinerent. Admonendi sunt igitur potentes, ut ad majores ecclesias, ubi praedicationem audire possunt, conveniant, et quantum dono omnipotentis Dei divitiis et honoribus caeteros antecedunt, tanto ad audienda praecepta conditoris sui alacrius festinent. Harduin. Concil. T. V. f. 98.

[4] C. 18.

[5] C. 23.

[6] In the Life of Godehard, bishop of Hildesheim, it is stated (c. IV. § 26.): Illos, qui vel monachico vel canonico vel etiam Graeco habitu per regiones et regna discurrunt, prorsus execrabatur.

[7] As Agobard complains, De dispensatione rerum ecclesiasticarum, c. 15.

[8] See the work of bishop Jonas of Orleans: De Institutione laicali, l. II. c. 18. D'Achery spicil. T. II. f. 293. Solent dicere; ille presbyter multa de mea acquirit ecclesia, quapropter volo, ut de eo, quod de mea acquirit, ad votum meum mihi serviat, sin alias meam ultra non habebit ecclesiam.

[9] C. 13.

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the bishop, who or his representative must first examine and ascertain whether the candidate were of such an age, and of such manners and knowledge, as that a community could be safely committed to his care.

In general, the contemplation of ecclesiastical relations in this period teaches us, that the multitude of abuses in them was well calculated to elicit the plan for a thorough reformation, such as was proposed on the basis of their own papistico-theocratical system by the Hildebrandian party.

Having thus considered the constitution of the clergy, we now proceed to the constitution of the monastic life, which in the church history of the middle ages must from the present time become for us a special object of attention.

III. THE MONASTIC LIFE.

Monachism, which in the beginning, by its austerity of life and zealous activity in the service of God, had presented a marked contrast to the corruption which prevailed among the clergy, was finally drawn itself also into the current of barbarism. The rich possessions which they owed to the deprivations and toils of their original founders, brought corruption into the monasteries. The austere virtues of the monks, that had sprung up and thrived in poverty and in want, perished in the midst of abundance; besides, the wealth of the monasteries excited the covetous longings of noble laymen and worldly-minded ecclesiastics,[1] who contrived to get possession of them, and then disposed of the funds according to their pleasure. At the same time, however, the degeneracy of monachism operated to call forth new attempts at reformation and new efforts to restore the ancient severity — as indeed had often happened before in earlier times.

Such a reformer of the monastic life was the abbot Benedict of Aniane, in the first half of the ninth century. He sprang from a respectable family in Languedoc, not far from Montpelier, where he was born about the year 750. He served first in the court of king Pipin, and next in that of his successor, Charlemagne. Disgusted, while yet a youth, with the life at court and in the world, he resolved to forsake it, and to begin a life of entire consecration to God. The only difficulty now remaining in his mind was to determine what mode of life he should pursue, whether to travel as a pilgrim, or, in partnership with another, to pasture for nothing the flocks of the people, or whether to plant himself down in some city as a shoe-maker, and distribute the avails of his labor in alms to the poor. He finally decided in favor of the monastic life; and his deliverance in a case where his life was endangered, hastened him in the execution of his plan. In the year

[1] The abbot Benedict of Aniane, presently to be mentioned, was obliged to complain before the emperor Lewis the Pious, monasteria fugatis monachis a secularibus obtineri clericis. See the Life of Benedict, by his scholar Ardo, at the 12th February, c. 9.

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774, when diving into a well to rescue a drowning brother, he came near losing his own life. But having saved his brother and escaped himself, he made a vow thenceforth to renounce the world. Become a monk, he disciplined himself by the most rigid austerities. The rule of Benedict itself seemed to him too lax in its requisitions, to be suited only for beginners and weaklings; he aspired rather after that higher ideal of monachism presented in the ancient rules of the East. He soon found, however, that those oriental rules were not calculated for these districts and men, while the Benedictine rule was better suited to form the many for the spiritual life, and proposed a mark which could more certainly be reached under the given circumstances. And he now made it his object to reform the degenerate monasticism of his age according to the model of this ancient rule of the West. He was joined by continually increasing numbers, who caught his own enthusiasm for the old monastic life; and at Aniane in Languedoc, he founded the first famous monastery answering to his idea, whence as a centre his activity as a reformer extended in a continually widening compass. By him the monks were brought back again both to habits of industry and to zeal for doing good with their earnings. In a time of severe famine, he assembled multitudes of the starving poor around the monastery. Their haggard looks moved his compassion, and he would fain have helped them all, but was at a loss where to find means of sustenance sufficient for so many. Trusting in God, he cheerfully went to work.[1] He first directed so much of the grain in store to be laid aside, as would be required to support the monks until the next harvest, and then all the rest to be daily distributed, by monks appointed for that purpose, among the poor. Also meat and milk were dealt out to them daily, and the poor that flocked hither from all quarters built themselves huts around the monastery, in tending to reside there until the next harvest. Thrice when the store of grain set apart for the poor was found to be exhausted, he allowed a portion to be taken from that reserved for the monks. Such was the influence of his example, that every one of the monks spared all he could from his own rations of food, and conveyed it secretly to these poor people. — At the same time, he made the monasteries seats of religious culture and study, to promote which he collected together a library in his convent.[2] Among the marks of the genuinely Christian spirit which governed him, we may observe that when bondsmen were given to the monastery, he declined to receive them, but demanded their manumission.[3] After many convents had already been reformed by the efforts of this abbot, the emperor Lewis the Pious, who had a high respect for him, placed all the West-Frank monasteries under his supervision; and at the diet at Aix-la-Chapelle, in the

[1] Quia nihil deest timentibus Deum, says his biographer of him.

[2] See his Life, c. V. § 25: Instituit cantores, docuit lectores, habuit grammaticos, et scientia scripturarum peritos, librorum multitudinem congregavit.

[3] L. c. c. III. § 13. Si quis de possessionibus aliquid conferre monasterio vellet, suscipiebat. Si vero servos ancillasque copulari niteretur, refugiebat, nec passus est quemquam per idem tempus per chartam monasterio tradi, sed ut fierent liberi imperabat.

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year 817, he published a monastic rule drawn up by himself after the model of the Benedictine rule, for all the monasteries of the Frank empire.

Though Benedict set an example to his monks of strict self-control, and labored earnestly to form them to it, still an outward asceticism was not to him the highest of all aims. He not only confessed, but showed by his conduct and teaching, that humility and love constitute the essence of the Christian life. Chastity without humility, he was accustomed to say, is not acceptable to God.[1] Thus he labored till he was seventy years old. The day before his death, which happened on the 11th of Feb. 821, he took leave of his monks in a short letter of exhortation,[2] and also of Nebridius, archbishop of Lyons. To the latter he writes: "Know, dearest father, that I am in my last struggle; I hasten to the end; already my soul is parting from the body, and in this life I can never hope to see you again with the eye of sense. May He who is able to make a clean thing out of an unclean, a righteous man out of a sinner, grant to us, that we may together attain to the blessedness of the everlasting kingdom, there to sing a new song with all the saints."[3] While engaged, on the morning of the 12th of February, in repeating the church breviary, he felt his powers fail, and exclaiming, "I can go no further," he added, "Lord, deal with thy servant according to thy mercy," breathing out his spirit in prayer.

This reformer of monachism left behind him, then, the first example of a larger society, uniting together many monks in several monasteries under one common head. But this single experiment was still insufficient to stay the destruction which, in these times, was seizing monachism, no less than the clergy. The monasteries fell a prey to worldly minded bishops and greedy barons, and in the absence of spiritual oversight, discipline among the monks became relaxed. Thus we find a synod at Trosley, in the year 909, lamenting over the universal decay of monachism, now fallen into contempt with the laity;[4] and they traced it to the circumstance, that nearly all the Frank monasteries were then in the hands of lay-abbots. This corruption of monachism would necessarily awaken the effort after a new and thorough-going reformation in all such as sought, in the monastic life, a refuge from the world, a school for the cultivation of the spiritual life, and habits of rigid self-discipline.

[1] Esto casto corpore et humilis corde, quoniam Deo accepta non est superba castitas aut humilitas inquinata, and to many he was wont to say: "If it seem to you impossible to observe many commandments, then keep only this one little commandment: Depart from evil and do good, Ps. 37: 27." See § 30 according to the edition of Mabillon Saec. IV. P. I. This belongs to the portion which is wanting in the Bollandist edition.

[2] He wrote to these: In ultimis constitutus ignoro, utrum jam vos videre queam. Nostis, qualiter totis, quantum valui, nisibus, quamdiu potui, vitae exhortationis exempla monstravi sollicitus vestrum.

[3] Ille qui potest facere de immundo mundum, de peccatore justum, de impio castum, faciat nos pariter regno perfrui sempiterno ibique cum omnibus sanctis cantare canticum novum.

[4] The synod says of the monks, who were forced even by the want of the means of sustenance, as no one provided for them, to wander from one place to another (c. III): Quia non solum a vulgo nullo distare videntur vitae merito; sed etiam propter infima, quae sectantur opera, despectionis expositi sunt ludibrio.

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Such an institution was founded by count Berno, of Burgundy, who, dissatisfied with the effeminacy of the majority of the monks of his time, sought to restore, in a number of monasteries, the ancient severity. He died in the year 927. Still more conspicuous was his successor Odo. He was the son of a man of rank, who, by a singular departure from the habits of the noble laity of his times, had given himself to studies, and was also distinguished for his piety. He dedicated his son, born in the year 879, to St. Martin, and the remembrance of this dedication produced afterwards a deep impression on the mind of the young man. In the service of a prince, in the occupations of the chase, and amid other amusements of the knightly order, he had forgotten the books, a relish for which had been given him by his education, and he had been led away from the devotional bent received by him in childhood; but the deeply impressed images of his earlier years made their power felt in his soul. In frightful dreams, he heard himself accused for these frivolous pursuits; he felt dissatisfied with his present occupations, and could not repress the longing after a higher life.[1] A disorder which seemed incurable, long-continued and violent turns of head-ache, induced him to seek relief of St. Martin, and at the age of nineteen he joined the foundation of the canonical priests of St. Martin, to whom his childhood was dedicated, at Tours. He afterwards became eminent for his piety and knowledge, awakened many from a worldly life to penitence, and became their guide in the spiritual life. Long had he travelled in vain through France, with one of his disciples, in quest of a monastery suited to his wishes; until they heard of the convent founded by Berno at Cluny in Burgundy, and here he found all that he desired. His attainments in knowledge were here brought to good account, and the school was placed under his direction. Berno bequeathed to him, by will, the oversight of the greatest portion of the monasteries founded or reformed by him; and the abbey of Cluny, in particular, was made the seat from which a new reformation of monachism proceeded. Odo was a man, as his writings testify, and as we shall more fully show when we come to speak of his character in the history of Christian life, deeply penetrated with the consciousness of the corruption of the church among clergy, monks, and laity; a man full of zeal for the renovation of the Christian life, while at the same time he was very far from placing the essence of Christian perfection in a rigid practice of asceticism, though he endeavored to oppose the severity of monachism to the secularized life of the clergy and monks of his time, and to awaken an enthusiasm in its favor.[2] As contrasted with this prevailing corruption, the example of his pious zeal and of his severity of life was so much the more powerful, and he acquired great authority. The pope sent for him to come to Rome for the purpose of

[1] Odo stated to the monk Johannes, who wrote his life, what he experienced at that time: Quanto amplius me ingerebam hujuscemodi lusibus, tanto rediebam moerens sine omni effectu et fatigatione confossus. L. I. § 8, in Mabillon Saec. V, and in the Bibliotheca Cluniacensis.

[2] In his Collationes l. II. c. VI, f. 191, Bibliotheca Cluniacensis, he says: Ipsi per quos saeculares corrigi debuerant, eos ad contemptum mandatorum Dei per sua mala exempla instigant.

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restoring peace between princes, and he was frequently invited by the nobles to reform monasteries.

At his death, in 942, he left behind him a worthy successor, in the abbot Aymar, and this new association of monks continually acquired greater influence, in producing a reformation of monachism.[1] More conspicuous still was his successor, the abbot Majolus. When amid the disturbances in Rome, by which the papal dignity was so deeply degraded, application was made to the young emperor Otho II, in 975, to secure the election of a suitable pope, this prince called the abbot Majolus to Germany, for the purpose of consulting him on the subject, and, by the most influential men around the emperor's person, Majolus himself was demanded for the office. The latter, however, did not consider himself competent to manage the multitude of secular affairs in Rome, and preferred his allotted calling.[2] He was followed by the abbot Odilo, who obtained deserved praise, on account of his charitable works, especially among the poor people, during a severe famine in France. After all the granaries and magazines of the monasteries had been emptied, he ordered the precious ecclesiastical vessels to be melted up, and sold the ornaments of the church, to alleviate the extreme distress.[3] And it was he, too, by whose influence the truce of God, already mentioned, was instituted. Another influential man, abbot Hugo, the friend of Hildebrand, concludes the series of the presidents of this association of monks, during the present period; and his activity extended into the next period. By means of these societies, growing out of the reformation of monachism, a new impulse was given to the zeal in favor of this mode of life; and such a union of the scattered monasteries under one head, would gradually prepare them for being made still more independent of the bishops.

Many examples in the ancient church showed, that where the moral corruption was most excessive, appeared also the worst extravagances of a fanatical monkish asceticism, called forth in antagonism to such corruption. So it was in the eleventh century in Italy. Eremites planted themselves in the forests, where, in imitation of the Eastern monks, they inured themselves to the severest deprivations, favored by the climate, which made such deprivations more practicable here than in other countries. Their simple habits of life often enabled them to reach a good old age, sometimes more than a hundred years.[4] The contrast which they presented to the moral corruption in the spiritual and secular orders, procured for them so much the greater and

[1] In the Life of abbot Majolus, by his scholar Nalgod, it is said concerning the monastery of Cluny, under abbot Aymar (c. I. § 10): Virtus monasticae professionis, quae in negligentiam tota deciderat, et in ecclesiis Gallicanis praecipue frigescebat, sic per eos est ad suum reformata principium, ut fere totus orbis religionis inde et ordinis veritatem se gaudeat consequutum.

[2] In the above cited Life, § 29, at the 11th of May, it is stated that Majolus, when this proposal was made to him, consulted the New Testament for a divine oracle, and first opening upon the text Coloss. 2: 8, he looked upon this as a warning, that he ought to regard the proposal as a temptation to be avoided.

[3] See his Life by Damiani, c. II.

[4] Damiani Opusc. 61. ad Penzonem.

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more universal respect. Disciples in vast numbers collected around them; and availing themselves of the respect still paid to religion, by the rude and depraved, and of the veneration in which they were held themselves, they often had it in their power to reach the consciences of the proud knights and barons, who feared nothing else. To this class belonged Romuald, sprung from the stock of the dukes of Ravenna. Of him it was said, by one of the mighty lords of the earth, that "No look of an emperor, nor of any other mortal, filled him with such terror as the look of Romuald. He was at a loss what to say, or how to excuse himself."[1] His rebukes procured redress for many under oppression. Those who trembled in fear of the vengeance of their rulers, were shielded by his potent intercessions, which even the emperor Otho III. treated with respect. From his own lips, along with many other sayings, which betray a fanatical, ascetic, and morose view of life, we have also this better word: "A single hymn, sung from the heart and with true contrition, is better than a hundred sung with a wandering mind. Let only the bent and disposition of the heart be right,[2] and no fears are to be apprehended from involuntary thoughts."[3] He settled in different countries; because the multitude of disciples brought around him by the flood of corruption in Italy, forced him to leave the growing numbers, when too great for his own management, under the direction of priors, and seek elsewhere another solitude.[4] But especially renowned was the assemblage of hermitages founded by him at Camaldoli,[5] in the Florentine province, a short day's journey from the city of Arezzo. It was from this establishment the whole society derived its name, Camaldulensians. Romuald died in the year 1027, a hundred and twenty years old.[6]

Furthermore, in the age of the Hildebrandian reformation of the church, in a valley of the Appenines, called Vallombrosa, distant half a day's journey from Florence, began to flourish the congregation of Vallombrosa, under the abbot John, a society which took a zealous part in contending against the corruption of the clergy.

Distinguished, also, among the reformers of monachism in the first half of the eleventh century, by his activity and influence, was the abbot William, from the congregation of Cluny, head over the monastery of Benignus, near Dijon,[7] who had forty convents under his supervision. As there was a great want, at that time, of schools for the people, he founded a number of such schools, and placed them under the direction of monks. In these schools gratuitous instruction was given in reading and in church music. All who wished, bond and free, poor and rich, were admitted to them, and the poor were besides furnished with the means of sustenance.[8]

Another eminent abbot of this century, Gervin, head of a monas-

[1] See Damiani's Life of Romuald, § 66.
[2] The intentio recta.
[3] Vid. vita l. c. § 16.
[4] L. c. § 75.
[5] Campus Maldoli.
[6] Damiani wrote his Life fifteen years after he left the world.
[7] Gulielmus Divionensis.
[8] Acta S. Bolland. I. Januar. Vita c. VI. Januar. T. I. f. 61.

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tery at Centulum,[1] labored earnestly to supply the religious wants of the people, neglected by their worldly-minded clergy, and their bishop, Fulco of Amiens, who cared more for the chase than for the souls of his flock. This abbot had a cell devoted to the express purpose of receiving all who were disposed to come to him, to confess their sins, and seek counsel with regard to the state of their souls. Here he prayed with them. The multitude of the going and coming sometimes left him scarcely time enough in the whole day to take food. To promote the same object, he travelled over France; thus taking up the cause of the forsaken people. But the clergy, who were not disposed to fulfil the duties which devolved on them, became jealous of his influence, and instituted against him the complaint, that, intruding into other men's fields of labor, he presumed to exercise the office of preacher and pastor, without being a bishop, or having received full powers for so doing from the pope.[2] The complaint came to Rome; but the abbot succeeded in clearing up his conduct before the pope, and the full powers were granted him which he before wanted.[3]

Amid the general darkness in Italy, in the tenth century, a monk of Greek origin acquired for himself a great influence, which he faithfully turned to the advantage of both Greeks and Latins. This was Nilus (the Younger), born at Rossano,[4] in Calabria, and founder of several monasteries in Italy. His pious parents had dedicated him from his birth to the sole service of God; and they educated him in conformity to this destination. From his childhood and onward, he read the accounts of the lives of the old venerated monks, Anthony, Hilarion, and others. Thus was awakened in him a spirit of piety, which led him in early life to keep aloof from the corruption of morals in the houses of the great, while he scorned the amulets, the forms of incantation, and other kindred superstitions, so universally prevalent in those times.[5] He had to pass through many inward conflicts, which left behind them a rich harvest of spiritual experiences. He learnt in his own soul, how easily fanaticism may grow out of spiritual pride. While engaged in prayer, or in singing, the thought often occurred to him: "Look towards the altar; perhaps thou wilt behold there an angel, or a flame of fire, or the Holy Ghost; for such sights many others have seen." But to avoid these tempting thoughts, he shut his eyes, and gave himself up the more to penitential feelings. He wrestled with himself, till the sweat trickled from his forehead.[6] On one occasion, finding it impossible to get rid of a temptation that troubled him in a sensuous form, he threw himself with contrition to the ground, and, addressing the Saviour, said:

[1] St. Ricquier, in the department of Somme.

[2] The writer of his Life says: Non considerantes, quia lege non stringitur sancti Spiritus donum.

[3] See in the Actis Sanctor. III. March, or Mabillon. Saec. VI. P. II. f. 330.

[4] *Ῥουσίανον.*

[5] *Ὅθεν αὐτῷ τὸ μισοπόνηρον καὶ ἀποστρεφέσθαι τὰς ἐν τοῖς οἴκοις τῶν ἀρχόντων διατριβάς, μισεῖν τε καὶ ἀποβδελύττεσθαι πᾶσαν περιεργίαν καὶ ἐξουθενεῖν τὰ λεγόμενα φυλακτὰ καὶ τοὺς λεγομένους ἐξορκισμοὺς καὶ τοίγε οὐδὲ τῶν τοιούτων ἀπορήσας βιβλίων.* Acta Sanctor. XXVI. Septemb. § 2.

[6] L. c. § 19.

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"Lord, thou knowest that I am weak; have compassion on me, and ease me of my conflict." Thus lying on the earth, he fell asleep, when in a dream he saw before him a crucifix, and prayed: "Have pity on me, Lord, and bless thy servant." Then Christ, standing at his right hand, made over him thrice the sign of the cross. The vision vanished, and with it he was delivered from all his conflicts. And he saw clearly, that by humiliation of heart before God, and coming to the knowledge of his own weakness, he had attained a condition which he could not have reached by much fasting and many vigils. Being entreated to heal a demoniac, he declared he was quite willing it should be believed he had never prayed to God to bestow on him the gift of healing the sick, or of casting out evil spirits, would God but grant him the forgiveness of sins, and deliverance from wicked thoughts. He endeavored to comfort the father, who presented this request in behalf of his son, by representing to him, that this kind of possession by one evil spirit, was a far less evil than the readiness to serve them all expressed in a wicked life. "Thy son — said he — has but *one* evil spirit, and *this* involuntarily; perhaps this very thing will result in his soul's salvation." He was not seldom visited by eminent men of the secular and spiritual orders, who had various questions to propose to him. He never failed to make the most of such opportunities, to bring home the claims of Christianity on the heart and life; to warn against the false confidence in a dead faith, or any form of outward works, and to lead away the frivolous mind from curious questions, to the one thing needful. It was on some such occasion as this, that he gave to an officer of the imperial household (Domesticus) the Life of monk Simeon, in which he had marked a certain passage, where it was affirmed, that scarcely one out of ten thousand souls attained to salvation. The Domesticus having read it, all exclaimed, with one voice: "God forbid; whoever says that is a heretic. If that be so, we have all been baptized in vain, — in vain we adore the cross; in vain we partake of the eucharist; in vain we call ourselves Christians." Upon this he mildly remarked: "Suppose I should prove to you, that Basil, Chrysostom, Theodorus Studita, the apostle Paul, and the gospel, all express the same thing, what would *you* say, who, by reason of your own wicked lives, pronounce what holy men have said, heretical? But I tell you, that by every particular you have just enumerated, you gain nothing in the sight of God. Be persuaded, that unless you become virtuous, and truly virtuous, no one of you can be saved from punishment."[1] Then all sighing exclaimed: "Wo unto us sinners!" Nicholas the protospatharius (captain of the emperor's guard), a man who trusted in his almsgiving, now spoke: "Yet Christ said, He who gives the poor but a cup of cold water, shall not lose his reward." To this he replied: "That was said to the poor, that none might offer as an excuse, his having no wood wherewith to

[1] *Λέγω ὑμῖν, ὅτι ἐκ πάντων ὧν ἐψηφίσασθε οὐδεμία ὑμῖν χάρις παρὰ τῷ θεῷ. Πληροφορήθητε, ὅτι ἐὰν μὴ ἐνάρετοι γένησθε καὶ σφόδρα ἐνάρετοι, οὐδεὶς ὑμᾶς ἐξαιρήσεται τῆς κολάσεως.*

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prepare warm water. But what will *you* do, who rob the poor even of the cup of cold water?" Then one of the nobles, a man of immoral life, appealed to the example of Solomon, so approved in the Bible. He would like to know, he said, whether the wonderful Solomon was not saved? To this Nilus replied: "What concern of ours is it to know whether Solomon was saved or lost; not to him, but to us, it is said, that whoever looks at a woman to lust after her, has committed adultery in his heart with her already. But of Solomon we do not read, as we do of Manasseh, that after having sinned, he repented." Here one of the priests asked, what was the forbidden fruit in paradise? He answered: "A crab-apple." All laughed, and he added: "Such a question deserved such an answer. Moses did not give the name of that fruit; and why would we know what Moses has concealed from us? You ask not how you were formed; how, like Adam, you were placed in paradise, and what commands you received and transgressed; why you were expelled from paradise, or rather from God's kingdom, and how you may once more rise to your former dignity; but you ask me after the name of a tree, where one is just as good as another?" The wife of a prince, Pandulf of Capua,[1] had procured the murder of a powerful count, for which she was afterwards tormented with remorse. She had sought relief from her bishops, who had prescribed to her, as a penance, to repeat the Psalter thrice a week, and give alms. But failing still to find peace of conscience, she applied to the venerated Nilus. He was very far from making so light a matter of it.[2] By his intercessions, he was the means of saving whole cities; often to save some persecuted person, he undertook long journeys on foot, during violent rains and in the roughest weather, arriving at his journey's end wet to the skin and with stiffened limbs.[3]

When his countryman, Philagothus or John, archbishop of Placenza, who was too much inclined to intermeddle in politics, got entangled in an alliance with the Roman usurper Crescentius, who, after expelling Gregory V, set him up as pope in Rome, Nilus warned him by letter of the consequences of his ambition, and called upon him to renounce the worldly honors which he had enjoyed to superfluity, and to retire from the world. But his words found no hearing. In the year 998, Gregory was restored to his place by the arms of the emperor Otho III, and cruel revenge taken on the archbishop. His eyes were first put out, his tongue and his nose cut off, and then he was thrown into a dungeon.[4]

[1] Vid. l. c. c. 12.

[2] The scholar, who wrote his life, says of his labors (§ 84): He delivered many from evil spirits, but more from impure passions and sinful habits; and the latter work was greater than the former.

[3] He wrote many letters on the subject of such intercessions, which, if they could be recovered, would throw great light on his labors, his character, and the ecclesiastical and political circumstances of his times.

[4] The writer of Nilus' Life charges this cruelty on the pope and the emperor; while Ditmar of Merseburg, in Leibnitz Scriptores rerum Brunsvicens. T. I. f. 354, attributes it to the fidelibus Christi et Cæsaris; which, to be sure, may be considered as applying to the same persons; and even the biographer of Nilus gives it to be understood, that the whole had not, properly speaking, been done according to the will of the emperor, *οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀληθῶς τὸ πᾶν τῆς αὐτοῦ βουλῆς.*

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When Nilus, who was now eighty-eight years old, heard of this at his monastery near Gaeta, forgetting that he was sick and infirm, forgetting that it was the season of lent, when he was most loth to be disturbed in his penitential and devotional exercises, he repaired immediately to Rome. He requested the emperor to put him with the archbishop, that he might live with him thenceforth, and that they might do penance together for their sins. The emperor promised to comply with his request. But instead of this, the archbishop was soon after exposed to new and more public ignominy. Nilus then declared to the pope and the emperor, that they had not offended him, but God. From love to God, they had promised to pardon the unfortunate man. But as they had shown no mercy to the poor being whom the heavenly Father had put into their hands, neither could they expect any mercy from the heavenly Father for their own sins. The young emperor, who was flattered by his teacher Gerbert, was compelled to hear the voice of truth from the poor monk. When the emperor afterwards invited him to ask for any favor he pleased, he is said to have answered: "I have nothing to ask of you but the salvation of your own soul; for though you are emperor, yet you must die like other men. You will appear before the judgment seat of God, where you must give up an account of all your deeds, good and bad."[1] It is reported that the emperor, upon this, bursting into tears, took the crown from his head, and begged the man of God to give him his blessing, which he did.

When Nilus heard that the governor of Gaeta intended to bring his body into the city and give it a public burial, in order that the bones of the saint might serve as a protection for the town, his humility was revolted at the prospect of one day receiving such veneration as was then paid to saints. He preferred that no one should know where he was buried.[2] He mounted his horse and turned his face towards Rome, saying to his monks as he took leave of them: "Sorrow not. I go to prepare a place and a monastery, where I will assemble all the brethren, and all my scattered children," probably meaning heaven. On arriving at Tusculum (Frascati), he rode into a small convent of St. Agatha, saying, "Here is my resting-place forever." He was requested by many friends and by nobles in Rome, to come there, at least to perform his devotions at the tombs of the two first apostles. But he would not again leave this place of his last repose, saying: "He who has faith like a grain of mustard seed, may from this spot also adore the apostles." He begged the monks,[3] that after his death, his burial might not be delayed; that they would not bury him in a church, nor build an arch or any other monument over his grave; but if they wished to set up some mark in order to distinguish his grave, he requested that it might be a resting-place for pilgrims, for

[1] L. c. c. 13.

[2] His biographer says of him: *Ὑπερβάλλων πάντας τοὺς ἐν τῇ γενεᾷ ἀνθρώπους, ἄν τε σημεῖα ποιήσῃ, ἄν τε μή.*

[3] *Μήτε ἐν οἰκῳ κυριακῷ καταθῆσθε, μηδὲ θελήσητε ποιῆσαι καμάραν ἐπάνω μου ἢ ἄλλον τινὰ κόσμον οἷον δήποτε. Ἐι δὲ ὅλως βούλεσθε ποιῆσαί τι σημεῖον διὰ τὸ γνωρίζειν, ποῦ τεθείκατέ με, ὁμαλὸν ἔστω ἐπάνωθεν, ἵνα οἱ ξένοι ἐκεῖ ἐπαναπαύωνται· καὶ γὰρ κἀγὼ ξένος ἐγενόμην πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ζωῆς μου.*

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he also had constantly lived as a wayfarer. He died, in 1005, a tranquil, easy death, corresponding to his life.[1] Pupils and disciples of Nilus continued to labor in these districts, as, for example, the already mentioned Bartholomew, abbot of Grotta Ferrata.[2]

[1] For two days he was seen lying asleep; during which time, no other signs of life were observed in him than a slight motion of the lips, and of his hands making the sign of the cross. One of the monks, on holding his ear to his mouth, heard him repeat the following words: "Then shall I not be ashamed, when I have respect unto all thy commandments." Gregorius, governor of Frascati, a hard-tempered man, on learning this, hastened to the convent with his physician. Kissing his hands, he moistened them with tears, saying, "Alas! why dost thou leave us so soon? Behold! thou no longer holdest out thy hand for me to kiss, as thou wert wont, saying, 'I am no bishop, no priest, no deacon, only a poor old man; why do you want to kiss my hand?'" L. c. c. 14.

[2] See above, p. 376.

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SECTION THIRD.

CHRISTIAN LIFE AND CHRISTIAN WORSHIP.

We find still existing in the ninth century the later effects of those plans and operations instituted during the Carolingian age for the promotion of the general religious instruction and Christian culture of the people. But the seed thus scattered was hindered from springing up by the political distractions immediately following upon that age. The synods of the ninth century were very decided in resolving, that the increase and prosperity of Christianity depended in great part on the right discharge of the predicatorial office; but they must have been aware also how little could be expected in this way, from the major part of the clergy of these times; and hence they would naturally be led to insist on the necessity of establishing special schools for the education of religious teachers. The council of Mentz in 847 decreed,[1] that the bishops should do such preaching as was necessary for the instruction of the communities. They were to expound the catholic faith in such a way as should be adapted to the comprehension of the people; they were to treat of the eternal rewards of the righteous, and of the everlasting punishment of the wicked, of the resurrection, the final judgment, of the works by which men might become partakers of, and by which they would be excluded from, eternal life; and in order that these discourses might be understood by all, each bishop should translate them into the Roman or German dialect of the country.[2] During these times appeared, probably as a *German preacher*, the monk Otfried, from the monastery of Weissenburg in the Elsace, a man who distinguished himself by his efforts to christianize the popular literature.[3] He wrote a *poetical* paraphrase of the gospels, with a view to make the people familiar with God's word in the German tongue. It was his wish, he said, that the praise of Christ might be sung in German,[4] that the Franks might learn to sing by heart what the Bible taught, and

[1] C. 2.

[2] Et ut easdem homilias quisque aperte transferre studeat in rusticam Romanam linguam aut Theotiscam, quo facilius cuncti possint intelligere, quae dicuntur.

[3] The fragments of sermons published under his name by Lambecius, in the catalogue of the imperial library in Vienna, contain simple, practical exhortations. Schilter, who published these again, doubts however, whether they belong to him. See his Thesaurus antiquitatum Teutonicarum, T. I.

[4] As he expresses himself: Thaz wir Christus sungun in unsera Zungun

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also be constantly reminded to reduce it to practice. He thought it a shame, that the Franks, a people not inferior in other respects to the Greeks and Romans, a people who had conquered so many nations, should not possess God's word in their own language. He described it as the peculiar and distinguishing characteristic of his people, that they began everything with God, that they would never engage in an enterprise without consulting Him.[1] The words of Christ and of his disciples were valued by him as the most precious of possessions.[2] Thus we find the same spirit already existing which was destined in later times to bring about among the German people the purification of the church by means of the word of God, and to make Christ the central-point of doctrine.

The third council of Valence in 855, decreed in its 16th canon, that every bishop should, either in person, or by the agency of well instructed ministers of the church, so administer the word of preaching, both in the city and in the country churches, that there should be no want of wholesome exhortation for the people; for when God's word is not furnished to the faithful, the soul is deprived of the element of its life. Herard, bishop of Tours, in his pastoral instructions,[3] written in the year 858, directed that the priests should expound before all the faithful the doctrines of the incarnation of the Son of God; of his passion, his resurrection, and ascension; of the effusion of the Holy Spirit, and the forgiveness of sins to be obtained through the same spirit, and of baptism into the bosom of the church; that they should warn the people against sins, particularly sins of the grosser sort, and instruct them in the nature of the virtues.[4] This spiritual care was, moreover, extended to all classes of the people; — on which point especially, the 14th canon of the synod at Rouen[5] in 879 well deserves notice, on account of the genuinely Christian spirit with which it recognizes the equal dignity and worth of the human soul in all. It is here said: "The priests should exhort their communities to bid or permit the shepherds and ploughmen who constantly dwell in the fields or in the forest, living like the herds they tend, to come to mass at least on Sundays and feast-days; since Christ has redeemed these also by his precious blood. If they neglect this, let them be assured that by so doing, they render themselves accountable for these souls; for when our Lord came into the world, he chose not orators and nobles, but fishermen and ignorant persons for his disciples, and to show by a practical example, as he himself declares, Luke 16: 15, that 'what is highly esteemed among men is an abomination in the sight of God;' and without excluding a still deeper meaning, we may here remark too, that our Saviour's birth was first announced by an angel to shepherds." The necessity of establishing schools for the promotion of religious instruction and of the pre-requisite culture, was also acknowledged. In the year 859, the council of Langres,[6] and the council of Savonnieres

[1] Al mit Gote wirkent.

[2] See the beautiful first chapter, in which he himself describes the object of his tract. Schilter, T. I.

[3] His Capitula.

[4] C. 9.

[5] Synodis generalis Rodomi. Harduin. T. VI. P. I. f. 207.

[6] Lingonense.

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decreed,[1] that wherever God raised up able men for teachers, all suitable efforts should be made to found public schools, so that the fruits of both kinds of knowledge, spiritual and secular, might grow in the church; for it is a lamentable fact, and a most disastrous evil that the true understanding of Scripture has already become so far lost, that the lingering remains of it are now scarcely to be found. Riculf, bishop of Soissons, in the year 899, exhorted his country priests to pay attention to the schools.[2] He advised them to provide themselves with as many books of the holy Scriptures, and as many religious works as they were able, "since out of them they could draw nourishment for souls, as our Lord says, Man liveth not by bread alone." But he who could not obtain every book of the Old Testament, should at least be careful to provide himself with a correct copy of Genesis.[3] Rabanus Maurus, archbishop of Mentz, did much, it is true, by his work De institutione clericorum to disseminate the instructions, which Augustin and Gregory the Great had already given, on the right discharge of the spiritual office, and on the previous training necessary thereto; by this means the clergy might at least come to some knowledge of what they were bound to do as religious teachers. But the defects we have already noticed in the constitution of the church were the true reason why a sufficient number of clergy were never to be found, capable or inclined to study and apply these instructions. The majority of the clergy who came in immediate contact with the people, possessed no other qualification for their office, than a certain skill and expertness in performing the ceremonies of the church. The liturgical element of worship would thus of necessity tend continually to acquire an undue predominance, suiting as it did the prevalent idea of the priesthood; while the didactic element, an element so important for promoting the religious knowledge which was so neglected among the people, would, on the other hand, retreat more and more into the background. From the Pastoral Instructions of Hinkmar, archbishop of Rheims, to his parochial clergy,[4] we may see how little could be expected, even in the times next succeeding the Carolingian age, from most of the clergy in the way of giving religious instruction to the people. "Each priest — he says — should have perfectly committed to memory the exposition of the creed, and the Lord's prayer according to the tradition of the orthodox fathers. Next, he should diligently instruct by preaching to the people committed to his care. He should have by heart the canon of the mass, with all that pertains to it, and be able to repeat the whole distinctly. He should be *able to read fluently* the mass, the commandments, the epistles and gospels. He should know by heart the Athanasian creed, understand its meaning, and be capable of explaining it in the vernacular dialect." In consequence of this want of a direct influence of religious truth on the minds

[1] Apud Saponarias, c. 10.

[2] C. 16. We see from this canon, that schools were also opened for girls; for the bishop forbids his priests to allow boys and girls to mix together in their schools, puellas ad discendum cum scholariis suis in schola sua nequaquam recipiant.

[3] Harduin. Concil. VI. I. f. 415.

[4] Capitula ad presbyteros parochiae suae.

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of the rude people, but recently torn from paganism, and whose conversion, which was by masses, consisted more in show than in any real change, a sensual bent of religious spirit, and a superstition hanging upon the forms of Christianity, would be sure to thrive. Yet among the other phenomena which arose out of the theological culture of the Carolingian age, was a strong reaction against this whole tendency; and several individuals may be mentioned who stood prominent as the representatives of a Christian spirit of reform.

Let us in the first place glance at these few light spots in the general history of the period we are considering. Among them we may notice especially the archbishop Agobard, of Lyons. He found the liturgy of his church corrupted and disfigured by the ignorance of the preceding times, and felt it incumbent on him to amend it by expurgating everything which was not conformed to pure doctrine and to the dignity of liturgical expression. In executing this task, he went on the principle of confining himself as much as possible to scriptural expression.[1] Being attacked for so doing, as an innovator,[2] he composed two works in defence of what he had done.[3] In these works, he declared himself opposed to the too artificial character of the church music, and to the excessive and one-sided zeal which led many to devote themselves, from their youth upward, exclusively to psalmody, to the neglect of the more important studies of their calling, particularly the study of God's word.[4]

In the preceding period, we observed that the moderate use of images, as opposed to the superstition of image-worship on the one hand, and to the fanatical heat of iconoclasm on the other, was defended in the Frank church. These principles had continued ever since to be propagated in that church, as will be seen when we come to speak of the renewed controversies about images in the period before us. It could hardly fail of being the case, however, owing to the want of religious instruction among the people, the prevailing sensuous bent of the religious spirit, and the exaggerated veneration which under these circumstances was paid to the saints, that there would be a gradual but certain transition to the superstitious worship of images. Warmly zealous for the essence of the pure Christian worship of God, Agobard was led by these abuses to write his book concerning images. In this he brings up the great argument used by the defenders of image-worship, viz. that nobody believed that anything divine dwelt in the images themselves; — the reverence shown to the images was really paid to the objects represented by them. To which he replies, that we have no authority for paying even to the saints that worship, which is due to God alone, and which they were ever found to decline. It was

[1] Non cujuscunque figmentis, sed spiritus sancti eloquiis majestas divina laudanda est. De correctione antiphonarii, c. II.

[2] By the liturgical author Amalarius, of Metz.

[3] De divina psalmodia and de correctione antiphonarii.

[4] Vid. De correctione antiphonarii, c. 18: Quamplurimi ab ineunte pueritia usque ad senectutis canitiem omnes dies vitae suae in parando et confirmando cantu expendunt et totum tempus utilium et spiritualium studiorum, legendi videlicet et divina eloquia perscrutandi in istiusmodi occupatione consumunt.

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a cunning device of Satan, to bring back idolatry, and under pretext of showing honor to the saints, to draw men away from that which is spiritual, and to degrade them to that which is sensual. "We may regard images — he says — for just what they are, things without life, sense, or reason. The eye may take pleasure in looking at them; but the soul should worship God, who bestows on his saints the crown of victory, and on us the help of their intercessions." "God alone — says he — must be adored and worshipped by the faithful; to him alone must be presented the sacrifice of a broken and contrite heart. Angels and holy men may be loved, honored; but not worshipped. Not on men, but on God alone must we place our hope, lest that prophetic word be accomplished in us, 'Cursed be the man that trusteth in man.' Jer. xvii." He praises the times when men made images of the cross, but not of the human face, so as to cut off all occasion for idolatry. He approves the proceedings of the council of Elvira, which, in order to banish such superstition, forbade images altogether.[1] From this we may infer, that he would have been willing to see that decree enforced also in the Frank church: for he complains that men were again sunk in idolatry, and in the heresy of the Anthropomorphites. Faith had disappeared from the heart, and men had begun to place all their trust in sensible things. He concludes his book with the following remarks: "Since no man is essentially God save Jesus, our Saviour, so we, as Holy Scripture commands, should bow our knees to his name alone, lest, by our giving this honor to another, God may consider us estranged from him, and leave us to follow the doctrines and traditions of men according to the inclinations of our hearts." With the same pious warmth, Agobard, while bitterly complaining of the tendency to relapse into paganism,[2] attacked the common superstition that there were wizards who had it in their power to raise at pleasure storms of wind and hail,[3] and others again who knew how to avert such destructive phenomena of nature. He himself, as he relates, had saved the lives of many, and restored them to freedom, whom superstition threatened with death for the imaginary crime of witchcraft. He took the same decided stand against the trial by the judgment of God;[4] declaring it a folly to suppose that the more innocent party must always prevail by force, when the contrary had so often happened. God oftentimes reserved the decision between a just and an unjust cause to the final judgment; and it only remained for earthly tribunals to explore the truth by *rational investigation.* With unwavering faith, with earnest prayer and study, the needful wisdom should be sought of God.

Another who manifested his zeal for reform, with even greater freedom and boldness than Agobard, was Claudius of Turin. He was

[1] See Vol. I. p. 293.

[2] Tanta jam stultitia oppressit miserum mundum, ut nunc sic absurde res credantur a Christianis, quales nunquam antea ad credendum poterat quisquam suadere paganis creatorem omnium ignorantibus.

[3] Tempestarios, which reminds us of the African rain-makers.

[4] As well against the law of Gundobald, whereby the duel was introduced into the administration of justice, as against the judgments of God generally.

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born and received his first education in Spain.[1] His opponents called him a disciple of Felix of Urgellis: from which circumstance we might draw important conclusions with regard to the character of his theological training and direction. In what he says against the worship of the cross, we find some indication of a tendency in him to separate too widely asunder the divine and human elements in the character of Christ, and we might refer this to some influence of Adoptianism on his dogmatical mode of thinking. We remarked, indeed,[2] in the general character of Felix as a theologian, the indications of a freer and more independent mode of thinking, than was common to the age; and this seems to have been propagated for a longer time, and to have been further developed in Spain — cut off as she was from the narrowing influence of the Roman hierarchy, under the dominion of the Arabs — than it could be in other countries.[3] But from what Claudius, in the heat of polemical controversy, says against the superstition attached to the sign of the cross, we cannot with any good reason infer that he had a doctrinal theory peculiar to himself respecting the person of Christ; and as his opponents spare no pains to represent him as a heretic, as Jonas of Orleans even charges him with propagating Arianism, — a charge which certainly was altogether groundless[4] — it appears quite evident that no great weight can be laid upon anything that is said concerning his relation to Felix. In his commen-

[1] To this is doubtless to be traced the barbarisms of his Latin style, with which he is reproached by his opponents, Jonas and Dungal. The Spanish Latin of that period was unquestionably, as appears evident from the records of these times, extremely corrupt, — on the point of a gradual transition to the later Spanish language.

[2] See Vol. III. p. 159.

[3] Deserving notice on this point is the complaint about certain heretics scattered about in Spain, which is to be found in a letter of Paul Alvarus to the abbot Speraindeo, in Florez' España Sagrada, T. XI. p. 148. Of these nequissimis haereticis, he says: "Quod trinum in unitate et unum in trinitate non credunt, prophetarum dicta renuunt, doctorum dogma rejiciunt, evangelium se suscipere dicunt, et illud quod scriptum est, Jo. 20: 17. Adscendo ad patrem meum et ad patrem vestrum, ad Deum meum et ad Deum vestrum, male utique sentiunt, Christum Deum ac Dominum nostrum hominem tantum asserunt propter illud, quod de eo in evangelio legunt: De die autem illa et hora nemo scit, neque angeli coelorum neque filius, nisi pater solus." Everything surely in this report, where the stamp of the polemical fanaticism then prevailing in Spain, plainly discovers itself, is not to be taken according to the letter. Since these false teachers are accused of denying Christ's divinity, and of calling him a mere man, simply because they referred to such passages in the gospels as the Adoptianists appealed to in defence of their theory, it was probably their manner of more exactly discriminating the divine and the human elements in Christ, which led to this accusation; accordingly the charge of their having denied the doctrine of the Trinity, was grounded solely on the consequences which their opponents were pleased to derive from their doctrines. But when it is said of them, that they rejected the dogma of the church teachers, and received nothing but the gospel, we may probably infer from this that they opposed the teachings of the gospel to the authority of the older church teachers; and that it was their aim to purge Christianity from later, foreign elements — a kindred tendency therefore to that of Claudius. From the mouth of such opponents it cannot of course be received as absolutely true, that they rejected *the prophets generally*, though with the little testimony we have it is impossible to determine how much truth may be lying at the bottom of this statement. Perhaps they may have simply combatted the arbitrary mode in which the prophets were usually explained; and if Adoptianism (see Vol. III. p. 158) is to be traced to an impulse first given by the writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia, then this *heresy* too might be referred back to the influence of Theodore's hermeneutical principles.

[4] As every fragment we possess of his commentaries proves, and as may be gathered also from his mode of combatting the idolatry of the image-worshippers.

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taries we find no trace of Adoptianism, but rather the contrary.[1] Besides, as the Mohammedans often made the worship of saints, and of images, a great matter of reproach against the Christians, taking occasion from it to accuse them of apostasy from the pure worship of God, so it is not unreasonable to suppose, that under these circumstances the apologetic interest may have called forth the effort to purge the Christian church from these foreign elements. It may be said, however, of all these attempts at explanation, that they are neither necessary, nor sufficiently well grounded; — on the contrary, everything is explained in the most natural manner, by referring to the spirit of pure Christian piety, which he had imbibed from the study of the New Testament and of the writings of St. Paul in particular, constantly employed as he was on the exposition of the sacred Scriptures. We have, moreover, in Claudius the example of a case — afterwards more frequently occurring — where, in consequence of the great tendencies called forth by Augustin in opposition to Pelagianism, and in connection with the doctrines of grace and of inward justification, an antagonism of the Christian consciousness was awakened against the Jewish element, which in the life of the church had become mingled and blended with Christianity. It is clearly evident from the commentaries of Claudius, and from the remarks of his opponents, that he was more attached to Augustin than to any other one of the church fathers. Indeed, he is accused of despising the other church teachers.[2] It is not to be mistaken, that his mind had been deeply influenced by the study of Augustin; that the religious disputes into which he was drawn, grew out of the peculiar bias he had thus received. The evidence of this may be seen particularly in the concluding remarks of the preface to his commentary on Leviticus.[3] He praises God, as the fountain of all truth, goodness and blessedness, from whom created beings derive all they possess, and whom they should only serve as obedient instruments; and here he quotes passages in point from Augustin's work, De vera religione. Then, in allusion to the fierce attacks with which, at the time of his writing this, he was assailed in Italy, he says: "This is the firmest and loftiest sanctuary of our faith. This is the seal deeply stamped on our heart.[4] In asserting and defending this truth, I am become an object of scorn to my neighbors, a frightful spectre to my acquaintance, so that those who see me not only mock at me, but point me out with the finger as an object to be shunned."[5] Here Claudius himself

[1] In his commentary on the epistle to the Galatians, Bibl. patr. T. XIV. f. 155. Col. I. C. he says expressly that the idea of adoption as children of God can be applied only to the faithful.

[2] See Dungal's Responsa adv. Claud. Taurinens. Bibl. patr. Lugdun. f. 204. Col. II. Augustinum adsumit, alios praeter eum solum paene omnes abjicit; yet before he had only said of him, that he had the audacity to set himself up as a judge over the older church teachers, praising and censuring them according to his own liking. After the same manner we are probably to understand also what we have just cited, that he did not acknowledge the church teachers as any decisive authority, but subjected their explanations of Scripture to a free examination.

[3] Informationes literae et spiritus.

[4] Haec fidei nostrae munitissimum atque altissimum sacramentum et cordi nostro firmissimus character impressus.

[5] Hanc adstruendo et defendendo verita-

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designates the starting-point from which all his controversies proceeded, and shows how closely they were connected with the elements of his Augustinian theology. The interest of practical Christianity stands foremost in all his scriptural commentaries. Grace, the source of genuine sanctification; the temper and disposition, the main thing to be regarded in the estimation of moral worth; a disposition of love to God, purified from all reference to reward, the essence of the genuinely Christian temper;[1] worship of God in the spirit, the characteristic of true piety; — these are the ideas to which he assigns the first importance. And it is easy to understand therefore in what sort of relation he must of course have been placed to the reigning sensuous element in the religious tendency of his age. Hence, too, another thing which characterizes him is his more profound apprehension of the nature of sin, leading him to combat the opinion that it consisted merely in the domination of sense; and to assert that what the sacred Scriptures designate as the "flesh," refers to the entire human nature in its condition of estrangement from God; including, therefore, selfishness."[2] From this ethical point of view, he would necessarily be led to dispute many of the marks by which his contemporaries were accustomed to judge respecting good works. Thus to the merit of good works according to monkery, he opposed St. Paul's doctrine of grace.[3]

Claudius was one, also, of the number of men distinguished for their science and piety, who were brought together from all countries by the Frank church. While the emperor Charles was still reigning, and his successor, Lewis, was as yet only king, he resided at the court of the latter, and was one of his household clergy.[4] Here, in compliance with the wishes of his friends, he began his scriptural commentaries, for the benefit of those ecclesiastics who were unable to go back to the sources of the older church teachers.[5] When this king became emperor, he thought he could do nothing which would be more likely to improve the condition of the church in Italy, a church so far sunk in worldly views, ignorance, and superstition,[6] than by

tem opprobrium factus sum vicinis meis in tantum, ut qui videbant nos, non solum deridebant; sed etiam digito unus alteri ostendebant. T. I. Mabillon Analecta, p. 38.

[1] On Galat. 3: 6, he says, and in his own words, at least in words not borrowed from Augustin or Jerome: Recte talis reputatur fides ad justitiam (ejus) qui legis opera supergressus, Deum non metu, sed dilectione promeruit; and also peculiar to him is the description of true love to God, as such: si propter Deum etiam salutem nostram et ipsas animas contemnamus. Vid. Bibl. patr. Lugd. T. XIV. f. 150.

[2] See his commentary on the epistle to the Galatians, l. c. f. 162. Col. II.

[3] In the preface to his commentary on the epistle to the Romans: Nullam admonitionem meliorem potui invenire, quia tota (epistola) inde agitur, ut merita hominum tollat, unde maxime nunc monachi gloriuntur, et gratiam Dei commendet.

[4] Claudius himself, in his dedication of his commentary on the epistle to the Galatians to the abbot Dructeram, speaks of his three years' residence near the court of king Lewis, in Auvergne; and this residence of Claudius, when a priest, at the court of Lewis, is mentioned also by Jonas of Orleans, in the preface to his work against Claudius.

[5] His enemies objected to him, it is true, that he had done nothing but to compile from earlier writings, without naming the authors whom he made use of. But as Claudius *says himself* that he proceeded according to this method, he is thus vindicated from this charge. His work contains besides many original remarks.

[6] Jonas says: Ut Italicae plebi, quae magna ex parte a sanctorum evangelistarum sensibus procul aberat, sacrae doctrinae consultum ferret.

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nominating him, as he did in the year 814, bishop of Turin. Here Claudius entered a field of labor, where his pious zeal found work enough to do, but where that same zeal in a person of his fiery temperament, might easily lead on to immoderate invective He saw with extreme pain how the essence of Christianity was here placed in making pilgrimages to Rome, in adoring images and relics, in various species of outward works; how men were taught to trust in the intercession of the saints, to the neglect of all earnest moral efforts of their own. He beheld a superstition which bordered closely on paganism, obtaining in the worship of saints, of images, of the cross, and of relics. No doubt, in surrendering himself entirely to the impulses of his pious zeal for the purity of the Christian worship of God, he failed of that wisdom and prudence in managing the minds of men, which would have led him to prepare the way by slow and gradual steps, for an improvement of the life in the church. He declaimed vehemently against superstition; he banished from the churches the images and crosses, which seemed to him to have become objects of religious adoration. He says himself on this subject:[1] "When I was induced to undertake the office of pastor, and came to Italy, I found, contrary to true doctrine, all the churches full of the lumber of consecrated gifts;[2] and because I alone began pulling down what all adored, I was calumniated by all, and unless the Lord had helped me, they would perhaps have swallowed me up alive." Pope Paschalis I. (who ruled from 817 to 824) expressed, as might be expected from the course pursued by the popes during the controversies about images, displeasure at his conduct.[3] But it is remarkable that, although the popes countenanced the fanaticism of the multitude, this expression of displeasure had no further injurious effect on Claudius; perhaps because in the Frank emperor, who valued him on account of his pious zeal, he possessed too powerful a protector. Since in the Frankish church generally there was the same aversion to the superstition of image-worship which prevailed in Italy, and Claudius had been sent there for the express purpose of counteracting it, perhaps there was a more decided disposition to favor him on this point, till it became known how far he had suffered himself to be carried by his zeal for reform. After having maintained this contest for several years, he dedicated, in the year 823, to his old friend Theodemir, abbot of the monastery of Psalmody, in the diocese of Nismes, his commentary on Leviticus; and in speaking at the conclusion of the

[1] In the Apologeticus against the abbot Theodemir, l. c. f. 197.

[2] Inveni omnes basilicas contra ordinem veritatis, sordibus anathematum (Jonas here understands the term *anathema* in the common sense, curse of images. But should it not, perhaps, be understood of the votive offerings, figures of recovered limbs, which were hung up in the churches, in gratitude for the cures, which were supposed to have come from the saints? These gifts may have appeared to Claudius as a sign of the superstitious worship of the saints) imaginibus plenas.

[3] We know this only as a general fact, without a specification of the particulars, from the words of Claudius, in his Apologeticus against the abbot Theodemir, T XIV. f. 199, Col. I.: Displicere tibi dicis, eo quod Dominus apostolicus indignatus sit mihi. Hoc dixisti de Paschali, ecclesiae Romanae episcopo, qui praesenti jam caruit vita.

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preface, in the place above cited, concerning that zeal for the fundamental truths of the gospel, whereby he had been drawn into these disputes, he says[1]: "But the Father of mercies and God of all grace comforts us in all our sufferings, so that we also can comfort those who suffer in any way. Since our trust is in him, and it is through him who protects us with the sword of justice and the helmet of salvation, we are not cast down in all our temptations." In the midst of these controversies, he continued still to work on his scriptural commentaries, though liable to constant interruption from the manifold foreign and secular business connected with the episcopal office, and from his controversial disputes.[2] These commentaries gave him also frequent occasion for unfolding polemically his peculiar principles; but of this he availed himself with great moderation. The first epistle of Paul to the Corinthians would, from the nature of its contents, furnish him with a better opportunity than other epistles of St. Paul, for combatting the Jewish element in the shaping of the Christianity of his age; and hence this book might naturally give offence to some, who had hitherto lived on friendly terms with him. So it actually happened, in the case of the above mentioned abbot Theodemir, a man who, by propounding to him various questions of theology, had been the means of engaging him in the composition of many of his works. This abbot lodged, before an assembly of bishops and nobles, a complaint against the last named work, on account of the heresies contained in it, when Claudius supposed that he was still on friendly terms with him. To judge rightly of the motives which dictated this procedure, and of the honorable or dishonorable character of the act, we should possess more definite information respecting the whole process of the affair. It seems, however, that he was unable to carry the process through; on the contrary, the friends of Claudius undertook the defence of his book, and gave him an account of what had been done.[3] He wrote to Theodemir, complaining of his conduct: "May the Lord forgive you — said he — who is the witness of my life, and who gave me this work to do."

We know not whether it was during or after the time of these transactions, that Theodemir himself wrote him a letter, in which he expressed the sorrow he felt to find the report of his erroneous doctrines, and of a new sect which he had founded, had spread from Italy through France, and even to Spain,[4] and in which he laid before him

[1] Mabillon Analecta T. I. p. 39.

[2] He alludes to this, when dedicating his commentary on the epistle to the Galatians to the abbot Ructeram, by whose invitation he had composed it, he writes to him: Sed quia laboribus et turbinibus mundi depressus hactenus parere jussioni tuae nequivi, modo largiente Deo in isto quadragesimae tempore, etc.

[3] We see this from the letter of Claudius to the abbot Theodemir, attached to his commentary on the fourth book of Kings, which Zacharia first published in his Bibliotheca Pistoriensis, T. I. p. 64. He says there: Pervenit ad manus meas epistola ex aquis regio dicto palatio, qualiter tu librum tractatus mei, quem tibi ante biennium praestiti, in epistolis ad Corinthios episcoporum judicio atque optimatum damnandum ad eundem jam dictum palatium praesentari feceris, quem tractatum ibidem non damnandum, sed scribendum amici mei non solum humiliter, sed amabiliter susceperunt.

[4] The words of Claudius, in his vindication: Quod rumor abierit ex Italia de me

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those points, which he supposed to contain heresy. He doubtless exhorted him to abandon such errors. Claudius, upon this, composed a work, in defence of his conduct and of his doctrines against these charges, wherein he unfolded his principles with great boldness and the most violent zeal. He declared that on no point had he set forth erroneous doctrines, or been a schismatic; but that he held firmly to the unity of the church, preached the truth, and defended the church; that he had always hitherto combatted superstition and error, and would with God's help always continue to combat them.[1] He attacked in this work every mode and form of image-worship; he exposed, as Agobard had done, every false plea, which could be employed in its palliation. "If those — said he — who have forsaken idolatry, worship the images of the saints, then they have not forsaken idols, but changed their names. Whether thou paintest thy walls with figures of St. Peter and St. Paul, or of Jupiter and Saturn, neither the latter are gods, nor the former apostles. If men must be worshipped, it were much better to pay that worship to the living than to the dead; that is, to that wherein they bear the image of God, than to that wherein they are like to the brute, or rather to lifeless wood and stone. If the works of God's hands (the stars of heaven) ought not to be worshipped, much less ought the works of human hands to be worshipped; even the worship of saints will not bear to be excused, for these never arrogated divine honors to themselves. Whoever seeks from any creature in heaven or on earth the salvation which he should seek from God alone, is an idolater."

Here Claudius appears only as an opponent of image-*worship*, though the manner in which he speaks of it would lead us to conjecture, that he was no friend to religious symbols generally. But though his Frankish opponent complains of him particularly for unconditionally condemning religious images, and for not distinguishing the right use from the abuse of them, yet it is by no means clear from the declarations of Claudius lying before us, that he would forbid the making and using of such images in themselves. Only in the heat of his zeal against the superstition of image-worship he made use of expressions which might seem directed against religious images generally; for it is evident that he banished them from the churches only because he thought he could see no other way of getting rid of the superstition. Hence then his zeal also against the sign of the cross, which elsewhere was approved by all parties. And his mode of expressing himself in this zeal to lead away the mind from *all* sensuous symbols to spiritual communion with the Redeemer, was certainly liable to misconception, and might well expose him to many suspicions of heresy. He said of those who by the sign of the cross pretended to honor the memory of Christ's passion, "like the godless, they take

per omnes Gallias usque ad fines Hispaniae, quasi ego sectam quandam novam praedicaverim contra regulam fidei Catholicae. Vid. Bibl. patr. Lugd. T. XIV.

[1] Sectas et schismata et superstitiones atque haereses in quantum valui compressi, et pugnavi et expugnavi et expugnare, in quantum valeo, prorsus Deo adjuvante non cesso.

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pleasure in nothing that belongs to the Saviour but the shame of his sufferings. Like the Jews and pagans, who knew nothing of his resurrection, they would have only a suffering Christ, and understand not what the apostle says, 'though we have once known Christ after the flesh, yet now henceforth know we him thus no more.' "[1] If one must worship every piece of wood bearing the shape of a cross, because Christ hung on the cross, for the same reason one should worship also many other things with which Christ came in contact while living in the flesh, where he adduces many absurd and trivial examples. "Thus one should worship all virgins, because he was born of a virgin; one should worship the manger, because at his birth he was laid in a manger. For the same reason, ships might be worshipped, because he spent much time in ships, and from ships taught the multitude,"[2] etc. We might indeed be led to infer from such declarations, that Claudius had no presentiment of the significance of the cross for the Christian consciousness, and that he did not even recognize the fact which it symbolizes, the redemptive sufferings of Christ in their significance for the Christian consciousness.[3] But other declarations in his writings prove the contrary; and doubtless it was only his zeal against the fleshly mode of apprehending Christianity, and for the spiritual and moral appropriation of it which misled him into such violent expressions. To point men away from the sensuous worship of the cross to the spiritual following after Christ in the fellowship of his sufferings, and in self-renunciation, was to him the principal thing; and hence the vehemence of his zeal against everything which tended to draw men away from this. Thus he says against the fleshly worshippers of the cross, "What *they do*, is quite a different thing from what *God has commanded*. God has commanded us to bear the cross, not to adore it; they are for adoring it, because they are unwilling to bear it either spiritually or bodily.[2] To worship God after this manner, means to turn away from him; for he has said: 'Whoever will come after me, let him deny himself and take up his cross and follow me;' for he who does not break away from himself, cannot draw near to him who is higher than himself; no

[1] These seem to have been favorite words with Claudius, marking the spiritual tendency of his views of Christianity; as in fact he referred everything to spiritual union with Christ, and opposed this to ceremonial rites. Comp. the fragments of Claudius, published by Dr. Rudelbach. Havniae, 1824. p. 44.

[2] Adorentur agni, quia de illo scriptum est: ecce agnus Dei, qui tollit peccata mundi, sed isti perversorum dogmatum cultores agnos vivos volunt vorare et in pariete pictos adorare. Perhaps an allusion to the custom of keeping the feast of the passover.

[3] From a passage in his commentary on the epistle to the Galatians, it might be inferred that he regarded Christ's death on the cross, as if he endured it as a penalty for the violation of the Mosaic ceremonial law, and thereby delivered the faithful from the binding power of that law: Itaque illa carnaliter non observando carnali conflagravit invidia et suscepit quidem poenam propositam illis, qui eam non observassent, sed ut credentes in se talis poenae timore omnino liberaret. In what follows, however, he apprehends the redemptive sufferings of Christ in a higher sense. Vid. Commentar. ep. ad Galat. fol. 151.

[2] Deus jussit crucem portare, non adorare, isti volunt adorare, quam nolunt nec spiritaliter nec corporaliter secum portare. It is not clear what he meant by this antithesis of spiritaliter and corporaliter, Perhaps spiritual self-denial and bodily suffering.

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man can grasp that which is above him, but by self-sacrifice.[1] Again, he says, "To fools we are compelled to speak that which is foolish, and cast stones at stony hearts.' Return to reason, ye who have fallen from the truth and love vanity; ye have become vain, ye who crucify the Son of God afresh and put him to an open shame, and have thereby made the souls of poor men in thousands companions of evil spirits. By the shameful sacrilege of images, you estrange them from their Creator and plunge them in everlasting ruin." He invites men to seek after inward fellowship with Christ, when he says: "Ye blind, return to the true light, which enlightens every man that cometh into the world; which light shineth into the darkness and the darkness comprehendeth it not; ye who, not beholding that light, walk in darkness and know not whither you go, because the darkness hath blinded your eyes." Claudius, in this sense, attacked everything else which, as an object of false confidence, was substituted in the place of one's own moral efforts, no less than he did the worship of saints. He held up as opposed to this the passage in Ezekiel 14: 14; "This is said," he observed, "to warn us against trusting to the merits or to the intercession of saints; because no one who has not the same faith, the same righteousness and truth, whereby the saints obtained the divine approbation, can be saved."[2] He had contended against the frequent pilgrimages to Rome, and especially against the confidence reposed in them at the expense of practical religion — as he himself says: "The foolish men, to the undervaluing of all spiritual instruction, are for going to Rome in order to attain everlasting life." Nor did he by any means contradict himself, as he is accused of doing by Jonas of Orleans, when he spoke so strongly against the pilgrimages, and still would not own to Theodemir, that he absolutely condemned them; for it was not making the pilgrimage to Rome in itself which he condemned, but only the opinion which supported the practice, the opinion that there was something meritorious in this act, that true penance consisted in this, that a man thereby made himself sure of enjoying the intercession of St. Peter. Disputing the high value ascribed to these holy pilgrimages, he says: "One gets no nearer to St. Peter by finding himself on the spot where his body was buried, for the soul is the real man."

In general, he denied that St. Peter possessed any continuous power to bind and to loose;[3] "Christ in fact did not say to Peter, 'What thou loosest *in heaven*, shall be loosed also upon earth, and what thou bindest *in heaven*, shall be bound also on earth,' as he must have

[1] Quia videlicet nisi qui a semetipso deficiat, ad eum, qui super ipsum est. non adpropinquat nec valet apprehendere, quod ultra ipsum est, si nescierit mactare quod est.

[2] Also in his Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians an allusion is found of this kind; for in comparing Galat. 6: 2 with 5, he remarks: Obscure licet docemur per hanc sententiolam novum dogma, quod latitat, dum in praesenti saeculo sumus, sive orationibus sive consiliis invicem posse nos adjuvari. Cum autem ante tribunal Christi venerimus, nec Job nec Daniel nec Noë rogare posse pro quoquam sed unumquemque portare onus suum. L. c. fol. 164. Col. II.

[3] Worthy of remark, too, is what he says in his Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians concerning the relation of Peter and Paul: Petrum solum nominat et sibi comparat, quia primatum ipse accepit ad fundandam ecclesiam (inter Judaeos), se quoque pari modo electum, ut primatum habeat in fundandis gentium ecclesiis. Vid. fol. 147.

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said, if a power to bind and loose still belonging to Peter at the present time, had really been meant; but Christ employed the opposite mode of expression. The power of acting as spiritual judges was entrusted to bishops only during the period of their natural lives." Turning upon the abbot himself, he said to him: "If to do penance and to make the pilgrimage to Rome be one and the same thing, why for so long a time hast thou received so many souls into thy monastery for the purpose of doing penance, and, retaining them there instead of sending them to Rome, made them rather serve thyself? For as thou sayest, thou hast a congregation of a hundred and forty monks, all of whom came to thee and gave themselves to the monastery for the sake of penance, and not one of whom thou sufferest to go to Rome." By so doing he must call down on himself that sentence of our Lord against those who gave offence to the least. There was no greater offence than to hinder a man from taking the course which would lead him to eternal blessedness. We perceive here the aversion of Claudius to the monastic life, and to the rule of the abbots. Theodemir had reproached him with incurring the displeasure of the Dominus apostolicus. He replied, "The title of apostolicus does not belong to him who administers a bishopric founded by an apostle, but to him who truly fulfils the apostolical vocation:[1] to those who occupy the place without fulfilling the vocation, should be applied the passage in Matthew 23: 12." Doubtless he meant to say that he felt in nowise bound to obey the pope, where, as in this matter, the pope stood opposed to the apostolical doctrine.[2]

Theodemir hereupon wrote an apology in opposition to Claudius, in which, so far as we can judge from the fragments that have been preserved,[3] he made a good defence of himself on the fundamental principles inculcated within the pale of the Frankish church. "If the monks — says he — are bound by their special calling to a quiet residence in one spot, and hence cannot for special reasons undertake the journey to Rome, it is still by no means inconsistent with this, to consider it a praiseworthy thing for men to undertake, out of love for the heavenly land, so toilsome a journey, and visit the churches of those apostles, with whose souls it is impossible for them here to mingle. Although the passage in 1 Tim. ii. might be rightly applied against such as suppose that men can pray only where an altar has been erected, or relics are to be found, yet though permitted and bound to pray in every place, men may still choose to visit one particular spot for the purposes of devotion, as Paul made a journey to the temple in Jerusalem." He utterly repelled the assertion of Claudius that the monks had come to him for the sake of penance, and that they *were to serve him*. To

[1] Non ille, qui in cathedra sedet apostoli, sed qui apostolicum implet officium.

[2] Also the distinction of a visible and invisible church is found hinted at in ep. ad Galat. f. 142. Dupliciter ecclesiam posse dici, et eam, quae non habeat maculam aut rugam et vere corpus Christi sit, et eam, quae in Christi nomine absque plenis perfectisque virtutibus congregetur. Therefore the community of those who only confess Christ outwardly, without the right disposition — the church in an improper sense.

[3] In the work of Jonas of Orleans, l. III. De cultu imag. f. 190. T. XIV. Bibl. patr. Lugd.

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say this of one's self would be presumptuous arrogance in any man. It was not to take refuge in *him*, but in the mercy of the Lord, and to seek salvation from Him, that they had come to the monastery.

As may be inferred from the language of one of his opponents, Claudius was cited before an assembly of bishops; but he did not present himself, as he could easily foresee that it would be impossible for him to come to any understanding with the bishops of this country; and perhaps in the contempt which he expressed for them, he yielded too much to his indignation against superstition.[1] But it is remarkable,[2] that the bishops took no further steps against him, whether they were deterred by the favor in which Claudius stood with the emperor, or whether they were drawn away from this matter by other outward affairs which they considered of greater moment. Meanwhile, however, the tract of Claudius in defence of his opinions furnished abundant occasion for charging him with heresy; it was complained of before the emperor Lewis,[3] as a work containing heretical views, and so it was regarded by men of note. A number of propositions were extracted from it which were pronounced heretical;[4] and a certain Dungal, probably from Scotland or Ireland, undertook, in the year 827,[5] to refute it, and called upon the Frank princes to take measures for preventing the spread of these errors. The emperor Lewis himself gave it in charge to Jonas, bishop of Orleans, to write a refutation of the above mentioned propositions. But as in the meanwhile, about the year 839, Claudius died, Jonas suffered the matter to lie.[6] But when he was informed that Claudius had succeeded in gaining admission for his principles in those districts, and had left behind him a party which followed them, he felt himself called upon to resume and complete the work he had undertaken.

Jonas approved the zeal of Claudius against the image-worship of Italy; but he finds fault with him for not having proceeded with more forbearance and caution, and distinguished the right use of images from the abuse of them,[7] for arrogantly asserting that he alone taught the truth, for confounding the moderate use of images in the Frank and German church with the Italian image-worship, for not sparing even the sign of the cross, and for attacking the worship of the saints and pilgrimages. In defence of the veneration paid to the sign of the cross he gives a reason, which he might have applied indeed with equal propriety to the worship of images: "The whole act — he said — was not an expression of reverence for the cross, but a mark of reverence and love to him, who by the cross destroyed the power of death." He spoke

[1] Dungal remarks in his tract against Claudius (l. c. f. 223): Renuit ad conventum occurrere episcoporum, vocans illorum synodum congregationem asinorum.

[2] For this Dungal accuses them: Illi nimium patientes haec diutius dissimulare non debuerant.

[3] See the preface to the work of bishop Jonas against Claudius.

[4] The same which we here avail ourselves of, as the work of Claudius himself no longer remains.

[5] As he himself says, two years after the Parisian synod on images.

[6] As he himself says in the above cited preface.

[7] Immoderatus et indiscretus zelus. Quia errorem gregis sui ratione dirigere neglexit, et eorum animis scandalum generavit et in sui detestationem eos quodam modo prorumpere coëgit. L. c. f. 168.

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of the custom of bowing the head and kissing the books of the sacred Scriptures, alluding particularly to that custom in the church where the clergy, after the lesson from the gospels had been read, kissed one after another the holy evangelists, an act — he said — intended to show reverence and love to Him whose word had just been read — not to the parchment and ink, but to the author of the law.[1] As to pilgrimages, Jonas agreed with Claudius, that they could not be regarded as anything good in themselves, aside from the disposition and motives of those who made them; but the same — he supposed — might be said of all good works. To fast, to give alms, was no good thing when done from pride and vanity. Claudius ought therefore to have judged of pilgrimages also according to the different motives with which they were undertaken.[2] He himself ascribes to pilgrimages to Rome, undertaken for the purpose of obtaining the intercessions of the apostle Peter, so much worth as this, that they had an influence to awaken zeal for the worship of God, and that works undertaken from love to God were sure to have their reward. Moreover, it was a principle implanted in the human mind, that the actual beholding of a thing operated more strongly on the feelings, than hearing the reports of others.[3] After the same manner Walafrid Strabo expressed himself on this subject,[4] in his liturgical work written about the year 840, and entitled: De exordiis et incrementis rerum ecclesiasticarum. He too declared himself[5] opposed to both the erroneous extremes, the unconditional rejection of images, and that veneration of them which bordered on idolatry. "If the arts of the painter and sculptor — says he — must be censured, because their works mislead the uncultivated to adoration, then God might be blamed for having formed creatures which, by the impression they produce, mislead erring mortals to pay them divine honors. If we ought to destroy images on account of this abuse of them, so on the same principle we ought to destroy churches, lest some might be led to suppose that the omnipresent God is limited to a particular place. Thus it might happen, that in attempting to avoid everything which might furnish occasion of error to the simple, nothing would be left to us as a means of exercising our devotion, or of elevating the simple and ignorant to the love of invisible things." Archbishop Hinkmar, of Rheims,[6] also still advocated the same principles, as may be seen from the fact that he describes the image-worshippers and the iconoclasts among the Greeks as two parties who

[1] He defends, it is true, the adoratio crucis attacked by Claudius, but he softens this expression by the added explanation: Volumus more ecclesiastico ob recordationem passionis dominicae crucem adorare i. e. salutare. T. II. f. 183.

[2] Satius itaque erat, te hoc opus ex mentis pensasse judicio, et sicut alia media bona, ita et hoc quoque aut cordis devotione judicasse utile vel certe ob indevotionem minus profuturum sanxisse. L. III. f. 189.

[3] Sane est etiam proprium humanae menti, non adeo compungi ex auditis, sicut ex visis.

[4] From A. D. 842, abbot of Reichenau (Augia), not far from Constance.

[5] C. 8.

[6] It is to be lamented that Hinkmar's tract, probably occasioned by the controversies then existing on this subject, which Flodoard quotes in his history of Rheims, has not come down to our times. Scripsit etiam librum flagitantibus coëpiscopis fratribus suis, qualiter imagines salvatoris vel sanctorum ipsius venerandae sint cum epilogo quodam metrice digesto. L. III. c. 29.

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erred on opposite extremes; that he set over against both extremes the tradition of the fathers and the doctrine of Scripture, and that he speaks with approbation of the Carolinian books, which he had read in his youth.[1] Nevertheless, at such a time when the tendency of the religious spirit was so strongly directed to sense, when there was such a lack of educated clergymen, and the influence of the Romish church in which image-worship reigned supreme, was so great, this superstition could not fail eventually to pass over also to the church of the Franks. Especially as the dark times of the tenth century were now commencing, times so inauspicious to pure religion, that already at the synod of Trosley in the beginning of this century, we find the bishops complaining thus: "It is to be charged to our negligence and ignorance and to that of our fellow-laborers, that in the churches many are to be found sunk in the lowest vice, and multitudes almost without number of every sex and order, who to the years of old age have never obtained so much correct knowledge of the simple faith, as to be able to repeat the words of the confession of faith, or of the Lord's prayer."[2]

Yet even in these times of gross darkness, individual instances were not wanting of a countervailing influence, proceeding from organs of a purer, Christian spirit. We see shining forth in the midst of all this darkness a man, for example, like Nilus, who, at any period, might justly be esteemed a clear light of the Holy Spirit. And in the same country, which was at that time the seat of the worst superstition, in Italy, stood forth an individual, not to be compared indeed with Nilus for purity of disposition and zeal sanctified and ennobled by the spirit of love and gentleness, but still manfully earnest in contending with the fleshly Christianity of the times, and the immorality which served as its prop,—Ratherius, bishop of Verona. He attacked with boldness and vigor, the conduct of the wicked clergy, who by encouraging men to rely on absolution, and indulgences, without impressing on their hearts the nature and the conditions of true penitence, did but confirm them in their sinful propensities. Such clergymen, he styled *murderers of souls*.[3] The same bishop also enjoins it on his parochial priests, as a duty, not to bestow absolution on any man for any reasons whatsoever, unless he gave signs of true penitence.[4] It is a fact which serves to characterize both him and his clergy, that the latter found fault with him because he made the way of salvation too hard for the people, and promised the kingdom of heaven to none but the suffering.[5] In particular, he distinguished himself in his fast-sermons by the boldness and decision with which he attacked every species of mock penitence, and

[1] See the opusculum contra Hincm. Laudunensem, c. 20. T. II. opp. f. 457.

[2] C. 15.

[3] He speaks of ecclesiastics, who observed the church laws so far as to refrain from beating sinners with the fist or with rods; but who did them a fouler wrong, in that they murdered them spiritually. Si non percutiat fideles delinquentes (quod et canonibus interdicitur) pugno vel baculo, et adulterinae absolutionis, largitionis vel certe benedictionis flagello aut pessimorum actuum interficiat illos exemplo. De contemptu canonum P. I. § 17. ed. Ballerin. f. 355; or D'Achery spicileg. T. I. f. 350.

[4] Nullus vestrum, minus digne poenitentem cujuscunque rei gratia ad reconciliationem adducat. In his Synodica, § 8.

[5] Calamitosis iste solum regnum Dei promittit, l. c. D'Achery, f. 358.

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all the props of a false security joined to a sinful life. Thus he in veighs against those,[1] who would indemnify themselves for fasting at some particular season, by drunkenness and gluttony at other times. "*They* have not rightly fasted — said he — who save what they have abstracted from their bodies, as an offering either for their appetites or for their avarice. Nor is there anything which can please God in the fasts of those who in the season of fasting are still busy with calumnies, contentions, and other evil works. It were better, as St. Jerome says, to put up daily with a less amount of food, than to fast severely all at one time. It were better, if for no other reason, because the latter may be done out of mere vanity." Again, he says, "We ought not to suppose, that good can be balanced off against evil; that one may fast, for instance, give alms, forgive injuries, pray, and then be allowed to commit adultery or other crimes with impunity; for the forgiveness of sin is promised to none, but those who repent of it and forsake it."[2] He spoke against those, who ascribed undue importance to a dead and unproductive faith, and to a participation in the outward fellowship of the church; who promised all baptized and orthodox Christians final salvation though they might have to endure the pains of purgatory; who said, God is too merciful to suffer any man who is a Christian to be lost in hell, though they would have said the truth, had they understood, that no man is a Christian but he who does the will of Christ. So far was such a dead faith without works from being of any avail, that on the contrary they are the more deserving of punishment, who possess the means of grace so far beyond others, and yet make no use of them for their own improvement. He exposed the folly of relying on any species of good works whatever, to which a false value was ascribed when isolated as an opus operatum and considered apart from the temper of the heart; as for example, when property wrongly acquired was given as alms. The essential thing was, to seek to do good, not for the sake of the idle fame of it, but for the honor of God's law, and from sympathy with all that is human. Everything depended on the disposition of the heart; and he who was so poor as to have nothing to give, could still give himself, that is, his heart, in a sympathizing love.[3] In exhorting to prayer, he also speaks against the opus operatum, and points to the inward temper as the essential thing. "They — says he — do not rightly pray, who ask of the Lord, not that which he has commanded us to ask, but rather that which he has forbidden; for he bids us to long and seek after heavenly things, while we seek after the things of earth. He bids us pray for those who persecute us; but we think impious prayers against them." He spoke

[1] D'Achery, f. 384 et seq.

[2] So also praeloquiorum, l. VI. Martene et Durand. monumentor. et scriptor. vet. collectio, T. IX. f. 948: Poenitentiam vero nec iste nec ille digne agere convincitur, si dum unum quodlibet vitium sese macerando insequitur, aliud simile aut forsitan gravius aut certe plura alia committere non veretur.

[3] Vid. l. c. f. 386. So also in the VI. book of his Praeloquia Martene et Durand. T. IX. f. 943: Quodlibet bonum quanquam minimum, si propter caritatem facis, securus esto, cum fructu facis. Si propter aliud facis, ne erres, inaniter facis. A quolibet malo si caritatis amore compesceris, mercede non carebis. Si ob aliud agis, nec venia nedum gratia dignus haberis.

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against the seemingly devout, who spent the night in prayer and spiritual songs, but the day in idleness and uncharitableness, though the day was meant for labor, and the night for repose. True prayer — he said — is that which springs from worshipping God in spirit and in truth. The opinion which Ratherius entertained of pilgrimages, may be gathered from the record of his own meditations on a certain occasion. In the year 966, when on the eve of a journey to Rome on matters of business, he proposed the question to himself, *why am I going to Rome?*[1] "Not — he answered — for the sake of prayer," arguing from John 4: 21, that every man can worship God in spirit and in truth even in his own house. "Nor is it to learn what is good and well-pleasing to God, Micah 6: 8, "He hath showed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God; — not merely when we go to Rome, but in whatever other place we may find ourselves. But he walks constantly with God, who never departs from His commandments. In this consists the law and the prophets, that we at all times, in thought, word, and deed, follow Christ."

The earnest desire of Ratherius to promote spiritual views of Christianity, led him to use his influence against a species of sensuous anthropomorphism, which through the fault of ignorant and uncultivated ecclesiastics, had again become widely diffused.[2] But in this case it was certainly not less evident than in the case of the earlier Anthropomorphites, that it was a tendency which could be grappled with and subdued, not by any negative process, not by attacking the single errors, which were connected with this mode of thinking, but only by operating, through the spirit of Christianity itself on the very groundwork of this mode of thinking and spiritualizing it, from the inmost centre of the Christian consciousness. He was informed that the priests of the see of Vicenza entertained altogether sensuous and anthropomorphic notions of God, taking the figurative representations of the Old Testament simply in their literal sense. This led him in one of his sermons to attack these fleshly vices, and to speak of the divine being as a spirit. But he thus gave offence to the great mass, who had never been used to represent anything to themselves except under some form of sense, and who therefore supposed they must lose the whole, if they gave up the sensuous form under which they conceived it. Even some of his own priests imagined, like those ancient Anthropomorphites, that their God had been taken away from them, since it was only under the form of such images they could behold him.[3] In like manner he objected to the sensuous notions which the rude multitude, and uneducated clergy framed to themselves, of a God seated on a golden throne, and surrounded by a throng of winged angels. A story had been circulated that on a certain Monday, mass would be

[1] Itinerarium Ratherii Romam euntis, at the beginning.

[2] Berengar calls them infinitissimos ad eorum comparationem, qui circa hoc recte sentiunt. ed. Vischer. pag. 116.

[3] Quid modo faciemus. Usque nunc aliquid visum est nobis de Deo scire. modo videtur nobis, quod nihil omnino sit Deus, si caput non habet, etc. Vid. D'Achery, l. c. fol. 388.

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celebrated by the angel Michael. As might be expected, a vast multitude flocked to the church where such an extraordinary mass was to be held, which was a source of no small gain to the priests. But Ratherius took great pains to introduce and foster more spiritual views, and to destroy those idols, as he called them, which men had formed out of their own imagination.[1] He attacked the superstition which pretended to cure diseases by the use of amulets and charms, and to raise or hush storms by forms of incantation.[2] "The miracles wrought by the holy men of the Old and New Testaments — said he — were not *their own* work, but the work of God through their instrumentality. Their faith, the faith to which our Lord ascribes such power, Matt. 17: 19, accomplished this. Neither the devil nor any evil-minded man could produce such effects, to the injury of others; but God produces them whenever he pleases, by the hands of his servants; and being infinitely good produces them only for the benefit of mankind."[3]

Among these organs of a right Christian spirit, who fought against superstition, and the worldly temper dressed out in the garb of Christianity, we may place also Odo, the abbot of Cluny. In the introduction to his biographical notice of count Gerald of Aurilly, a pious layman, he notices as among the particular marks of a holy man, the Christian virtues and deeds of mercy, these being the more acceptable qualities in the sight of God, though miracles are valued at a much higher rate by the multitude;[4] "for — says he, assigning his reasons — our Lord in the final judgment will say to many, who had prophesied and performed wonders, I never knew you. But to those who have led a righteous life, he will say: Come, ye blessed of my Father." And in his preface to the second book he said of those, who refused to allow to this Gerald the title of saint, because he was neither martyr nor confessor, nor had ever wrought a miracle:[5] "They ought to know, that the name martyr and confessor might be applied not only to him, but to every one, who in the conflict with sin, has borne his cross, or by good works glorified God; for men confess or deny God by their works, as the sacred Scriptures teach, 1 John 2: 3. Rom. 2: 23. But what would they, who like the Jews demand miracles, say of John the Baptist, who never performed a miracle in his life? For although miracles were not wholly wanting in the life and works of the individual of whom we are speaking, yet to those who ask for them we shall content ourselves with this *one* reply, that the great miracle of his life was his contempt of earthly goods." This correct appreciation of miracles from the properly Christian point of view, this inclination to set a higher value upon the moral power of Christianity, is a trait

[1] Quoquomodo idola tibi in corde coepisti stultissime fabricare.

[2] Praeloquior, l. I. fol. 15 et 21. ed. Ballerin.

[3] Facit hoc per servos suos, cum ei placuerit Deus, et cum sit summe bonus, benigne ut bonus. Sermo II. de ascensione, D'Achery, f. 100.

[4] The witnesses of his life, qui signa quidem, quae vulgus magni pendit, non multa retulerunt, sed disciplinatum vivendi modum et opera misericordiae, quae Deo magis placent, non pauca. De vita S. Geraldi l. I. praef. Bibliotheca Cluniacensis, f. 67.

[5] Thus strongly he expresses himself in his zeal for the recognition of the common worth and dignity of Christians: illi qui delirant, quod nec martyr nec confessor valeat dici.

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which everywhere distinguishes the abbot of Cluny. Thus, after having related how Gerald forgave a man who attempted to rob him, and how he made the man a present of that which he intended to steal, he adds in reference to this trial of patience and love: "His conduct in this case seems to me a greater wonder, than if he had turned the thief into a stone."[1] We discern here the tradition of the genuinely Christian spirit, a tradition whose current flowed steadily through every century, and which enabled many even in these times of darkness, to apprehend the miracle according to its true Christian sense, for we find like views entertained also by others of this period.[2] To show that it was possible even for one who was a layman to lead a pious life, Odo composed his biographical account of count Gerald of Aurilly, a man distinguished above those of his own order, by his diligent and faithful study of the Scriptures,[3] by his devotional habits, his lively sympathy in all Christian objects, his beneficence and his gentle treatment of his tenants.[4] "As this man — says he, in the preface to his Life — lived like Noah among his contemporaries according to the law of God, so God has set him apart as a witness to all, that beholding in him an example near at hand of a pious life, others may be awakened to emulation, and that it may not be thought a difficult or impossible thing to observe the divine precepts, when they are seen to be observed by a layman, and a great man of the world."[5]

Such solitary examples and organs of the genuinely Christian spirit, as those just described, could not, however, oppose any effectual check to the superstition which had fastened itself upon the worship of saints and relics, and other corrupt elements in the doctrine of the church,

[1] Certe mihi videtur, quod id magis admiratione dignum sit, quam si furem rigere in saxi duritiem fecisset, l. I. c. 26.

[2] So writes the abbot Arnulph of Metz, in the last times of the tenth century: "Perseverance in good works to the end is more than all miracles." Nec signorum vel miraculorum novitatem plerumque differentiam facere sanctitatis, vel inde patenter ostenditur, quod per malos haec aliquando fiant, multosque ecclesia summo honore colit, de quibus an uno saltem signo claruerint, reticetur. Vid. Vita Joannis Gorziensis, c. I. § 4. Acta sanctor. 27. Februar. In the letter, in which Poppo, archbishop of Triers, in the year 1042, proposed to pope Benedict IX. the canonization of a certain hermit Simeon, he wrote to him: Non tam signa, quae fidelibus et infidelibus communia sunt, quam fidei virtus, qua fideles ab infidelibus sequestrati sunt, qua ipse dum adhuc in corpore maneret, plurimum viguit, de ejus sanctitate nos certos reddit. Vid. Mabillon Acta sanctor. Saec. VI. P. I. f. 370. And in the Life of Herluin, abbot of the monastery of Bec in Normandy, who lived in the later times of this century, it is said: Referimus miracula, sed eis, unde vulgus fert sententiam, multum pauciora, quanquam non defuerunt et ipsa. Then we find extolled as above all miracles, his perseverance and constancy, amid every trial, in the good resolutions he had once formed: Quid enim gloriosius, quod victus ab eo ubique hostis, Deo vincente succubuit? Mabillon acta sanctor. O. B. Saec. VI. P. II. f. 346.

[3] Owing to the feebleness of his health when a child, his parents doubted, whether he would be fit to enter the order of knights, and hence gave his education such a direction that in case of necessity he might enter the spiritual order. Thus he may have acquired more learning, as well as occupied himself a longer time in study, than was customary for persons of his class. Unde factum est, ut propemodum pleniter scripturarum seriem disceret atque multos clericorum quantumlibet sciolos in ejus cognitione praeiret.

[4] He was opposed to the cruel punishments, which were still in practice at that time, such as maimings. Odo says of him, l. I. c. 20: Nunquam auditum est, ut se praesente quilibet aut morte punitus sit aut truncatus membris.

[5] Nec observantia mandatorum Dei gravis aut impossibilis aestimetur, quoniam quidem haec a laico et potente homine observata videntur.

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and which was promoted rather than fought down by the multitude of incompetent ecclesiastics.

But while on the one hand, the superstition which attached itself to the worship of saints and relics bordered nearly on paganism,[1] we may trace on the other, the signs of such a reäction against the worship of saints as seems to betray a misapprehension or entire disregard of the Christian element at bottom, in the consciousness of the ennoblement of man's nature by being raised to the fellowship of a divine life — as seems to betray some approach to an abstract Deism. In opposition to this tendency, Ratherius the antagonist of superstition defended the worship of saints. Some one had taken offence at the hymn sung on the festival of All-saints, particularly at an expression there used concerning the reign of the saints,[2] as if it ascribed too much dignity to the saints, and detracted from the honor due to God alone. "It would have been the more proper expression — to say, the saints are blessed with God, not that they reigned with him." "As if," said Ratherius, "to be blessed, to reign, to live with God, were not all one and the

[1] One characteristic example of pagan superstition is the following. While the above mentioned Romuald was residing in France, the report got abroad that he was about to leave that country, when the people proposed, if they could not prevent the execution of his purpose in any other way, to kill him; so that at least they might have the body of the saint as a protection from evil; which Damiani, in his account of his life, calls an impia pietas, c. IV. § 20. Whenever a person died, who had been particularly venerated and loved on account of his piety, the people soon gathered about his grave to pay him the honor of a saint — see the account of the life of Bardo, archbishop of Mentz, c. VII. § 69. 10th June, — and very soon stories began to be circulated of wonderful cures performed on the spot. This was done, not only in the case of ecclesiastics and monks, but also of laymen who stood in high repute for piety; such, for example, as the parents of the above mentioned Bardo. See the Life just cited, § 1. But these stories about miracles were also circulated by intentional fraud. Vagrants afflicted, as they gave out, with sore diseases, came to the grave of some individual who had died in the odor of sanctity, and throwing themselves down on it, declared themselves suddenly cured, expecting thus to receive a more bountiful alms from the people, who would rejoice to behold such miracles wrought by their saint. In the Life of Godehard, archbishop of Hildesheim, it is related, c. VII. § 50: Propter quasdam vanae mentis personas, quae in nostra patria usitato more per sacra loca discurrentes, se aut caecos aut debiles vel elingues vel certe obsessos temere simulant et ante altaria vel sepulcra sanctorum se coram populo volutantes pugnisque tundentes sanatos se illico proclamant, ea scilicet sola vesana voluptate, ut sic tantum majorem stipem vel quaestum a plebe percipiant. The writer of this Life mentions the example of an old woman, who threw herself down, with her head and face veiled, before the tomb of this archbishop Godehard of Hildesheim, who was already reputed a saint,—and rolling herself about, suddenly stood up, saying she had been cured of a blindness of many years. When the report of this wonderful event had been spread far and wide, the people and the clergy hastened to the spot, among whom was the bishop himself. Already it was proposed to hold a public thanksgiving in the church, when certain villagers from the same town with the old woman, who knew her to be a cheat, testified that she had often been in the practice of playing such tricks. Bishop Godehard used to remark of such cases, that owing to the number of deceivers, even those were not believed who told the truth. Acta sanctor. Mai. T. I. f. 517. As the sale of relics could be made a profitable business, and the news of their arrival in any place immediately brought out the sick in crowds (see the Life of Rabanus Maurus, by his scholar Rudolph, c. II. Acta sanctor. Bolland. Februar. T. I. f. 513), so this circumstance also was a strong temptation to fraud. Glaber Rudolph gives a remarkable example of a cheat, who roved about the country under different names, with dead men's bones. These, as he pretended, were wonder-working relics, which he had discovered by a revelation from angels. And he made a profitable business of it. Vid. Hist. l. IV. c. III.

[2] The words were

Quicunque in alta siderum
Regnatis aula principes.

same thing. The objector might be right, provided only he so understood the sole dominion and sovereignty of God, as to place no limits to the free grace of God, which converts vessels of wrath into vessels of mercy, and not only elevates them to the rank of kings, but even makes them partakers of the divine nature."[1]

But in this period the worship of saints underwent a change, occasioned by the new system of the church constitution. Originally, each church had her particular saints, men who had sprung from her own bosom, distinguished for their pious manner of life and death, and for what they had done and suffered for the church, and therefore the objects of her special veneration. In course of time, it so happened of its own accord, that many of these, owing to their important position in the development of the church, or to the fame of the miraculous cures performed at their tombs, became the objects of a more general veneration, and that the festivals consecrated to their memory were observed, by degrees, through a wider circle of churches. But it was only in this period, and under the ecclesiastical monarchy of the popes, now completely organized, that the worship of a saint could be introduced at once into the practice of the entire church. Pope John XV. set the precedent for this, by a bull issued in the year 973, which conferred this distinction on bishop Ulrich of Augsburg, who had died twenty years before, and whose pious and active zeal in the performance of every part of his official duty, assuredly deserved the enduring remembrance of veneration and love. It was done at the motion of Liutolf, bishop of Augsburg, after a report had been read of the life and miracles of Ulrich.[2] The worship of the saints was defined in this bull, as a worship to be paid through them to the Lord, of whom they had testified, as an honor to the servants redounding to the glory of their Master, by rendering which, men conscious of the imperfection of their own righteousness might hope to be assisted by the merits and intercession of those whom they adored.[3] Thus, in the present case, saint-worship was, on the one hand, referred back to its ground in the Christian consciousness, the conviction, that Christ himself is represented in the organs which are sanctified by his spirit; while, on the other hand, the immediate reference of the religious consciousness to Christ was hindered, by the intervention of another mediation, supposed to be necessary for men filled with the

[1] Quod quidem recte faceret, si singularem Deitatem ejus, regnatum, et potentiam ita pie venerando intelligeret, ut gratuitae miserationi, quae ex vasis irae vasa facta misericordiae tanto ditat munere, quo non reges tantum modo esse et vocari, sed insuper Deos esse et dici ineffabili concedat benignitate, impie invidendo contraire timeret: Praeloquior. l. IV. f. 892. ed. Ballerin. We recognize here, in Rather's obscure and awkward style, the antagonism of a deep-felt Christian Theism to an abstract Deism.

[2] The words: Quatenus memoria Udalrici divino cultui dicata exsistat et in laudibus Dei diutissime persolvendis semper valeat proficere.

[3] Decrevimus memoriam illius affectu piissimo et devotione fidelissima venerandum, quoniam sic adoramus et colimus reliquias martyrum et confessorum, ut cum cujus martyres et confessores sunt, adoremus, honoramus servos, ut honor redundet in Dominum, qui dixit: Qui vos recipit, me recipit ac perinde nos, qui fiduciam nostrae justitiae non habemus, illorum precibus et meritis apud clementissimum Deum jugiter adjuvemur. Vid. Mabillon. acta sanctor. Saec. V. f. 471.

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sense of their own sinfulness. For the most part, however, the worship of saints began in the first place with the people, on whom the life of some pious man had made a profound impression, and among whom the fame of the miracles performed at his tomb was generally diffused. If now the bishop sympathized with the enthusiasm of the people for the memory of such an individual, then, by drawing up a report to the pope of his life, his manner of death, and of his miracles, the bishop brought it about, that the worship of the saint should be no longer confined to one community, but that his name should be introduced into the list of saints to be honored and worshipped by the whole church.[1]

Among the religious customs universally observed in this period, was the use of the consecrated oil on the sick. The first occasion of this custom had been given already in the sixth and seventh centuries, by the method adopted to counteract a superstition which prevailed among new converts, and which was spread by their means. As a substitute for the amulets and forms of incantation resorted to by the sick, was introduced the anointing of the sick with consecrated oil, accompanied with prayer, according to the direction in James 5: 14, 15. Mark 6. Thus, in a sermon ascribed to Augustin,[2] but belonging perhaps to Cæsarius of Arles, speaking against amulets for the sick, the writer says: "How much better, that mothers should hasten to the church, should receive the body and blood of Christ, and anointing herself and hers, in faith, with the consecrated oil, obtain, according to the words of the apostle James, not merely health of body, but also the forgiveness of sins."[3] This unction was applied, then, in the first place, in all cases of sickness, and not merely in the last extremity; even the laity performed it on themselves, and on the members of their household. At a later period,

[1] Thus it was ordered, for example, by pope Benedict IX, after hearing a report by Poppo, archbishop of Triers, in the year 1042, respecting the hermit Simeon, who died in 1035: Eundem virum Dei Symeonem, quem Dominus commendat significatione tantarum virtutum sanctitatis ac gratiae plenum ab omnibus populis, tribubus et linguis sanctum procul dubio esse nominandum ejusque natalem singulis annis recurrentem solleniter observandum ad instar diei festi, nomen quoque ipsius martyrologio sanctorum nominibus suo loco inserendum. This Simeon was the son of a Greek of Syracuse. He became monk in a monastery on mount Sinai. He became known in the West, during a tour on which he was sent by his monastery to collect alms. In his travels, he had acquired a ready power of expressing himself in five languages, — Coptic, Syrian, Arabic, Greek, and Latin. Poppo, archbishop of Triers, on his return from a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, took him home with him, and he became a hermit near Triers. While he was honored by some as a saint and a worker of miracles, he was looked upon by others as a wizard. During an inundation caused by rains, the populace suspected him (see above, p. 429) of having brought this calamity on the country, and were for storming his cell. Vid. Mabillon acta sanctor. Saec. VI. P. I. f. 371 et seq.

[2] In the appendix to Augustin's Works, T. V. f. 279, § 5.

[3] So also in a sermon of Eligius of Noyon (see Vol. III. p. 42): Quoties aliqua infirmitas supervenerit, non quaerantur praecantatores, non divini, non sortilegi, non coragi nec per fontes aut arbores vel bivios diabolica phylacteria exerceantur, sed qui aegrotat in sola misericordia Dei confidat et eucharistiam cum fide ac devotione accipiat oleumque benedictum fideliter ab ecclesia petat, unde corpus suum in nomine Christi ungat et secundum apostolum oratio fidei salvabit infirmum et non solum corporis, sed etiam animae sanitatem recipiet. Vid. D'Achery Spicileg. T. II. f. 97.

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this anointing was made a particular function of the sacerdotal office.[1] Jonas, bishop of Orleans, complains, in his Rules of Christian Life for Laymen,[2] that many, instead of applying in case of sickness to the priests, and having themselves or the members of their family anointed with the consecrated oil, according to the apostolical tradition, preferred sending for soothsayers or female fortune-tellers, to consult them about the issue of the disease. At a synod held at Pavia, in the year 850, this custom of priestly unction, especially in mortal sickness, is sanctioned; and it is placed in the same rank with the other sacraments. It was to be bestowed on those only, who were deemed fit to receive the communion.[3] In like manner, Damiani names among the twelve sacraments noticed by him, this unction, as a means of bodily and spiritual healing[4] — a sign of the condescension of divine love to the necessities of feeble man, who must maintain the conflict with sin to the last. Accordingly, the seven sacraments were already recognized in this period; although, owing to the vague conception of the thing, the name was applied to many other religious usages, which in later times were excluded.

The judgments of God, which we had occasion to notice in the preceding period, found a point of attachment in the notion of an external theocracy, administered by the priesthood, and of a continued divine interposition by miracles in the guidance of the church. On this principle, the archbishop Hinkmar of Rheims defended the judicium aquae frigidae et calidae;[5] and on this principle, too, cardinal Hildebrand (Gregory VII.) seems to have been inclined to favor the judgments of God. Yet not an individual bishop alone (Agobard of Lyons,[6] who attacked the superstition of his times), but an entire church assembly in France, the third council of Valence, held in 855, declared against the judgment of God by single combat, which had been made legal by the Burgundian code. The custom obtaining, that when opposite statements were given on oath by two parties,[7] it should be decided which oath was according to truth, and which contrary to it, by a duel; this council decreed, that whoever contradicted an oath legally administered by another, should be excluded from the communion of the church, and the same penalty should be incurred by him who killed or maimed another in a duel.[8] The person killed

[1] As in the ordinances of Boniface: Omnes presbyteri oleum infirmorum ab episcopo expetant secumque habeant et admoneant fideles infirmos, illud exquirere, ut eodem oleo peruncti a presbyteris sanentur. Bonifacii f. 142.

[2] De institutione laicali l. III. c. 14.

[3] Concil. Regiaticin. c. 8. Cui enim reliqua sacramenta interdicta sunt, hoc uno nulla ratione uti conceditur. The extreme unction does not, in this century, appear to have been considered indispensably necessary for every believer. The abbot Adelard of Corbie was asked, whether he would receive it, since it was known, peccatorum oneribus eum non detineri. He begged for it, and when he had received it, thought he should now be able to die in peace, because he had partaken of all the sacraments. See his Life by Paschasius Radbert. § 8. II. January.

[4] Sermo 69. T. II. f. 180. Infirmantibus nobis et usque ad mortem mortali peccatorum febre languentibus spiritus pietatis assistit et recordatus est, quoniam pulvis sumus.

[5] See his Opusculum ad Hildegarium episcopum Meldensem, T. II. opp. f. 676.

[6] See above, p. 428.

[7] The council calls this iniquissima ac detestabilis constitutio quarundam saecularium legum.

[8] Velut homicida nequissimus.

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should be inhibited, as a self-murderer, from the rites of Christian burial, and from the mass for the repose of souls. The emperor should be requested to banish by law such an enormity from among the faithful.[1] Also pope Nicholas I. declared against the judgment of God by duel, when the matter was agitated in the case of Thietberga. "Although sacred history — he wrote to king Charles the Bald of France — has recorded a combat of this sort in the case of David and Goliah, yet such combat is nowhere established as a law, and it seems rather to be 'a tempting of the Almighty.'"[2] Atto, bishop of Vercelli, protested especially against the practice of ecclesiastics to make others fight duels, for the purpose of vindicating themselves against certain accusations. "By what right — says he — can the clergy, who are not allowed to carry weapons themselves, get others to fight for them? Never ought they to be the occasion of sin, for the sake of clearing themselves from blame. They are bound rather to fight for their brethren, than to get their brethren to fight for them; for the good shepherd giveth his life for the sheep. But how is it possible they should contend with arms against those whom they love, and for whom they should pray?" He expresses himself on this occasion in a way, which condemns the judgment of God by duel generally, and, by implication, *all judgments of God whatsoever.* "Often — says he — we behold in such contests the guilty come off victorious, the innocent overcome. Men should never tempt God, by rushing into danger. So the history of Christ's temptation teaches us. Many things doubtful are reserved, to be finally decided at the last judgment."[3] A peculiar form of the judgment of God, not seldom resorted to especially by the clergy, was that where the holy supper was used as the ordeal.[4] The eucharist was received, to testify the consciousness of innocence, the recipient invoking upon himself the divine judgment if he were guilty. The pious feelings of a layman were shocked at this desecration of the holiest of rites. King Robert of France (the son of Hugh Capet) protested in the strongest language against it. "What presumption — he writes — is this, to say to any man, who is called upon to prove his innocence, 'Take the body of the Lord, if thou art worthy;' when, in any such sense, no man is worthy?"[5]

In respect to the matter of penance, two opposite tendencies, self-

[1] C. XI. et XII.

[2] Cum hoc et hujusmodi (which may be applied to all kinds of judgments of God) Deum solum modo tentare videantur. Harduin. Concil. T. V. f. 273.

[3] Non enim Dominus omnia suo praesenti judicio declarat, sed expectat etiam plurima in futurum, ubi illuminabit abscondita tenebrarum et manifestabit consilia cordium. See Atto's libellus de pressuris ecclesiasticis. D'Achery's Spicil. T. I. f. 416 et seq.

[4] So in general, the tendency to associate a magical efficacy with the holy supper, caused its true import to be forgotten, and the ordinance to be desecrated to the service of superstition. The council of Seligenstadt, in the year 1022, c. VI, felt obliged to pronounce sentence of condemnation on priests who, in a fire, cast the consecrated host into the flames, with a view to quench them by the miraculous virtue of Christ's body.

[5] Cur tu temerario ore et polluto dicas: Si dignus es accipe; cum sit nullus, qui habeatur dignus? Vid. Helgaldi vita Roberti regis in Du Chesne Scriptor. hist. Francor. T. IV. f. 64.

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castigation on the one side, and the abuse of indulgences on the other, both had their common foundation in the notion, handed down from the earlier centuries, that penitence was a satisfaction paid to divine justice, — a notion connected again with the fact, that the idea of penitence had not been apprehended in its right relation to the entire work of redemption. On the one hand were those who expected to satisfy the divine justice by sufferings voluntarily inflicted on themselves; on the other, were those who resorted to indulgences as a convenient substitute for the penalties imposed on penitents by the church, and hence also for the divine punishments, which must otherwise be suffered. According to the more serious, or the more easy temperament of the individual, his penance took one or the other of these shapes. In the eleventh century, resistance to the prevailing corruption of manners, which produced in Italy, as we have before remarked, the phenomena of a more rigid monkery, gave birth also to a fanatical zeal for the severer exercises of penance. We observe both the former and the latter in the case of Peter Damiani. Through his influence, a wider spread was given to that new exercise of penance, self-scourging, a practice which had found admission at an earlier period among the monks, and which deserves notice on account of the important consequences to which it afterwards led. As this new species of penance found violent opponents, who were offended especially at the violation of the moral sense of decorum, Damiani composed extravagant encomiums of the practice, representing it as a voluntary imitation of the sufferings of the martyrs, and of the passion of Christ himself.[1]

As to indulgence, it still retained the original signification, by which it was held to be merely a remission of, or an exchange for some determinate kind of church penance; and there was a tendency to resist any arbitrary extension of it which would be likely to enfeeble church discipline. Thus the council of Mayence, in 847, decreed, that for those who confessed their sins, the mode and time of penance should be fixed by the priests, according to the ancient canons, the authority of the sacred Scriptures, or ecclesiastical usage. It rebuked the practice of imposing light and unusual forms of penance for serious offences. It was first making men feel secure in their sins, and then putting under them a pillow of ease.[2] This council also decreed, that a difference should be made between those who needed to undergo only a private penance, and those who, having been guilty of public and notorious offences, ought to be subjected to public ecclesiastical penalties.[3] And it was also added by this council, that a radical change of life was a necessary part of true penance.[4] Yet the practice of allowing particular indulgences in compensation for certain external acts, for

[1] See lib. V. ep. 8, ad clericos Florentinos, and Opusculum, 43, De laude flagellorum et disciplinae.

[2] Faciunt cervicalia sub capite universae aetatis ad capiendas animas, c. 31.

[3] See Vol. III. p. 138. Discretio servanda est inter poenitentes qui publice et qui absconse poenitere debeant, nam qui publice peccat, oportet, ut publica mulctetur poenitentia et secundum ordinem canonum pro merito suo et excommunicetur et reconcilietur.

[4] Nec eis sufficiat, si a quarundam rerum perceptionibus abstineant, nisi se etiam a noxiis delectationibus subtrahant, declinantes autem a malo faciunt bonum.

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donations to churches, which it was desired to place at once on a splendid foundation, for certain pilgrimages, for the repetition of a certain number of prayers, for alms-giving, became a fruitful source of damage to the Christian life. As vassals might subject themselves to a judgment of God for their liege-lords, so too one man might undertake a penance as the representative of another.[1] The false reliance on such external works, which lulled men to security in their sins, and which was so foreign to the essence of true penitence, this it was which, as we have already remarked, fired the pious zeal of a Ratherius in combatting such delusions. Among those who labored to destroy this false reliance on external works, may be reckoned also Jonas, bishop of Orleans. In his "Rules of Christian life for laymen," he rebukes those who, with cold affections, instead of hearts consumed with the fire of love, brought gifts to the altar, repeated many prayers, and distributed many alms; — when, in truth, no external act can be well-pleasing in the sight of God, unless the inner man is consumed with divine love, and has thus become a temple of the Holy Ghost.[2] He rebukes those who were expecting to purchase impunity in sin by works of mercy, works, however, which really did not deserve that name, as they could not have sprung from a right temper of heart.[3] "There are many — says he — who, deceived by a vain, nay wicked confidence, boldly commit adultery, murder, perjury, and many other crimes. And every such person, when reproached with these crimes, is wont to reply: 'God be thanked! I am blessed with abundant means to purchase indulgence for such sins;' — as if it were possible so to bribe the Almighty as to have it in one's power to transgress at pleasure his holy laws."[4] The same bishop, in adopting the prevalent notion respecting the sacrifice of the mass, and the sacrifice of good works for the dead, protests against the doctrine that nothing but that which is given to the priest, nothing but the sacrifice which they present, will meet the divine acceptance. He does not hesitate to ascribe it to the covetousness of the clergy, that such a doctrine had ever been permitted to gain currency.[5]

Originally each bishop exercised independent spiritual jurisdiction within *his own* diocese, bestowing within it absolution and indulgence. The extension, however, of the spiritual jurisdiction of the popes over all the Western churches, would naturally bring about a change in this particular. In the first place, it so happened that many, under the compunction of their sins, made the pilgrimage to Rome, for the purpose of confessing themselves to the pope, and of receiving forgiveness and comfort by a word from the supposed representative of Peter, which was considered of wonderful potency. It might so hap-

[1] An example of a boy, who undertook penance to deliver the soul of his deceased master, and upon this condition obtained his freedom, in Baldrich's Chronicle of Arras and Cambray, l. I. c. 46.

[2] De institutione laicali, l. II. c. 17. D'Achery Spicileg. T. f. 291.

[3] Quia ad dulcem fructum non proficit, quae per virus pestiferae radicis amares cit.

[4] L. c. l. III. c. 10.

[5] Hoc qui credunt et dicunt, aut ignorantia, aut certe *aliorum persuasione* falluntur. Credibile sane est, quod haec persuasio, qua simplices id credere et dicere videntur, ex fonte avaritiae processerit. L. III. c. 15.

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pen also, that in dubious cases bishops would send their penitents to Rome, submitting the decision of these cases to the pope, or that the pilgrimage to Rome would itself be made one part of the prescribed penance. Occasionally, however, those who had been condemned to a more than usually severe penance, would apply to the pope for some remission of the sentence. Thus we find pope Nicholas frequently speaking of it in his letters as an established fact, that transgressors from all countries came daily to Rome, soliciting deliverance, by the pope's intervention, from heavy temporal punishments, or seeking spiritual assistance and absolution from their sins.[1] The bishops having become satisfied, from many examples, that their spiritual jurisdiction was seriously injured by this practice, and having observed also that these pilgrimages, as we have already remarked, had a bad influence on the moral life, especially when absolution at Rome was too freely dispensed; protested in several individual instances against this extension of the spiritual jurisdiction of the pope. We have an example of this in Ahito, bishop of Basle, who, in his capitularies of the year 820 (s. c. 18) decreed that "any who wished to visit Rome for the purposes of devotion, should first confess their sins at home, since they were subject only to the spiritual jurisdiction of *their own* bishop or priest."[2] So the council of Seligenstadt, in the year 1022, decreed, in its eighteenth canon: "Since many are entangled in such delusion, as to refuse performing any penance imposed on them for a great offence, trusting that in Rome they shall be able to obtain from the pope full absolution, let them know, that such absolution shall not avail them; but they must first endeavor to perform the penance ordained by their own priests, and then, with the permission of the bishop, they may go to Rome."[3] But as pilgrimages to Rome had already become the rage, and the papal power had acquired so enormous an ascendancy, such isolated voices could no longer operate as a serious check upon a practice which, under these circumstances, had passed beyond control.

In this period, three gradations of guilt were established by the church, to include all who were liable to ecclesiastical censure. The first included those who, of their own accord, confessed their sins to the priest, and submitted to the penance which he imposed on them; the

[1] In his letter to king Charles the Bald, of France, ep. 20. Concil. T. V. f. 235: Ad hanc sanctam Romanam ecclesiam, de diversis mundi partibus, quotidie multi sceleris mole oppressi confugiunt, remissionem scilicet et venialem sibi gratiam tribui supplici et ingenti cordis moerore poscentes; and ep. 21: Et ab ea non solum animae, sed et corporis salvationem, ut omnibus patet, humili prece suscipere precantur. And ep. 17. f. 341: Undique etenim venientes admodum plurimi suorum facinorum proditores quantum dolorem inferant pectori nostro plus singultu reminiscimur, quam calamo scribi queat.

[2] Et hoc omnibus fidelibus denuntiandum ut qui causa orationis ad limina beatorum apostolorum pergere cupiunt, domi confiteantur peccata sua et sic proficiscantur, quia a proprio episcopo aut sacerdote ligandi aut exsolvendi sunt, non ab extraneo.

[3] So also Gerbert, in the name of Adalbero, bishop of Rheims, ep. 113. Du Chesne Script. Francor. T. II. f. 816, in reference to Balduin, a nobleman who had been excommunicated for deserting his wife; and for this reason had resorted to Rome. Nihil sibi profuerit, Romam adiise, Dominum papam mendaciis delusisse, cum Paulus dicat; si quis vobis aliud evangelizaverit praeter id quod accepistis, anathema. Estote ergo nobiscum divinarum legum defensores!

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second, those who, on account of publicly notorious sins, were excluded from the communion of the church, but presented themselves as penitents before the tribunal of the church, submitted to the public church penance, and after performing it, were restored to church-fellowship; the third, those who, as was the case with many of the haughty knights and barons, contemned the authority of the church, and refused to submit to the penalties she imposed. These were expelled, with terrible forms of execration, from the communion of Christendom. Accordingly the *excommunication* was distinguished from the *anathema*. Even excommunication was supposed to render the subject of it incapable of performing any civil function. But the anathematized were held to be excluded from *the church and society of Christians*,[1] to be in the proper sense outlawed. They were not to be allowed to receive the communion even at the hour of death; nor were they to enjoy the privilege of burial according to the rites of the church. The council of Pavia,[2] in 850, which established this distinction, decreed however at the same time, that this extreme means should never be resorted to against the hardened except after special examination, and after having first made trial of every other. Nor should such anathema be pronounced against any one without the concurrence of the metropolitan, and without the common decree of all the provincial bishops. Now although such expulsion from the community of believers must have been a terrific engine, considered both on the side of its ecclesiastical and of its political consequences, yet there were haughty monarchs, whose defiance the church could not tame, even by this powerful means; and to force their submission, she reserved to herself still another — the so called *interdict*, which fell upon the whole province where the delinquent dwelt, suspending there, till the refractory subject was reduced to the obedience of the church, all the services of public worship. In the earlier centuries, single instances undoubtedly occur, where to compel the delivering up of a criminal, it was ordered that divine worship should be suspended in an entire diocese; which measure, however, was attended also with much opposition.[3] Yet it was first in the eleventh century, that the more regular employment of such an interdict commenced. Thus, for example, a synod of the province of Limoisin,[4] in the year 1031, made use of it against certain predatory barons, who refused to join in the so called truce of God (treuga Dei). A public excommunication was pronounced on the entire province. No person, except a clergyman, a beggar, or a child not above twelve years old, should receive burial according to the rites of the church, nor be conveyed for burial to another diocese. In all the churches divine service should be performed only in private; baptism should be imparted only when asked; the communion should be given only to the dying. No person should be able to hold a wedding while the interdict lasted.

[1] Cujusmodi jam inter Christianos nulla legum, nulla morum, nulla collegii participatio est.

[2] Synodus Regiaticina.

[3] Even in the tenth century Gerbert, ep. 10. f. 830. l. c. Agit Abraham cum Deo, utrum in Sodomis perdere debeat justum cum impio et tu pastor non dubitas addicere poenae noxium simul et innoxium?

[4] Concilium Lemovicense II.

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Mass should be celebrated only with closed doors. A universal mourning should prevail; the dress and mode of living should wear the appearance of a general penance, of a continuous season of fasting.[1] Now although there might be individual cases of haughty potentates, whose very rudeness or savage passions would place them beyond the reach of every religious impression; yet, as a general thing, such a measure could not fail to have its effect on the minds of men, and those who were not sensible of its effect on their own feelings, yet saw themselves compelled to submission by reason of the impression it produced on the people at large.

[1] Mansi Concil. T. XIX. f. 542. The acts of this council are here, for the first time, published in full.

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SECTION FOURTH.

HISTORY OF CHRISTIANITY, APPREHENDED AND DEVELOPED AS A SYSTEM OF DOCTRINES.

I. In the Western Church.

As in the first centuries it was necessary that the leaven of Christianity should gradually penetrate the entire intellectual life of the *cultivated nations*, before a new spiritual creation, striking its root in the forms of the Grecian and the Roman culture, which Christianity appropriated, could in those forms completely unfold itself; so after the same manner it was necessary that the leaven of Christianity, which in the preceding period had been introduced into the *masses of the untutored nations*, should gradually penetrate their whole inward life, before a new and peculiar spiritual creation could spring out of it, which should go on to unfold itself through the entire period of the middle ages. And the period in which we now are must be regarded as still belonging to the epoch of transition from that old spiritual creation, which flourished on the basis of Grecian and Roman culture, to the new one, which proceeded wholly from Christianity, as apprehended by this rude stock of the human family. We may contemplate this period under two distinct divisions: the *beginning*, comprising the time during which the influence of those elements of culture introduced in the Carolingian age still continued to be felt, and the conclusion, when after a night of barbarism in the eleventh century that new mental life awoke, out of which, carried to its highest form, proceeded the grand, peculiar creation of the scholastic theology in the following centuries. In the ninth century labored in the Frankish church those men, who were indebted for their culture to the Carolingian age, and by whom the elements of learning, which had then been collected, were handed over to this period. The predominant tendency of these times was to amass together the materials preserved by tradition, often without any elaboration of them by active thought. Men confined themselves to the exposition of the sacred Scriptures, to the handling of dogmatical, ethical, ecclesiastical subjects, to extracts from the older church fathers; yet there were a few individuals distinguished for originality of mind. Augustin and Gregory the Great were the church teachers most studied. Augustin in particular had a mighty influence, in giving direction to the dogmatical and ethical spirit of the most important church teachers; though in truth it was the practical, far more than the speculative element, in the Augustinian spirit, which here bore sway. Hence the antagonism

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offered by a Claudius of Turin and an Agobard of Lyons, to the sensuous direction of the religious spirit, to superstition, and to a worship composed of ceremonies; for, as we remarked in the preceding period, it was through Augustin that the Catholic element on the one hand, but the reäction of the Christian consciousness against it on the other, was transmitted to the succeeding centuries. The most efficient instrument in the work of educating teachers for the Frankish church, was Magnentius Rabanus Maurus,[1] a scholar of Alcuin, who, like his master, moulded the age in which he lived, and who belongs, as one of the great teachers, to the same series with Isidore, Bede, and Alcuin. The interest of devotion, and a desire to acquaint himself by personal observation with the localities of sacred writ, induced him, in his younger days, to visit the holy spots of Palestine, as we learn from his own words in his commentary on Joshua,[2] where he speaks of having often been in the district of Sidon.[3] President of the convent school, and afterwards abbot of the monastery of Fulda (from the year 822), he founded here the most important seminary for the teachers of the German and Frankish church, whence proceeded a Walafrid Strabo, a Servatus Lupo, an Otfrid of Weissenburg. After having presided over this abbey twenty years, he, in 842, retired for seclusion to St. Peter's church near Fulda,[4] where he devoted his leisure to literary labors, connected with the interests of religion and theology, till he was drawn from this seclusion in 847, and translated to a wider field of labor, by being made archbishop of Mentz. His writings, which together brought into more general circulation many excellent things from the older times, and which breathed and diffused a warm spirit of practical Christianity, relate to the exposition of the Old and New Testaments, to dogmatical and ethical subjects, and to practical theology (De Institutione clericorum, libri III.). It deserves to be noticed, that he boldly opposed the hierarchical spirit, which countenanced the rebellion of the sons of the emperor Lewis the Pious against their father — a dark spot on the fair fame even of an Agobard. This we see in the letter with which he sent his Collection of Scriptural Passages on the virtues and vices,[5] to that emperor, where he contrasts the proud and rebellious temper with the humility and gentleness which Christianity requires; and refers to the example and the doctrines of Christ and of the apostles, to illustrate the respect due to all authority, as founded in the ordinance of God; also in a remarkable letter of consolation addressed to this emperor,[6]

[1] Born A. D. 776, died A. D. 856.

[2] Published in the Collectio amplissima veterum scriptorum of Martene et Durand. T. IX.

[3] Ego quidem, cum in locis Sidonis aliquoties demoratus sim. l. c. f. 728.

[4] His scholar, the abbot Servatus Lupus, writes to him on this subject (ep. 40): Audivi sarcinam administrationis vestrae vos deposuisse et rebus divinis solummodo nunc esse intentos.

[5] His tract De virtutibus et vitiis, published by Wolfgang Lazius in the Collection: Fragmenta quaedam Caroli Magni aliorumque incerti nominis de veteris ecclesiae ritibus, Antverp. 1560, in which tract, however, the prefixed letter addressed to the emperor Lewis, is the most important document.

[6] Which Baluz has appended to the first book of his edition of Petrus de Marca De Concordia sacerdotii et imperii, of the year 1669.

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where, having brought together the commands of holy Scripture, respecting the obedience due from children to their parents, and from subjects to their rulers, he adjures the emperor not to suffer himself to be persuaded, that by the public confession of his sins he had rendered himself incapable of the government, since by such confession he had, on the contrary, obtained for himself the grace of God. He should despise a false tribunal, and be assured that the kingdom of God was his, so long as he united faith and good works in his life. Though in this vale of tears he might be wronged by the intrigues of perverse and wicked men, yet he should not mind this, but only give thanks for all to the Lord Jesus Christ, his deliverer and advocate, who chastens those whom he loves."

Raban's friend, the bishop Haimo of Halberstadt, who proceeded from the same school, belongs also among the number of those who, by their expository writings, earnestly labored to advance the study of the Bible. A work, however, which had greater influence than other writings of this kind on the following centuries, not so much on account of its intrinsic contents, as on account of the very convenient manner in which it adapted itself to the ordinary theological wants of all such as were not profound scholars, was the short explanatory remarks, which Walafrid Strabo, abbot of Richenau,[1] following for the most part his teacher, Rabanus Maurus, compiled on the sacred Scriptures, and which formed the common exegetical manual of the middle ages, known as the Glossa Ordinaria. A man of far greater theological importance, as an expositor of Scripture, was Christian Druthmar, in the ninth century, who had received his education in the French monastery of Corbie.[2] He first gave lectures on the exposition of the New Testament, to the young monks in the monasteries of Stavelo and Malmedy, in the diocese of Liege. In this way he was led to write out, as he had been invited to do, an elaborate commentary on the gospel of Matthew; and it is singular to observe, in an interpreter of Scripture belonging to these times, the revival of the hermeneutical principles of the Antiochian school, which direction in favor of the grammatical interpretation of the Bible no doubt ac-

[1] See above, p. 440.

[2] In a passage in his commentary on Matthew, Fabricius, it is true, supposed he found the marks of a later time, but this passage is by no means decisive. The passage referred to is on Matth. 27: 7, where he says, concerning the place in Jerusalem there designated: Modo ipsi locus hospitale dicitur Francorum ubi tempore Caroli villas habuit, concedente illo rege pro amore Caroli. Modo solummodo de eleemosyna Christianorum vivunt et ipsi monachi et advenientes. Vid. Bibl. patr. Lugd. T. XV. f. 169. Col. I. But under these circumstances, under the dominion of the Saracens, such a change might easily have taken place, in a very short time after the death of Charles, and of the caliph his friend, Haroun al Raschid (A. D. 808), as the Benedictines (Hist. lit. de la France) rightly remarked. Its relation to the ninth century is plainly shown, moreover, in the remarkable passage respecting the spread of Christianity, c. 55. f. 158. l. II.: Nescimus jam gentem sub coelo, in qua Christiani non habeantur, nam et in Gog et in Magog, quae sunt gentes Hunnorum, quae ab eis Gazzari vocantur, jam una gens, quae fortior erat ex his, quas Alexander conduxerat, circumcisa est, et omnem Judaismum observat. Bulgarii quoque, qui et ipsi ex ipsis gentibus sunt, quotidie baptizantur. Compare what has been said before, respecting the spread of Christianity and Judaism among the Chazars, and of Christianity among the Bulgarians, p. 316.

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quired for him the surname of Grammaticus. He declared himself, in the preface to this commentary, opposed to a one-sided, arbitrary, mystical exposition of the Bible, and maintains that the spiritual explanation of Scripture presupposes the exploration of the literal, historical sense.[1] Under the most unfavorable circumstances, in conflict with many difficulties, and in the midst of many affairs of a foreign and extraneous character, which, contrary to his own inclination, he had to administer, under the then existing political and ecclesiastical relations, Servatus Lupus, abbot of the monastery of Ferrieres (in Gâtinois, Isle de France) labored with great diligence to promote the study of letters, which in this district had sunk to the lowest ebb.[2] His letters evince the assiduity of his zeal, in procuring from Rome and from the abbey of Fulda manuscripts of the ancient Roman authors, as well as of the ancient Latin fathers. By the study of the former, he attained to uncommon skill in the Latin language.[3]

Among the distinguished teachers of the church in the ninth century we may reckon Jonas, bishop of Orleans, the worthy successor of the excellent Theodulf.[4] At the request of Count Mathfred, who wished to obtain from him a system of rules to direct a married layman how to lead a pious life and enjoy the divine approbation, he composed his Rules of Christian life for laymen,[5] which while particularly adapted to the wants of those times, was opposed to the prejudices then prevailing in favor of an outward Christianity of forms, and to the immoral tendencies so widely spread among the higher orders. He strenuously maintained that the law of Christ, the consilia evangelica excepted, was given not merely for the clergy, but for all believers. He exposed the error of those who flattered themselves, that being Christians they would be saved by their faith, in spite of a vicious life, by clearly setting forth how faith without the works of faith could profit nothing.[6] He strongly and pointedly rebuked the nobles, who in pursuing the pleasures of the chase, trampled in every way on the rights of the poor, pretending that they were entitled to this privilege by the civil laws, when if they were believers the law of Christ ought to have more weight with them than the laws of the world.[7] "Let who will — says he — flatter those who do such things, and promise them impunity. I dare flatter no man, I dare tell no man he is secure." He rebukes the inhuman treatment of servants, and reminds their masters, that the servants have the same common nature and dignity with themselves, that they have the same common Master in heaven.[8]

[1] Irrationabile mihi videtur, spiritalem intelligentiam in libro aliquo quaerere et historicam penitus ignorare, cum historia fundamentum omnis intelligentiae sit et ipsa primitus quaerenda et amplexanda et sine ipsa perfecte ad aliam non possit transiri.

[2] He complains, ep. 34: Nunc literarum studiis paene obsoletis quotusquisque inveniri possit, qui de magistrorum imperitia, librorum penuria, otii denique inopia merito non queratur?

[3] Vid. ep. 91 et ep. 103.

[4] See above, p. 439.

[5] De Institutione laicali libri tres, published by D'Achery, in the first volume of his Spicilegia.

[6] L. I. c. 20.

[7] L. I. c. 23. Miserabilis plane et valde deflenda res est, quando pro feris pauperes a potentioribus spoliantur, flagellantur, ergastulis detruduntur et multa alia patiuntur.

[8] L. II. c. 22.

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In opposition to those who held that men could pray nowhere but in churches and in the presence of relics, he says, it is man's privilege and duty to pray everywhere to the omnipotent God, nor does church confession exempt any man from the obligation to confess his sins before God in prayer and with contrition of heart.[1] Bishop Jonas composed also a shorter work, containing rules of Christian life for princes,[2] and designed for the son of the emperor Lewis the Pious, the young king Pipin of Aquitania.[3]

Although the prevailing drift of the theology in those schools which sprung up as the later offspring of the Carolingian age, was the practical theology derived partly from the Bible and partly from church traditions, yet some germs also are to be discovered of a more dialectical tendency; as for example, in the abbot Fredegis, who proceeded from Alcuin's school at York, and who in his speculative inquiry concerning "non-entity" (τὸ μὴ ὄν), followed this direction. In this work he attributed the highest place in all investigations to reason (ratio), subordinating authority to this.[4] In his controversy with archbishop Agobard of Lyons, this Fredegis appears, however, as a champion of the church orthodoxy, and both took the same broad license, in fixing an uncharitable interpretation on each other's doctrines. It deserves to be noticed that Agobard, in defending himself in this controversy against the objection, that he imputed faults of language to the Holy Spirit, and in combatting the position, that being the author of the gift of tongues the Holy Spirit must have taught the apostles the purest Greek, he came very near to the point of separating in the idea of inspiration the divine from the strictly human elements, though he did not proceed far enough to arrive at a full development of the subject.[5] This dialectical and speculative direction of theology spread especially from the seclusion of the Irish monasteries, which were still the seats of science and art, whence and for a long time afterwards, owing to the migratory and enterprising spirit of the people, as well as to the scanty means of sustenance in the country, teachers in the sciences and useful arts scattered themselves in all directions.[6] And as in the

[1] L. I. c. 14 et 15.

[2] De institutione regia.

[3] In his letter dedicating this book to the king, he gives him much useful advice, warning him against the undutiful conduct shown by his brothers towards their father, with which he had not, at that time, had anything to do.

[4] Primum ratione utendum, in quantum hominis ratio patitur, deinde auctoritate, non qualibet, sed ratione duntaxat, quae sola auctoritas est solaque immobilem obtinet firmitatem. Baluz. Miscellan. T. I. p. 404.

[5] He calls it an absurd position, ut non solum sensum praedicationis et modos vel argumenta dictionum Spiritus sanctus eis inspiraverit, sed etiam ipsa corporalia verba extrinsecus in ora illorum ipse formaverit. He affirms on the contrary nobilitatem divini eloquii non in tumore et pompa esse verborum, sed in virtute sententiarum, as the kingdom of God consists not in word but in power. Agobard. advers. Fredegis, in his works ed. Baluz. T. I. p. 177.

[6] In the 10th canon of the synod at Chiersy (Synodus Carisiaca) A. D. 858. c. 10. Hospitalia peregrinorum sicut sunt Scotorum. In the tenth century Scoti sancti peregrini. Labbe Bibliotheca Ms. T. I. f. 678. In the same century we meet with a learned man, bishop Israel, from Ireland, teacher of Bruno, afterwards archbishop of Cologne. He had read Prudentius, while yet a boy. See his Life in Leibnitz, Scriptores rerum Brunsv. T. I. f. 275. Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury, studied the Christian philosophy, as his biographer relates (mens. Maj. T. IV. f. 348) in his youth chiefly from books of Irishmen,

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Irish church, from the time of its origin, a bolder spirit of inquiry had been propagated, which in the preceding period had caused many a reaction against the church system of the papacy; as in the Irish monasteries not only the Latin, but also the more free-spirited Greek church fathers, the writings of an Origen, were studied; so it naturally came about that from that school issued a more original and free development of theology than was elsewhere to be found, and was thence propagated to other lands.[1] The Irish monasteries produced *one* remarkable man in particular, who may be considered the representative of this tendency, and in whose productions generally we see exhibited an intellectual world quite foreign from the age in which he lived. This was John Scotus Erigena, who found in France, at the court of that zealous promoter of the sciences, king Charles the Bald, a welcome reception.

On the peculiar shaping of the philosophical and theological views of this individual, his study of the Greek — not barely, according to the general practice in that age, of the Latin — church fathers, had without doubt exerted an important influence; and the ideas of an Origen, a Gregory of Nyssa, of a Maximus, as well as of the Pseudo-Dionysian writings, had manifestly stirred his spirit in its depths; and he had appropriated many of their thoughts. The ideas, scattered in those writings, respecting a chain of life emanating from God, respecting the antithesis of a negative and a positive theology, respecting the relation of things natural to things divine, respecting a general restoration; all these ideas profusely scattered in those writings we find in him systematically elaborated and combined, and what he says on these matters is not seldom supported by proofs drawn professedly from the works of the church teachers above mentioned. From the same writings also the elements of the New Platonic philosophy passed over to him; and it is the idea lying at the basis of the New Platonic philosophy, respecting the evolution of all existence from an Absolute, as the ὄν, and respecting evil as the μὴ ὄν, which we here find repeated as one of the predominating ideas. Carried out with logical consistency, his principles led to an altogether pantheistic system of the world — the world nothing other than the necessary form of the manifestation of the Absolute, which transcending all representation, all predicates, all knowledge,[2] incomprehensible to itself, can be known only in its forms of manifestation — and to this pantheistic view of the world corresponds also his doctrine of sin; as in fact, the opposition between the pantheistic and the theistic view of the world must at this

"horum libros rectae fidei tramitem philosophantes diligenter excoluit." Even in the first half of the eleventh century, works of Irish art, being the most beautiful, were sent as presents to the emperor, transmarina et Scotica vasa, quae Regali majestati singulari dono deferebantur. See the Life of Bernward, bishop of Hildesheim. Mabillon acta sanct. O. B. Saec. VI. P. I. f. 205.

[1] In a letter of Benedict, abbot of Aniane, published by Baluz, it is intimated, that it was usual to regard as peculiar to Ireland or Scotland, a certain dialectical direction of theology. In reference to the doctrine of the Trinity: Apud modernos scholasticos maxime apud Scotos iste syllogismus delusionis. Vid. Baluz. miscellan. T. V. p. 54.

[2] According to the doctrine of Philo, of the Neo-Platonists, of the Gnostics, of the Hindoos, of Buddhaism.

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point stand forth practically with the most striking prominence. But besides this speculative and mystical pantheism, there was within him still another powerful element, which ruled *him* as well as his age, the element of Christian theism, to which he attached himself not merely, so to express it, from motives of outward accommodation; but which had gained a powerful hold on him by means of his early training and the course of his inward experience, as well as the life of his time. We are unwilling to doubt, that he poured many a devout and earnest prayer to a redeeming God for inward illumination, and that he diligently sought for it in the sacred Scriptures,[1] though his conceptual apprehension of the divine Being seems to exclude any such relation of man to God, as prayer presupposes.

The prevailing bent of the theological spirit of that age was to cling, as we have remarked before, to the authorities of the church tradition; but *he* was for founding a system of truth, which should repose entirely on rational insight, approve itself as true by an inner necessity of reason. Yet even according to his apprehension, the rational and the church-traditional theology, faith and knowledge by reason, philosophy and religion did not stand in contradiction, but in perfect harmony with each other. For, said he, a man can elevate himself to the knowledge of God, which is the end of true philosophy, only by following the mode and manner in which God, who in his essence is incomprehensible and unknowable, letting himself down to the condition and wants of humanity which is to be educated, has revealed himself; — God in his forms of revelation, in his Theophanies. After this manner God presents himself in the historical development of religion, through the authority of the church; but true philosophy, which rises above the Theophanies to the Absolute itself, which soars beyond all conceptual apprehension, gives insight into the laws, according to which God must be known and worshipped. True philosophy and true religion are therefore one. Philosophy veiled in the form of tradition, is religion; religion unveiled from the form of tradition by rational knowledge is philosophy. Philosophy is the theoretic side of religion, religion the practical side of philosophy.[2] In the order of time, as it respects the development of the human knowledge of divine things, the authority of tradition, it is true, and the faith grounded therein comes first, since man's spirit

[1] His words: Hinc assidue debemus orare ac dicere; Deus nostra salus atque redemptio, qui dedisti naturam, largire et gratiam, praetende lumen tuum in umbris ignorantiae palpantibus quaerentibusque te, revoca nos ab erroribus, porrige dexteram tuam infirmis, non valentibus sine te pervenire ad te, ostende te ipsum his, qui nil petunt praeter te, rumpe nubes vanarum phantasiarum, quae mentis aciem non sinunt intueri te, eo modo, quo te invisibilem videri permittis desiderantibus videre faciem tuam, quietem suam, finem suum, ultra quem nihil appetunt, quia ultra nihil est, summum bonum superessentiale. De Divisione naturae, l. III. f. 111. And in another place: O Domine Jesu, nullum aliud praemium, nullam aliam beatitudinem a te postulo, nisi ut ad purum absque ullo errore fallacis theoriae verba tua, quae per tuum sanctum spiritum inspirata sunt, intelligam, ibi quippe habitas et illuc quaerentes et diligentes te introducis. l. V. f. 306.

[2] Quid est aliud de philosophia tractare, nisi verae religionis, qua summa et principalis omnium rerum causa Deus et humiliter colitur et rationabiliter investigatur, regulas exponere? Conficitur inde veram esse philosophiam veram religionem conversimque veram religionem esse veram philosophiam. J. Scot. de divina praedest. c. I.

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needed this training and guidance in order to acquire the power of raising itself to the knowledge of the divine; but in the order of conception, the objective truth of reason (ratio) is the first. Revelation and tradition presuppose truth in itself, and the former is only the way of man's attaining to the latter. This knowledge of reason is therefore the end after which the spirit ought to strive, wherein alone it can find its satisfaction. The faith of authority not supported and upheld by a rational knowledge of the truth, is a feeble thing. Hence in investigating the truths of faith, men should show in the first place what admits of being proved as truth on grounds of reason, and then examine how they can be harmonized with the testimonies of ecclesiastical tradition.[1] And starting from this position, he could admit also the Augustinian principle concerning the relation of faith to knowledge,[2] though we must allow he departed from the principle of Augustin so far as this, that he did not recognize the limits set by the latter to the knowledge attainable by reason, nor acknowledge anything as valid on the ground of authority alone, and if it did not admit of being demonstrated as necessary from reason itself. His position would necessarily exclude such mysteries of faith as could not be established on rational grounds.

That which represented itself to his feelings as transcending comprehension, he interpreted to his thought as the logical absolute, which is prior in the order of thought to all antitheses, which is above all antitheses, which being the *ground* of all things, is moreover *opposed* to all things. Thus it stands related to all opposites, even to that of good and evil, for evil itself cannot be conceived without the good;[3] and this absolute of logical abstraction he substitutes in place of the idea of the living God, which vanished from his grasp, in his attempts to avoid all anthropopathism. The absolute of logical abstraction, by a singular mixture — found ever recurring, however, in the history of the human mind — of dialectical and mystical tendencies, received out of that which transcends conception in the sphere of the feelings, a substantial matter which was foreign to it and superinduced upon it; and thus an enthusiasm could be awakened for the emptiest of all conceptions.

He distinguished, on this ground, a twofold kind of knowledge; knowledge of the absolute in itself, of the essence of God, concerning which man can know only the *fact*, not the *how* or the *what*, in which man must negate everything that may be predicated of it, whether it be an attribute or an action; — and the knowledge of God in his revelation, in the Theophanies, in which *everything* may be predicated of him symbolically. Accordingly there is a twofold standing ground of the knowledge of God, the *θεολογία ἀποφατική*, and the *θεολογία καταφατική*, the former representing God under manifold symbols, the

[1] Prius ratione utendum ac deinde auctoritate. Auctoritas siquidem ex vera ratione processit, ratio vero nequaquam ex auctoritate, omnis autem auctoritas, quae vera ratione non approbatur, infirma videtur esse. Vera autem ratio, quum virtutibus suis rata atque immutabilis munitur nullius, auctoritatis adstipulatione roborari indiget. l. I. f. 39.

[2] See Vol. II. p. 567.

[3] Contrariorum quoque causa est, virtute siquidem eorum, quae vere ab eo condita sunt, etiam quae contraria videntur esse, et privationes essentiae sunt, ratio vera contineri approbat. Nullum enim vitium invenitur, quod non sit alicujus virtutis umbra aut quadem fallaci similitudine aut aperta contrarietate. l. I. f. 38.

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latter rejecting all predicates of the ineffable essence of God as inadequate. The disciple, to whom John Scotus represents himself as teaching these doctrines in his work De Divisione naturae, is startled at the thought that of God, neither love nor being loved, neither action nor being acted upon, could be predicated. With how many passages of sacred Scripture did this assertion stand in contradiction! What occasion of stumbling must it present to the simple, when even the ears of those who are esteemed wise must be shocked at such a doctrine![1] But the teacher quiets him by explaining, that as the sacred Scriptures undoubtedly contain the most perfect self-revelation of divine truth,[2] a not arbitrary, but — for the position of a created spirit — necessary *symbolism* of the self-revelation of the Absolute; so in order to speak in the right manner of God, it is necessary to adhere uniformly to the mode of representation in the Scriptures; but at the same time we should keep in mind that the Scriptures, by various symbols, come to the aid of human weakness, that they supply man matter of thought for the nourishment of his faith in the incomprehensible and inexpressible.[3] By all these various means, it is precisely and only the transcendent excellence of God's essence, an essence infinitely exalted above all which, taken from things created, can be attributed to it, that is meant to be indicated. Even the name Love can be attributed to him only by a metaphor, since he is more than Love, since in all his attributes he does but produce himself, or rather he is all in all.[4] So, again, creation is not to be attributed to God as an act; but by the expression — God is the creator of all things, it is affirmed rather that God is all in all, as he alone truly is, and all true being in everything that exists, is himself.[5]

He distinguishes from each other four kinds of being: 1. That which creates and is not created; 2. That which is created and creates (the divine patterns grounded in the Logos, the causae prototypae,); 3. That which is created but does not create, effects in created things; 4. That which neither creates nor is created. The first and the last may be applied in different senses to God, as may be gathered from the developed idea of the creation; since the idea — God crea-

[1] Videsne quot et quantis frequentibus Scripturae sacrae obruar telis? Nec te latet, quam arduum difficileque simplicibus animis talia suadere, quandoquidem eorum, qui videntur esse sapientes, dum haec audiunt, aures horrescunt. l. I. f. 37.

[2] In ea veluti quibusdam suis secretis sedibus veritas possidetur.

[3] Quibusdam similitudinibus utitur, infirmitati nostrae condescendens, nostrosque adhuc rudes infantilesque sensus simplici doctrina erigens. In hoc enim divina student eloquia, ut de re ineffabili, incomprehensibili aliquid nobis ad nutriendam fidem nostram cogitandum tradant. l. I. f. 37.

[4] Thus leaning towards the pantheistic view, though his Christian consciousness does not allow him to give up wholly the idea of a self-subsistent, creaturely personality, he explains Matt. 10: 20 as meaning that the same may be said also of God's relation to his reasonable creatures: Non vos estis, qui amatis, qui videtis, qui movetis, sed spiritus patris vestri, qui loquitur in vobis veritatem de me et patre meo et seipso, ipse amat et videt me et patrem meum et seipsum in vobis et movet in vobis seipsum, ut diligatis me et patrem meum. Si ergo seipsam sancta Trinitas in nobis et in seipsa amat, et videt et movet, et a seipsa in seipsa et in creaturis suis amatur, videtur, movetur. l. c. f. 44.

[5] Cum audimus Deum omnia facere, nil aliud debemus intelligere, quam Deum in omnibus esse, hoc est, essentiam subsistere. Ipse enim solus per se vere est, et omne quod vere in his, quae, sunt, dicitur esse, ipse solus est. l. I. f. 42.

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ted all things, and God is all in all — in strict propriety exactly coincide; and the end of the course of the world, to be attained by means of the redemption, is that all should return back again to the original, archetypal being in God.[1] The doctrine of the creation may be reduced, according to Scotus, to the pantheistic idea, that the Absolute has veiled and revealed itself under the forms of the finite, — the Absolute in its Theophanies — the infinite become finite — the one subject under manifold accidents.[2]

If now the whole universe may be considered as a Theophany, it follows from this by logical necessity, that everything occupies in it a necessary place of its own, and that for one who contemplates the world according to this view, there is no such thing as evil. God's knowledge is the revelation of his essence, one and the same with his willing and his creating. As evil cannot be derived from the divine causality, neither can it be considered as an object of divine knowledge; on the contrary, for God, it has no existence.[3] Evil exists just and only for that mode of contemplation, which apprehends the individual and particular as existing for itself, independent of its connection with the whole. The good cannot exist without the antithesis of the evil — the foil on which it produces itself and becomes known.[4]

[1] Prima et quarta forma unum sunt, quoniam de Deo solummodo intelliguntur; est enim principium omnium, quae a se condita sunt et finis omnium, quae eum appetunt, ut in eo aeternaliter immutabiliterque quiescant. Quoniam ad eandem causam omnia quae ab ea procedunt, dum ad finem pervenient, reversura sunt, propterea finis omnium dicitur et neque creare neque creari perhibetur, nam postquam in eam reversa sunt omnia, nil ulterius ab ea per generationem loco et tempore generibus et formis procedet. quoniam in ea omnia quieta erunt et unum individuum atque immutabile manebunt. Vid. l. II. f 46. Dum vero divinam naturam esse finem omnium intransgressilemque terminum, quem omnia appetunt et in quo limitem motus sui naturalis constituunt, conspicor, invenio eam neque creatam esse neque creantem. A nullo siquidem creari potest natura, quae a seipsa est neque aliud creat. Quid creabit, dum ipsa omnia in omnibus fuerit et in nullo nisi ipsa apparebit. l. V. f. 311.

[2] Dum incomprehensibilis intelligitur, per excellentiam nihilum non immerito vocitatur, at vero in suis theophaniis incipiens apparere, veluti ex nihilo in aliquid dicitur procedere. — Et creatura in Deo est subsistens et Deus in creatura mirabili et ineffabili modo creatur, seipsum manifestans, invisibilis, visibilem se manifestans, et incomprehensibilis comprehensibilem, accidentibus liber accidentibus subjectum, et infinitus finitum, et omnia creans in omnibus creatum et fit in omnibus omnia. A God becoming creature, which must be distinguished from the incarnation of God in Christ. Neque hoc de incarnatione verbi atque inhumanatione dico, sed de summae bonitatis, quae unitas est et trinitas, ineffabili condescensione in ea quae sunt, ut sint, imo ut ipsa in omnibus sit. l. III. f. 126 et 127.

[3] Cognoscendo facit et cognoscit faciendo, nihil est aliud omnium essentia, nisi omnium in divina sapientia cognitio. To this he refers the words of St. Paul: In God we live and move and have our being. l. II. f. 63. Deus malum nescit, nam si malum sciret, necessario in natura rerum malum esset. To this he refers those passages of Scripture, where it is said of the wicked, that God knows them not. l. II. f. 83 et 84. l. V. f. 259.

[4] How foolish, exclaims the disciple, must this doctrine of the relation of God to his creatures appear to common men, from want of a right understanding: Ut sit Deus omnia in omnibus, et usque ad extremas hujus mundi visibiles turpitudines et corruptiones procedat, ut ipse etiam in eis sit, si in omnibus est; to which the teacher replies, he who speaks thus, knows not, nullam turpitudinem in universitate totius creaturae posse esse, quod enim partim contingit, in toto fieri Deus non sinit. l. III. f. 129. Quid melius est, quam ut ex oppositorum comparatione et universitatis et conditoris omnium laus ineffabilis comparetur? Omnia, quae in partibus universitatis mala, inhonesta, turpia ab his, qui simul omnia considerare non possunt, judicantur, in contemplatione universitatis veluti totius cujusdam picturae pulchritudinis neque turpia neque inhonesta neque mala sunt. l. V f. 275.

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. This furnished foothold for *another doctrine*, that sin in individuals may be but a transition-point of evolution, and thus subservient to the revelation of the good; that it will finally so result in the creation of God, who is all in all, when that creation is purified from all evil;[1] — his doctrine of restoration, of which we shall speak hereafter.

The system of Scotus, however, lay too remote from the intellectual bent of his times, to find any acceptance whatever, either for the true or the false ideas which it contained. When, by participating in a particular doctrinal controversy, his peculiar opinions came forth in striking contradiction to the dogmatical interests of the church, it was this alone which gave occasion to his being stigmatized as heretical,[2] yet without any correct understanding on the part of his opponents, of the aim and tendency of his system, which first became clearly known by its influences and effects in later centuries.

As we have just remarked in the case of John Scotus, the writings that sprung up in the Greek church under the name of Dionysius the Areopagite, became important by transmitting certain elements of Platonic Christianity from the earlier centuries, and awakening a peculiar, intuitive bent of the theological spirit. These writings came first to the West in the year 824, as a present of the Greek emperor Michael II. to the emperor Lewis the Pious. The latter valued the gift the more since he had not a doubt that Dionysius the Areopagite was precisely the same person with the Dionysius who was considered the founder of the church at Paris.[3] It did not once occur to him, that there might be another Dionysius.[4] He had the Dionysian writings translated into Latin, under the direction of Hilduin, of St. Denis, in whose abbey, consecrated to this saint, the Greek manuscript was deposited.[5] To St. Denis the emperor felt himself indebted for many favors; it was in the church of St. Denis he had received absolution and been reïnstated in his government.[6] He was therefore desirous of honoring his memory by a new and more complete collection of the facts relating to his history, and he commissioned the abbot Hilduin to prepare such a work.[7] Hilduin, glad for the honor of his abbey to humor this confusion of names and of persons, confirmed the emperor in his mistake, and propagated it to posterity by that uncritical collection of facts relating to the life of Dionysius, which he published in the year 836. Others, however, perceived the error, and offered to correct it: but they were repelled by Hilduin with an acrimony which

[1] Peccata et iniquitates tamdiu esse videntur, dum nihil sint, quamdiu subjecta natura contineantur, ea vero purgata, quae per subsistere nesciunt, ad nihilum penitus redigentur ita ut non sint. l. IV. f. 163.

[2] Compare on this subject the profound and spirited essay of my friend H. Vogt, which has just appeared.

[3] See Vol. I. p. 84.

[4] So it appears from a letter of this emperor to Hilduin, abbot of St. Denis, in the Actis Sanctor. of Surius, T. V. f. 634.

[5] The emperor writes to him about the translation of those books: Auctoritatis nostrae jussione ac tuo sagaci studio interpretumque sudore in nostram linguam explicati.

[6] He says in his letter to the abbot Hilduin: Per merita et solatium patris nostri Dionysii recreati et restituti sumus cingulumque militare judicio auctoritate episcopali resumsimus.

[7] We find these Areopagitica of Hilduin, with the letter to the emperor prefixed, in the above cited volume of the Act. Sanct. of Surius, f. 653 et seq.

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perhaps betrayed a secret consciousness of the truth.[1] The French king, Charles the Bald, afterwards ordered a new translation of this work to be made by John Scotus;[2] and also humored this confusion of names.[3] But pope Nicholas I. harbored a suspicion against this translation, on account of the current reports respecting the erroneous doctrines of its author;[4] and in a letter addressed, in 865, to king Charles the Bald, in which he claimed for the popes a right of supervision over the publication of all works of intellect,[5] he required that this work in particular, on the ground of the suspicions against its author, should be sent to him, that so, if he found nothing in it objectionable, it might be published with the papal approbation, and thus find a more general and extensive circulation.[6]

Thus Dionysius the Areopagite came to be considered the patron saint of France, and thus the writings published under his name obtained in this country so much the wider circulation and greater authority; and from France they were disseminated in other countries. To the fresh and youthful spirit of the western nations just awakened to life these writings by means of the spiritual elements they contained arising from the fusion of New Platonism with Christianity, gave an impulse, which invested them with an importance, they never could have acquired from any intrinsic worth of their own.

In England, the seeds of science which had been scattered by Theodore of Canterbury, Bede and Alcuin, had for the most part perished amid the devastation occasioned by the piratical inroads of the Danes in the ninth century. The literary treasures collected together in the monasteries had in part been destroyed with the monasteries themselves, while on the other hand there were few men capable of understanding books written in the Latin tongue. Out of this new barbarism, the English nation was delivered by the thirty years' reign of that great man, who while he exhibited the example of a genuine, Christian king, contributed so much to the spiritual as well as political regeneration of his people, Alfred the Great.[7] As Christian piety was the soul of his own life, so he was profoundly convinced, that the cul-

[1] The writings of Gregory of Tours, still much read, might easily expose this mistake; and so it really turned out. Hilduin says, concerning those who followed this clue: Super garrulitate levitatis eorum miranda deficimus; he calls them contentiosos, sciolos; — charges them with arrogantia, usurpata scientia. To be sure, many of these opponents erred also by confounding Dionysius the Areopagite with the bishop Dionysius of Corinth — see Neander's Planting and Guidance of the Christian church by the Apostles, Vol. II. p. 460 orig. ed. — and this laid open a weak spot, which Hilduin was sure to take advantage of. See l. c. f. 638.

[2] See the letter of John Scotus, with which he sent the translation prepared by him to the king, in Jacob. Usserius veterum epistolarum Hibernicarum sylloge, p. 41.

[3] Yet, after citing the older authentic accounts of Dionysius the Areopagite, he says, in reference to the fabulous stories concerning his journey to Rome, and his mission afterwards to France by the bishop of Rome, that this was not reported by those ancient authors, but by aliis moderni temporis.

[4] Thus he says in his letter to king Charles the Bald: Cum idem Joannes licet multae scientiae esse praedicetur, olim non sane sapere in quibusdam frequenti rumore diceretur.

[5] He says, for instance, of this book: Quod juxta morem nobis mitti et nostro debuit judicio approbari.

[6] Itaque quod hactenus omissum est, vestra industria suppleat et nobis praefatum opus sine ulla cunctatione mittat, quatenus dum a nostri apostolatus judicio fuerit approbatum, ab omnibus incunctanter nostra auctoritate acceptius habeatur.

[7] From the year 871 to 901

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ture of his people must proceed from Christianity. And as Christianity begat in his own case an interest for mental development in all directions, so he labored in earnest to promote it among his people. He assembled the few learned men that were still to be found in the English monasteries; others he called around him from Ireland, from the old British church in Wales, from France and Germany; and these he promoted to the highest spiritual stations. It was his favorite recreation to hear such persons read before him for his instruction off-hand translations of Latin books into English; and he made a collection of pithy sayings from the sacred Scriptures and the older church teachers, which he had learned and remembered from these oral translations. The great pleasure he derived from these occupations, finally induced him when in his thirty-sixth year to learn Latin,[1] for which purpose he placed himself under the instruction of one of the pious and learned men whom he had drawn around him, the monk Asser of Wales, whom he afterwards made bishop of Sherburn.[2] His plan for the education of the people was more extensive than the one drawn up by Charlemagne; for it embraced not only the clergy and monks, but also the people of every class and order. He perceived that the seeds of culture in England had so easily perished, because the instruction had been derived solely from Latin books, as he tells us in his preface to the translation prepared by himself of Gregory the Great's Regula pastoralis; and to avoid this for the future, he took care, that the books designed for the more general education of the laity, should be translated from Latin into the English tongue, and that not only schools should be founded for giving instruction in the Latin language, but others also in which all should learn to read and write in English and be instructed out of English books. He himself translated several works into English; such as Gregory's Regula pastoralis, and Bede's ecclesiastical history. It was his earnest wish, as he said in the letter which went with his translation of the Regula pastoralis to the bishops, that the English, like the Greeks and Latins, might have the law of God in their own language.[3] Had this plan of a Christian education of the nation, independent of the Roman language, been further prosecuted according to the views of the great Alfred, a reäction against the Roman church-system would doubtless have proceeded at a much earlier period from the English church. But this was only a transitory appearance; barbarism and ignorance returned again upon the church, until the time of archbishop Dunstan of Canterbury, who

[1] See Life of Alfred (f. 17.), in William Camden's Scripta Anglica, Normannica, etc. Francof. 1603.

[2] To him we are indebted for the beautiful life of Alfred, De rebus gestis Alfredi, which he commenced writing when the king was forty-five years old.

[3] Venit mihi in mentem, legem Dei primum in Hebraeo sermone fuisse inventam, atque postea Graecos, cum eandem didicissent, eam universam et alios insuper omnes libros, in suam linguam vertisse, nec non Latinos etiam, quam primum ipsi eam intelligentia comprehendissent, per prudentes interpretes suo sermone eandem expressisse, quapropter optimum censeo, ut nos libros aliquos, quos maxime necessarios arbitrabimur, qui ab omnibus intelligantur, eosdem in linguam, quam omnes intelligunt, convertamus, ut omnis juventus gentis Anglicae literis addiscendis addicatur utque prius artem nullam imbibant, quam Anglica poterint scripta perlegere. The original is in Anglo-Saxon.

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brought about a reformation of the clerical and monastic orders, the consequences of which continued to be felt even amid the disorders occasioned by the new inroads of the Danes. One of the bishops, who backed the efforts of Dunstan to promote a reformation, and who continued to labor on in the same spirit, was Ethelwold of Worcester, deserving of honorable notice on account of his exertions to advance the cause of schools,[1] and to promote the vernacular Anglo-Saxon as well as the Latin literature.[2] From the school of this excellent man proceeded monk Elfric of Malmesbury, distinguished for his zeal in advocating the Christian education of the people, and Christian knowledge generally, who flourished in the early times of the eleventh century. He earnestly sought, as his sermons in the Anglo-Saxon language and his other works[3] evince, to advance the study of the sacred Scriptures, particularly among the clergy;[4] and in his sermons he presented the scriptural history of Mary in opposition to the later fables. But at the same time that he was an enthusiastic admirer of archbishop Dunstan as a reformer of the clerical order,[5] he was also a zealous champion of the law for the celibacy of priests against those ecclesiastics, who endeavored to defend the marriage of priests by arguments drawn from the Old and New Testament; thus furnishing another proof of the connection of the hierarchical tendency in this age with the interest in favor of culture.

That age of destruction and barbarism, the tenth century, was one of universal ignorance. A few scattered individuals only, by their zeal for theological knowledge and their scientific attainments, formed a contrast to the general rudeness spread around them, as for example, the two men of whose activity in various relations we have already spoken, Ratherius of Verona and Atto of Vercelli. Ratherius was born in the neighborhood of Liege. Amid many conflicts and sufferings which partly the barbarism and rudeness of the times, partly his own abrupt and violent temper drew on him, he still reached a good old age. He lived from 890 to 974, as bishop of Verona, and afterwards, when expelled from his church, at Liege. In his fortieth year, he composed in his prison at Pavia, his Praeloquia, a work containing moral rules and counsels for all orders of men and relations of life, as well as severe rebukes of the vices and abuses which prevailed in them.[6] He deserves in many respects to be styled the Tertullian of his time. Bishop Atto obtained celebrity as a theological writer by his com-

[1] See above, p. 408.

[2] As may be gathered from Elfric's words, in the preface to his Anglo-Saxon grammar, where he says: Sicut didicimus in schola venerabilis Aethelwoldi, qui multos ad bonum imbuit. Vid. Anglia sacra. Londini, 1691. P. I. f. 130.

[3] See the extracts in Usserii historia dogmatica de scriptura et sacris vernaculis, ed. Wharton. Londini, 1690. p. 377.

[4] In the case of laymen, he seems to have dreaded too much the misapprehensions of ignorance to undertake a translation of the Bible, particularly of the Old Testament for their use into the vernacular tongue, though he gladly made use of that language for instruction. See his preface to the translation of Genesis, which he began at the request of a nobleman who wished to possess the sacred Scriptures, l. c.

[5] Vid. l. c. f. 377. his account of the ignorance prevailing in the monasteries down to the reformation by Dunstan.

[6] Published first in the Collectio amplissima of Martene and Durand, T. IX.; then in the first complete edition of his works by the brothers Ballerini. Verona, 1765.

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mentary on St. Paul's epistles, a work containing many original thoughts.[1]

Yet precisely at the time, when the consciousness of universal disorder called forth in the eleventh century the expectation of the speedy destruction of the world,[2] was evolved the germ of a new, spiritual creation, from which proceeded afterwards the great intellectual productions of the church of the Middle ages. In France the beginnings of a new enterprise for the restoration of letters and science were made by Gerbert, a superintendent of the bishop's school at Rheims,[3] and by Abbo of Fleury. The seed fell upon a propitious soil. Gerbert's scholar, Fulbert, founded and directed in the eleventh century a flourishing theological school at Chartres, in which was given also a great variety of preliminary instruction in different sciences, and which was visited by young men from the remotest parts. As bishop of Chartres he still continued zealously to promote these efforts in behalf of science. Fulbert's worthier, and in mental gifts superior disciple, Berengarius, exerted himself as a canonical priest and superintendent of a school at Tours, with powerful effect to stir up among the clergy a zeal for science, the seeds of which he scattered with a liberal hand. The youth from all parts of France gathered around him. His frank and courteous manners attracted to him the young, and the poor he supplied with the means of support.[4] From Pavia, Lanfranc came to France; and by him the monastic school at Bec in Normandy was converted into a seat for the revival of letters.[5] This new scientific life soon took, however, a different direction from that in the Carolin-

[1] His works, first published by count Buronti at Vercelli in 1768.

[2] At the beginning of the eleventh century after the birth of Christ, partly the conviction that a great period of time had now come to its close, and partly the disorder and barbarism prevailing in all parts of Western Christendom, besides many remarkable natural phenomena, excited an expectation of the last judgment. Men looked forward with great excitement to the advent of Christ. The pious enthusiasm produced a spirit of emulation in ornamenting churches and building new ones. See Glaber Rudolph hist. l. III. c. IV. This writer says: Erat enim instar ac si mundus ipse excutiendo semet rejecta vetustate passim candidam ecclesiarum vestem indueret. This excitement received a new impulse again, when in the year 1033, at the commencement of the second thousand years after Christ's passion, men celebrated the memory of Christ's resurrection and ascension. A vast multitude made the pilgrimage to the holy sepulchre at Jerusalem, first people of the lower class, then of the middle class, next kings, counts, and bishops, last of all noble ladies, with others of lower condition. Many longed to die on the holy earth, before they could return to their native country. l. IV. c. VI.

[3] See above, p. 368. Gerbert sprung from a family of low condition in or near Aurillac in Auvergne. When abbot of Bobbio near Pavia, to which place he was promoted by the emperor Otho I. he first had an opportunity of collecting books, and diffusing a taste for learning. His zeal in promoting these objects is apparent from his letters, published in the most complete form by Du Chesne Script. rerum Francicar. T. II. vid. ep. 2, 8, 44, 130; on his scientific journey to Spain, ep. 45.

[4] This is said even by a fierce opponent of Berengar, Guitmund, archbishop of Aversa, in the first book of his work De corporis et sanguinis Christi veritate, though, to be sure, from his own point of view, he describes him as a corrupter of the youth, "egenos scholasticos, jam per alimoniam, qua sustentabat eos, et per suos dulces sermones corruptos." Bibl. patr. Lugdun. T. XVIII. f. 441.

[5] An author of this time, Guitmund, says in his work De corporis et sanguinis Christi veritate, concerning Lanfranc: cum per ipsum liberales artes Deus recalescere atque optime reviviscere fecisset. Vid. Bibl. patr. Lugd. T. XVIII. f. 441.

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gian age; — instead of pursuing the track of church tradition and practical theology, it started on another more dialectical and speculative. The awakening spirit became conscious of its power, and turned inward upon itself, rather than upon the objects without it; even as Christianity points more directly to the inner world of the spirit. Now as from the very outset men followed the principle of Augustin, that the sole business of reason was to unfold and defend the data furnished by church tradition, the substantial matter of faith, so this new dialectical tendency could not fall into collision with the faith of the church. But we may also remark a freer tendency of inquiry, such as we shall find exhibited in the case of a Berengarius (see further on); and between these different tendencies a conflict was inevitable. Which should be the predominating one, was a point to be decided. A spiritual ferment had begun, and it was from what should come forth as the result, that the theological spirit of the age was to receive its fixed and settled character.

In Germany, also, the newly awakened spirit gave signs of its presence; and it is remarkable, that here a special zeal was shown for the promotion of a more general study of the sacred Scriptures. As already in the first part of this century Notker, a monk of St. Gall, distinguished from two other earlier individuals of this name by his surname Labeo, had published a *German* paraphrase of the Psalms, so in the latter part of the same century, Williram, master of the cathedral school at Bamberg, afterwards abbot of Ebersberg in Bavaria, composed a German version and exposition of Solomon's Song. In the preface to this work he complains, that the study of logic and grammar was thought sufficient, that of the sacred Scriptures being wholly neglected; when in truth Christians should study the books of the pagans, only for the purpose of marking the contrast between light and darkness.[1] He expresses his delight to find that Lanfranc, in France, had passed from logic to the study of the Bible, and was expounding the epistles of St. Paul and the Psalms, and that many flocked to hear him even from Germany; so that the benefit of his labors might yet be felt in the German church.[2] Thus the German mind, even at so early a period, presented the antagonism of the scriptural, against a one-sided dialectical tendency.

As it was only at those two points of time in this period, the ninth and the eleventh centuries, that any degree of intellectual or scientific life seemed to exist in the church, hence, too, it was only at these conjunctures that a conflict of theological antagonisms could make its appearance; and it was to these conjunctures, therefore, the doctrinal controversies belong, which we shall now have to explain.

The cause of the controversy on the doctrine of predestination, or respecting the true sense of the Augustinian scheme, is to be traced

[1] Nam et si qui sunt, qui sub scholari ferula grammaticae et dialecticae studiis imbuuntur haec sibi sufficere arbitrantes, divinae paginae omnino obliviscuntur, cum ob hoc solum Christianis liceat gentiles libros legere, ut ex his quanta distantia sit lucis ac tenebrarum, veritatis et erroris possint discernere.

[2] See the edition of this work by Dr. Hoffman. Breslau, 1827.

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to the results of the disputes on this subject which we explained in the second period. The Augustinian doctrine of grace had, it is true, finally gained a complete victory, even over Semi-pelagianism; but on the doctrine of predestination nothing had as yet been publicly determined. So it now happened, that, although all were agreed in recognizing Augustin as the teacher of orthodoxy, and though his doctrine of all-efficient grace was generally received as the true doctrine, yet the doctrine of absolute predestination, in its naked and sterner form, appeared to many repulsive. Not as though such persons would have dared, with any clear consciousness of design and in distinctly defined conceptions, to depart from the doctrine of Augustin, and in particular to concede to man's free-will, in relation to grace, more than the Augustinian scheme allowed. The influence which Augustin exercised over the dogmatic mode of thinking of the age was so great, that no man would venture on this; and the interest of the Christian consciousness in favor of the doctrine concerning grace was so strong, that it could not but be feared lest this doctrine would be endangered, should anything be distinctly conceded to man's free-will, as conditioning the operation of grace. But the Augustinian scheme was brought to view more prominently in its practical than in its speculative aspect; men occupied themselves more with the doctrine of grace, than with the doctrine of the antithesis of predestination and of reprobation, following in preference that milder way of apprehending this doctrine, which we remarked in the work De Vocatione gentium. Thus these two modifications of the scheme, a milder and a sterner one, went side by side. The less practised this age was in the analysis of conceptions, the less accustomed to clear and well defined thought, the more given men were to rhetorical amplification, the more easily might they deceive themselves, by different modes and formulas of expression, and confound a difference in the latter with a difference of conceptions. Thus it could happen, that a man whose religious and doctrinal education had proceeded from Augustin and his school, might suppose he had detected in the milder form of expression prevailing in his times, an open defection from the pure doctrine of Augustin, and a leaning to Pelagianism, and might feel himself called upon to stand forth against such a defection — and a champion of this character could hardly fail, by his more abrupt and harsh forms of expression, to give offence to many of his contemporaries. Such a person was the monk Gottschalk, from whom the controversies on this subject in the ninth century proceeded.

Sprung from a Saxon family, he had been presented by his parents (oblatus) to the monastery of Fulda, for the purpose of being trained there to a life devoted to God, in monachism. Here he eagerly devoted himself to the customary studies of the place, in pursuing which, the bond of friendship was knit between him and the afterwards renowned Walafrid Strabo.[1] But Gottschalk — showing in this

[1] See his poem to Gottschalk in Canisii lectiones antiquae, ed. Basnage. T. II. P. II. f. 354.

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the independence of his spirit — longed to be freed from the shackles to which he was subjected when a child; and he obtained from a church-assembly held at Mentz, in the year 829, a release from the obligations of his monastic vow. But the then abbot of Fulda, Rabanus Maurus, appealed from this decision to the emperor Lewis the Pious, placing in his hands a document drawn up for the purpose, in which he attempted to prove that all oblati were bound to perpetual obedience. The decision was reversed; perhaps Rabanus was thus prejudiced already against Gottschalk. To the latter, after such excitement, his residence in this monastery could no longer be agreeable; — he repaired to France, and entered the monastery of Orbais, in the diocese of Soissons. There he applied himself assiduously to study, and especially to the study of Augustin and the church fathers of his school. The doctrine of an unconditional predestination held the most important place in his Christian life as well as thoughts. It seemed to him closely connected with the Christian idea of God, and with a right conception of the immutability of the divine will. In general, he was fond of exercising his mind on speculative and doctrinal questions. In reference to this, his friend, the abbot Servatus Lupus, to whom he had propounded several questions about the intuition of God in the future life, suggested by some remarks of Augustin which he found it difficult to understand, wrote to him: "I exhort you, my brother, no longer to perplex your mind with such matters; lest by studying them more than is befitting, you lose the energy and the time which might be expended in investigating or teaching more profitable things. For why inquire so eagerly into that, which perhaps it may be of no use for us at present to know? How can we imagine that with souls still burdened and clogged with the remains of sin, we should be able perfectly to understand that ineffable intuition of God?"[1] He exhorted him, instead, to search more deeply into the inexhaustible treasures of the sacred Scriptures, and ever to seek humbly in them the light of God's countenance. Thus, if under the sense of their present condition, they forbore searching after that which was above their powers of comprehension, divine grace would lead them ever onward to higher attainments, and God might deign to reveal himself to their purged vision.[2] Gottschalk's zeal for the doctrines of Augustin, and perhaps too in the par-

[1] Te, suspiciende frater. exhortor, ut nequaquam ultra in talibus tuum ingenium conteras, ne his ultra quam oportet, occupatus, ad ulteriora vestiganda sive docenda minus sufficias. Quid enim tantopere quaeramus, quod nobis nosse necdum forsan expedit? Certe divinitus illustrata mens Deo loquitur, Is. 64: 4: "Oculus non vidit, quae praeparasti expectantibus te." Et nos illius ineffabilis visionis plenissimam rationem complecti animo concretis vitiorum sordibus adhuc gravato desideramus?

[2] In amplissimo scripturarum campo interim spatiemur, earumque meditationi nos penitus totosque dedamus, faciemque Domini humiliter, pie ac semper quaeramus Ejus erit clementiae, ut dum considerata nostra conditione, altiora nobis non quaeramus nec fortiora scrutamur, nos ad sublimiora et robustiora sustollere purgatisque nostrae mentis obtutibus, quibus videri posse revelavit, semet ipsum dignetur ostendere. ep. 30.

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ticular form in which they are found in Fulgentius,[1] acquired for him the surname Fulgentius.[2]

The peculiarity in the doctrine of Gottschalk consisted in this, that he applied the notion of predestination not merely, as was commonly done, to the pious and to salvation, but also to the reprobate and to everlasting punishment. He affirmed a praedestinatio duplex, by virtue of which God decreed eternal life to the elect, and the elect to eternal life, and so also everlasting punishment to the reprobate, and the reprobate to everlasting punishment; for the two were inseparably connected.[3] This doctrine seemed to him important, because it enabled him to hold fast the unchangeableness of the divine decrees, and their entire independence of all that takes place in time. In reference to the works of God, foreknowledge and foreördination are one; his knowledge being one with his will, and this will, creative.[4] To him the thought seemed revolting, that reprobates, of all others, should be able ever to produce a change in the divine counsels.[5] Gottschalk departed here from the more usual phraseology in the school of Augustin; since it was customary to distinguish the reprobate by the name praesciti, from the predestinate (praedestinatis), chosen to salvation; and in so doing, men were governed, without doubt, by an interest which they felt to hold fast the idea of divine justice in the punishment of the wicked, and to exclude the notion that God was in any sense the author of sin. It was the same interest which led Augustin to assume as his starting position, that by the sin of our first parents the whole race of mankind became liable to a just condemnation, and to look upon that first sin as a free act. Yet Augustin had not always made use of this distinction; while Fulgentius of Ruspe, and Isidore of Seville, had already employed the phrase praedestinatio duplex. There would have been no essential difference between Gottschalk's doctrine and the original one of Augustin, if the former had not been induced by his zeal for consistency in apprehending the doctrine of absolute predestination, to go even beyond the fact of the first sin, and to represent the state of our first parents also as not conditioned by their own free self-determination, but as the necessary fulfilment of an unconditional divine decree, which planned and ordered the history of mankind from the beginning. And assuredly it may be inferred from the fact, that Gottschalk completely identifies God's foreknowledge and predestination, from the fact that he considers all foreknowledge in God as creative, that he made no distinction between an act of will, an act

[1] From whom he may have borrowed particularly the term praedestinatio duplex.

[2] With which Strabo addresses him in the above mentioned poem.

[3] Gottschalk's words are: Nimirum sine causa et reprobatis praedestinasses mortis perpetuae poenam, nisi et ipsos praedestinasses ad eam.

[4] Apud omnipotentiam idem praescire quod velle; see the longer confession of Gottschalk, in Mauguin veterum auctorum de praedestinatione et gratia opera et fragmenta. T. I. p. 10.

[5] He says in his characteristic language: Vere, Domine, satius incommutabiliter fuisset, si nullus nisi te mutabili (nedum mutato) creatus esset (ne dico salvatus), electorum, quanto magis absit, ut immuteris propter vasa irae.

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of creation, and an act of permission, on the part of God, — and consequently his view would coincide with the one just expressed, and which was afterwards known by the name of the Supralapsarian system. But still it cannot be proved, that with clear consciousness he carried his principles to this extent; for whenever he expressed himself in the way above described, he was speaking expressly of God's relation to *his own works* alone;[1] among which works he certainly did not consider sin. As to sin, he considered the punishment of it only by the divine justice as a work of God. He referred God's predestination not to sin, but only to good; but foreknowledge to sin and good at the same time;[2] and goodness, as an object of the divine predestination, he defined as twofold; — the blessings of divine grace, and the decisions of divine justice.[3] Here he presupposes, with Augustin, partly that wicked spirits fell by a trespass of their own free will, partly, that the whole human race sinned in Adam, and shared his guilt. Thus it is impossible to discover, at least in anything which Gottschalk wittingly and distinctly expressed, the least deviation in his doctrines from the Augustinian scheme.

Once on returning, in the year 847, from a pilgrimage to Rome, Gottschalk, at a *hospice* erected for pilgrims by count Eberhard, of Friuli, fell in with Notting, the newly elected bishop of Verona, and there laid before him his doctrine of twofold predestination. That bishop met soon after, at the court of Lewis the Pious, Rabanus Maurus, not long before elected archbishop of Mentz, and conversed with him on this doctrine, which to Rabanus appeared extremely offensive. The latter promised to send him a written refutation of it. Rabanus composed two tracts in opposition to Gottschalk's doctrine, one addressed to bishop Notting of Verona, the other to count Eberhard. In these writings he manifests great excitement against Gottschalk; he takes the liberty to put the worst construction upon his language, and perhaps in the acrimony with which he speaks of him and against him, we may descry the effect of the bitter feelings which had arisen out of their earlier relations to each other. At the same time, however, the heat with which he writes in these letters may have proceeded in great part from a true interest for Christian piety; and we may suppose that he was the more annoyed at hearing this doctrine of absolute predestination so sharply and sternly expressed, because, on the ground which he himself had chosen, he could not avoid, but only conceal these offensive points. He accuses Gottschalk of asserting that the divine foreördination places every man under constraint, so that although he may want to be saved, and may strive after it with true faith and good works, he still labors in vain if he has not been predestined to salvation. Assuredly, nothing could be more remote from the intention of Gottschalk, a man who, though full of zeal for his doc-

[1] He says expressly: Sempiterna cum praescientia voluntas tua de operibus duntaxat tuis, Deum praescisse ac praedestinasse simul et semel tam cuncta quam singula opera sua.

[2] Credo atque confiteor, praescisse te ante seecula quaecunque erant futura sive bona sive mala, praedestinasse vero tantummodo bona.

[3] Bona a te praedestinata bifariam, gratiae beneficia et injustiae judicia.

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trine, was yet discreet, and by no means inclined to insult the moral feelings by asserting anything like this. Assuredly he considered the grace whereby man is converted and sanctified, as the operation by which, in relation to man, the divine decree of predestination reveals itself. Gottschalk assuredly was very far also from teaching, as Rabanus charges, a predestination of man to evil and to good; for we have observed already how he resisted and guarded against the supposition that evil could come from God. In like manner it may be doubted whether what Rabanus reports concerning the practically injurious effects of Gottschalk's doctrines — that by means of them some were misled into a feeling of false security, others to despondency — refers to actual facts, which indeed is possible, or whether it was only a statement derived from the older accounts concerning the predestinationists.

As to the doctrines of Rabanus Maurus himself, he supposes the decrees of God in reference to sin conditioned on his foreknowledge: he does not suppose it to be like the decree of predestination, an unconditional decree; and hence was it a matter of great importance with him to distinguish foreknowledge and predestination, the praesciti and the praedestinati. He expressed himself as follows: God predestined those whom he foreknew as the wicked, to everlasting punishment; but he would not say that God predestined them to everlasting punishment. He considered it also of the greatest practical moment to hold fast, that God would have all men to be saved; that Christ died for the salvation of all: but with this he joined also the assertion, that by the sin of Adam, in whom all sinned, all deserved to be punished everlastingly; and in this way he supposed he should remove from God the causality of the sin and the destruction of those who are left to their own chosen ways.[1] It is true, that of this general mass, all deserving alike to experience the same fate, those only attained salvation, to whom God, after the eternal counsels of his own will, imparted the needful grace, producing in them true conversion. Even unbaptized children remained exposed to the common, deserved fate belonging to them by virtue of inherited sin and the common guilt, since they are not saved by God's mercy through the grace of baptism.[2] But in answering the question, how the different conduct of God towards those whom he left to their deserved fate, and towards those whom he saved from it, could be reconciled with faith in the holiness and justice of God, — in answering this question, he got along by referring to a se-

[1] He says in reference to God, in his second letter to the bishop Notting, ed. Sirmond., p. 35: Cui nullo modo fas est ea quae ab hominibus male aguntur, adscribi, qui in proclivitatem cadendi non ex conditione Dei, sed ex primi patris praevaricatione venerunt. De cujus poena nemo liberatur, nisi per gratiam Domini nostri Jesu Christi, praeparatam et praedestinatam in aeterno consilio Dei ante constitutionem mundi.

[2] Qui praesciti sunt non propriis voluntatibus, quorum nullae vel bonae vel malae sunt, nisi tantum in Adae peccato, quod traxere nascentes et in hoc manentes solverunt tempus vitae praesentis. Quid enim justitia de iis faciat, quibus misericordia non subvenit, qui pura fide credit Deo dicente Domino Jo. 6: 54. intelligit et a contentione recedit. From this application of the passage, it is clear that the necessity of the communion of infants was not yet acknowledged.

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cret divine counsel, and to the incomprehensibleness of the divine dealings; — men should hold fast to that only which is placed beyond all doubt, to faith in God's holiness and justice, and not seek to fathom that which is incomprehensible. "If you want to know of me, why God, with whom there is no respect of persons, still makes these two differences, since universally either justice must punish, or mercy acquit, then judge with Paul, or if you dare do it, correct him, when he says, 'O man, who art thou,' etc., Rom. 9: 30."[1]

Thus Rabanus Maurus shrunk, it is true, from everything that might throw the least shadow of an appearance of the causality of sin upon God; above all, from what might seem to impugn the doctrine of God's holiness and justice; yet he did not show how it was possible to avoid the consequences flowing out of his own presuppositions, but could only lay down the contrary positions, while he appealed to the incomprehensibleness of the divine perfections. Nor did he venture to make the least actual departure from the scheme of Augustin; expressing himself for the most part in such propositions as he had borrowed and compiled together from the writings of Augustin and Prosper. In this beginning of the controversy we see marked beforehand the whole succeeding course of it, — it was not a dispute of ideas, but only of harsher or milder forms of expression.

When the letter of Rabanus to the bishop Notting came to be communicated to Gottschalk, he was much surprised to find himself thus treated as a teacher of error. He believed that instead of deserving such treatment himself, he should be able to convict Rabanus, in his own letter, of Semi-pelagian principles, and to show that he was a disciple of Gennadius rather than of Augustin.[2] Perhaps with the hope of coming to some understanding on the contested points with the archbishop Rabanus, he repaired, in the year 848, to Mentz, where he fearlessly appeared before the chiefs of the spiritual and secular orders, at an assembly held under the archbishop, in presence of the king of Germany. He handed over to that prelate a writing in which he explained and defended his own peculiar views concerning the twofold predestination. He controverted the position, that when it is said God will have all men to be saved, this ought to be referred to all in the absolute sense, and to include the reprobate; and so too that Christ came into the world to save all, in the absolute sense; that he suffered for all absolutely. All this he would have understood as limited to the elect; for the will and counsel of the Almighty God, that is, in reference to redemption, he supposed, must be absolutely fulfilled

[1] Quod si a me quaeris scire, cur duas istas differentias Deus faciat, si personarum acceptor non est, quia generaliter aut punire debet justitia aut misericordia liberare, contende cum Paulo, immo si audes argue Paulum, qui dicit Christo in se loquente Rom. 9: 30. Ego autem hoc dico quod dixi, quia quicquid Deus agit, misericorditer juste sancteque facit, quia solus ipse praesciendo scit quod homo nesciendo nescit. l. c. p. 39.

[2] See the words of Gottschalk, addressed to Rabanus, in Hinkmar's work on predestination, c. 21, f. 118, in reference to the doctrine of free will: Unde te potius ejusdem catholicissimi doctoris (Augustini) malueram auctoritate niti, quam erroneis opinionibus Massiliensis Gennadii, qui plerisque praesumsit in locis tam fidei catholicae quam beatorum etiam patrum invictissimis auctoritatibus, infelicis Cassiani perniciosum nimis dogma sequens reniti.

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in fact, and could be referred to those only in whom it went into absolute fulfilment.[1] Yet however precisely he might express himself on this point, still he said nothing but what Rabanus must also be obliged to concede. For although the latter was continually dwelling on such propositions, as that God will have all men to be saved, Christ died for the salvation of all, yet he took away again the substance of these propositions, by teaching that those only would be actually saved on whom God bestowed the necessary grace to qualify them for this salvation; and that this was done only in the case of the elect. We must allow he had only himself to blame for this contradiction, by making his appeal to a secret, incomprehensible decree of God.

But Gottschalk had no reason to expect a calm hearing and an impartial trial from this assembly. The word of Rabanus Maurus here was law. Gottschalk's doctrine was condemned as heretical; and as no definitive sentence could be passed by this judicature upon his person, since he belonged to another diocese, he was sent to the archbishop Hinkmar of Rheims, with a letter from Rabanus Maurus, calling upon Hinkmar as Gottschalk's ecclesiastical superior, to prevent his going about, and to render him harmless for the future. Hinkmar summoned him before one of the customary mixed assemblies of the orders, held in the presence of the king, at Chiersy, in 849; and as instead of retracting he boldly defended his doctrine, this conduct was in all probability most unjustly construed, as obstinacy against his lawful superiors. He was accused of treating the bishops with contempt, and contrary to the calling and character of a monk of interrupting the deliberations on affairs of church and State, — though the interruptions which he may have occasioned in the assemblies at Mentz and Chiersy, was a thing for which he certainly was not chargeable in the least; he only gave public testimony of that which he had found to be the truth, and which he believed himself able to prove by the declarations of Scripture and of the older church-fathers. Yet on the wretched foundation of such charges, he was not only declared a teacher of error, but also condemned to be whipped, and then to be imprisoned in another monastery.[2] This sentence was executed; Gottschalk was

[1] In Hincmar, c. 24. f. 149: Omnes quos vult Deus salvos fieri sine dubitatione salvantur nec possunt salvari, nisi quos vult Deus salvos fieri nec est quisquam, quem Deus salvari velit et non salvetur, quia Deus noster omnia quaecunque voluit, fecit; — and c. 27. f. 211, he distinguishes: Illos omnes impios et peccatores, quos proprio fuso sanguine filius Dei redimere venit, hos omnipotens Dei bonitas ad vitam praedestinatos irretractabiliter salvari tantummodo velit; — and then: Illos omnes impios et peccatores, pro quibus idem filius Dei nec corpus assumsit, nec orationem nec dico sanguinem fudit, neque pro iis ullo modo crucifixus fuit; — and c. 29, f. 216: Deus nullius reproborum perpetualiter esse voluit salvator, nullius redemptor et nullius coronator.

[2] The sentence drawn up by Hinkmar, after forbidding him to exercise the priestly functions, proceeds as follows: Insuper quia et ecclesiastica et civilia negotia contra propositum et nomen monachi contemnens conturbare jura ecclesiastica praesumsisti, durissimis verberibus castigari et secundum ecclesiasticas regulas ergastulo retrudi auctoritate episcopali decernimus; — and in a letter, in which Hinkmar gives an account of these transactions, in the libellus Remigii et ecclesiae Lugdunensis de tribus epistolis, c. 24, in Mauguin vindiciae praedestinationis et gratiae pars altera pag. 107, he says himself: Ut arreptitius (like one possessed), cum quid rationabiliter responderet, non habuit, in contumelias singulorum prorupit et propter impudentissimam insolentiam suam per regulam sancti Bene-

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inhumanly scourged, till forced by pain he was constrained to cast into the flames the writing he had composed in defence of his doctrine; a document which contained nothing but a compilation of testimonies from Scripture and from the older church teachers.[1] He was then confined in Hautvilliers, a monastery belonging to the diocese of Rheims. The voices which now rose in favor of Gottschalk induced archbishop Hinkmar to make his situation somewhat more comfortable; perhaps also he hoped to win the man to submit by gentleness, whose will could not be broken by force. But at the demand of Rabanus Maurus, Hinkmar soon resorted again to new severities against the unfortunate monk. All attempts to draw from him any sort of recantation were unavailing. He made use of every means he could command in his confinement, for the defence of his cause. He inspired sympathy in a certain monk by the name of Guntbert[2] belonging to the monastery of Hautvilliers. This monk secretly left the monastery with an appeal addressed by Gottschalk to pope Nicholas, and carried it to Rome. Nor did Gottschalk fear to incense his oppressors still more by violently opposing them in other things not connected with this controversy.[3] We see him everywhere exhibiting himself as a man inclined to lay an undue stress on dogmatic formularies.

The most important point to him was always his doctrine of two-fold predestination. In defence of it, he drew up in his prison two confessions of faith, a shorter and a longer one.[4] This doctrine seemed to him to be closely connected with the essence of the Christian faith; for he was persuaded, that whoever denied the predestination of the wicked by God to everlasting punishment, made God a mutable being, not to be placed on a level even with a man acting after wise and mature consideration.[5] Whoever with hardened temper refused to acknowledge so plain a doctrine, appeared to him a teacher of error, with whom nothing could be done, and who ought to be avoided. The

dicti a monachorum abbatibus vel caeteris monachis dignus flagello adjudicatus. Et quia contra canonicam institutionem civilia et ecclesiastica negotia perturbare studuit indefessus et se noluit recognoscere vel aliquo modo humiliare profusus ab episcopis et secundum ecclesiastica jura damnatus.

[1] The church at Lyons expresses itself in the letter already referred to, as follows: Quapropter illud prorsus omnes non solum dolent, sed etiam horrent, quia inaudito irreligiositatis et crudelitatis exemplo tamdiu ille miserabilis flagris et caedibus trucidatus est, donec (sicut narrarunt nobis, qui praesentes aderant) accenso coram se igni libellum, in quo sententias scripturarum sive sanctorum patrum sibi collegerat, quas in concilio offerret, coactus est jam paene emoriens suis manibus in flammam projicere.

[2] Of whom Hinkmar, in reporting the fact, gives a very unfavorable account (T. II. opp. fol. 290), which however, coming as it does from so passionate an opponent, is entitled to no great confidence.

[3] As the same expression, trina Deitas, in an ancient church hymn, had been found offensive on account of the horror of Tritheism, and the word sancta had been substituted in place of trina, Gottschalk stood forth as a defender of the church hymn, attacking the alteration as betraying a leaning to Sabellianism. Hinkmar has inserted Gottschalk's treatise in his refutation of it. The monk Ratramnus of Corbie also wrote against Hinkmar on this matter.

[4] Published by Mauguin in the first volume of the work above mentioned.

[5] In his larger confession of faith. His words are: Videant quale sit et quantum malum, quod quum omnes electi tui omnia bona semper fecerint, faciant et facturi sint cum consilio, praesumant affirmare, quod tu qui totius es auctor fonsque sapientiae volueris vel valueris vel etiam debueris quicquam (quod absit) absque consilio patrare.

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greatest distress which he felt from his personal sufferings, arose from the thought that his own disgrace might operate unfavorably on the cause of truth.[1] He longed for a public council where he might convince those who had only been led astray by the errorists, but were not obstinately in the wrong. And though he did not suppose himself a worker of miracles, and was far from being a miracle-hunter, yet he was so strongly convinced of the truth and of the importance of his doctrine that, in reliance on God and this truth, he expected if men could be convinced in no other way, God would work a miracle to prove it. He offered to undergo the fiery ordeal, and publicly before the king, and an assembly of bishops, clergy and monks, to step into four caldrons one after another, filled with boiling water, oil and pitch.[2] If he shrunk from fulfilling his engagement, they might immediately cast him into the fire. "Let no one accuse me of rashness — said he — on account of this proposal. I do it relying on the grace of God alone."[3] But it is remarkable that not an individual was to be found to take up with this proposal, though in the existing state of public opinion no easier way could have been devised for exposing his cause, which had so many powerful friends, to sure disgrace.

Thus firm and steadfast in his opinions did Gottschalk remain till his death, in 868. Hinkmar refused to grant him the communion in his last sickness, and burial according to the rites of the church, except on the condition of a full and explicit recantation. But rather than comply with this condition, he renounced both, and died tranquilly in his faith.

The injustice and severity with which Hinkmar treated the downtrodden Gottschalk, could hardly fail to call forth Christian sympathy at his fate, and indignation against the persecutors of the innocent victim. But in addition to sympathy for the man was sympathy also for the cause to which he sacrificed himself, for the Augustinian scheme, for which he so zealously labored,—and with many this feeling operated still more strongly than the other. Pope Nicholas, to whom as we have already stated, Gottschalk had appealed, and to whom the matter was reported, partly by Gottschalk's friends, and partly by the enemies of Hinkmar in order to injure him, seems to have expressed himself dissatisfied with the condemnation and severe treatment of Gottschalk, and to have demanded an exact account of the whole pro-

[1] Maximum diu noctuque perfero moerorem, quod propter mei nominis vilitatem vilem hominibus video esse veritatem.

[2] He does not arrogantly say that he is ready to do this, but clothes it in the form of a prayer, that God would grant him the ability to accomplish it: Utinam placeret tibi, ut sicut in te credo et spero (dato mihi gratis posse, prout jam dare dignatus es et dare quotidie dignaris etiam velle), id approbarem cernentibus cunctis examine, ut videlicet quatuor doliis uno post unum positis atque ferventi sigillatim repletis aqua, oleo pingui et pice et ad ultimum accenso copiosissimo igne, liceret mihi invocato gloriosissimo nomine tuo, ad approbandam hanc fidem meam, imo fidem catholicam in singula introire et ita per singula transire (te praeveniente, comitante ac subsequente dexteramque praebente ac clementer educente, valerem sospes exire).

[3] Quia prorsus ausum talia petendi, sicut ipse melius nosti, a me propria temeritate non praesumo, sed abs te potius tua benignitate sumo.

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ceeding.[1] He wrote to king Charles the Bald, that he could not always protect Hinkmar against the complaints circulated respecting him, and that Hinkmar had better be on his guard lest in the end he might experience that which he would not like to have happen.[2] Hinkmar offered, it is true, to send Gottschalk, if he, the pope, expressly required it,[3] to Rome, or to any other place for the purpose of undergoing a new trial under the pope's direction. But it is easy to see, that he was not serious in this; and that he took every pains, to dissuade the pope from bringing the matter before his own court, as he doubtless had reason to dread an examination of his conduct in this affair. Now whether it was that Nicholas, who certainly had stood forth in other cases as a defender of oppressed innocence and of justice, was actuated by the same pure motives in this case also, or whether his unfavorable humor towards Hinkmar, the active and powerful advocate of church-freedom, made him lend a more ready ear to the latter's opponents; it is evident that he must have had many grounds of suspicion against that prelate; but it is no less singular that, in spite of them all, he repeatedly allowed himself to be pacified, and that the unflinching energy, setting all common forms at naught, with which he pressed on to his object, on other occasions of greater moment to him, was not exerted to save a poor forsaken monk.

As Hinkmar could not but know, after his first harsh treatment of Gottschalk, that much dissatisfaction was expressed at his conduct, he asked the advice of several eminent men respecting the course proper to be pursued, in dealing with Gottschalk for the future. He applied for this purpose to Prudentius, bishop of Troyes, in a letter giving a statement of the course he had thus far pursued, as well as an account of the man's character, which undoubtedly was a very unjust one. He asked Prudentius whether he ought to admit him to the communion; whether he might not admit him, at least, on the festival of Easter, or whether he ought not, according to Ezekiel 33: 11, to seek first to bring the sinner to repentance, and then grant him absolution. The bishop, as we may conjecture from his later conduct, would probably advise Hinkmar to pursue a milder course towards the unfortunate man; for in truth there was not much in his doctrinal opinions with which Prudentius would have been disposed to find fault. This influence, which would have persuaded Hinkmar to gentler measures, was counteracted by Rabanus Maurus, who in a letter complaining that Gottschalk was allowed so much liberty to write and discourse, which he would be sure to employ to the injury of others, represented it as Hinkmar's duty to deny him the communion, unless he agreed to a recantation.[4] "All that remains to be done — said he — is to pray for our weak brother, that it may please Almighty

[1] See Hinkmar's letter to this pope, T. II. opp. f. 261.

[2] As Hinkmar cites the words in his letter to Egilo, bishop of Sens (T. II. opp. f. 290): Ut providerem, ne pro iis tandem aliquando incurram quae non opto.

[3] See his first cited letter.

[4] See the letter of Raban, among the three letters published by Sirmond, p. 26 et seq. Attendite, quomodo vos sine crimine possitis esse, qui in synodo vestra hanc sectam nefandam simul cum haeretico damnastis, si ei modo incorrecto communicaveritis.

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God to save his soul, and bring him back to the true faith." Prudentius afterwards came over to the doctrine of Gottschalk, and in a letter addressed to archbishop Hinkmar, and Pardulus bishop of Lyons, entering largely into the discussion of the three contested points of doctrine, openly avowed his convictions. He affirmed a twofold predestination, though he held God's predestination in respect to the wicked, to be conditioned on His foreknowledge of all the sin and guilt that would follow in consequence of the fall of Adam. He expressly denied that God foreördained any man to sin; he taught only a foreördination to punishment. He maintained, also, that Christ died only for the elect, which he inferred from the words "for many," in Matthew 20: 28 — "for you," in the institution of the eucharist. And he taught that God wills not the salvation of all, but only of the elect; arguing that God would not be the Almighty, if that which is his will did not actually take place. The words of St. Paul, 1 Timothy 2: 4, he endeavored to explain away by various forced interpretations.[1]

The conflict of opinions on this subject induced king Charles the Bald to consult monk Ratramnus, of the monastery of Corbie, who was considered one of the learned theologians of his time, as to the judgment to be passed on these contested points, according to the declarations of the older church teachers. Ratramnus, in his work on Predestination,[2] expressed, without alluding to Gottschalk, or even mentioning his name, his views on the doctrine of a twofold predestination. He also inferred the doctrine of a predestination of the wicked to everlasting punishment, as well as of the pious to eternal happiness, as a necessary consequence from the eternity and immutability of the divine counsels; but he also supposed God's predestination, in respect to the reprobate, to be grounded on foreknowledge, since it was an important point with him to remove from God all appearance of a causality of sin; and he also proceeded, in so doing, from fundamental principles laid down by Augustin.[3] The development of doctrine on this point was somewhat advanced, therefore, by him.

Amongst the defenders of the Gottschalkian scheme, the person who most distinguished himself was the already mentioned abbot Servatus Lupus. Eminent for his classical learning, he had acquired, partly by the aid and discipline of his favorite studies, uncommon skill in the lucid exposition of a subject. This clearness of exposition never led him, it is true, to any new or original results; but no

[1] Vel omnes ex omni genere hominum vel omnes velle fieri salvos, quia nos facit velle fieri omnes homines salvos. This tract is published in Cellot's Historia Gotheschalci, Paris 1655, in the appendix, fol. 420.

[2] De praedestinatione Dei libri II. in Mauguin T. I.

[3] In reference to grace (l. c. f. 76), he says, concerning the ordo praedestinationis: Electos divini amoris flamma succendens, interiora id est spiritalia, et superna id est coelestia concupiscere semper facit et sequi, at reprobos justo quidem judicio, mortalibus tamen occulto, dum desiderio supernae patriae non irradiat, atque eos invisibilis boni extorres derelinquit, non interiora, sed exteriora, non coelestia, sed terrena bona diligere sequique permittit. Non enim veritatis quisquam bonum vel amare potest vel assequi, nisi veritatis luce commonitus.

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man excelled him in a power of distinctly apprehending and setting forth the proper questions of dispute, and in a felicity of separating essential from non-essential points. He occupied himself in his work (De tribus quaestionibus) with the investigation of the three questions, respecting free-will, the twofold predestination, and whether Christ died for all men, or only for the elect.

The doctrine of grace, and of the need in which human nature stands of divine assistance, drawn as it was from the depths of his own Christian experience, was unfolded by him in a very lively manner. "Whenever — says he — a person strives to fulfil the divine commands, but finds himself unable, let him repair humbly to him who can satisfy his need, and let him glory not in himself, but in the Lord, for all the good which he receives from Him."[1] The Christian foundation, the renunciation of one's self, the inspiring consciousness of absolute dependence on God, he sets over against that of moral self-sufficiency and of self-trust in the ancient world, describing the latter in the language of the ancient authors themselves.[2] In his exhibition of the doctrine of grace, he does not stop, any more than did Augustin, at the condition of man's nature after the fall, but traces it back to the nature of the creaturely relation to God. He designates grace as that principle of divine life, which the soul needs, in order to its perfection, from the very beginning, — that *without which*, and left to himself, man, even in the pristine state of innocence, could accomplish nothing good. God is to the soul, what the soul is to the body.[3] With skilful sophistry he interprets 1 Timothy 2: 4, "God will have all men to be saved," a passage contradicting his system of predestination, in such a way as to evade its force. But the consummate art which he displays on this occasion, shows, in spite of the dogmatical prejudices which led him astray, that he had taken great pains to study the usus loquendi of the New Testament.[4] From what Lupus

[1] Profecto ut dum conatur quis nec sufficit quae jubentur implere, illuc fatigatione humiliatus recurrat, unde petendo, quaerendo, pulsando, accipiat quod desiderat et non in se, sed in Domino de omnibus ejus beneficiis glorietur.

[2] Cato's words in Cicero de senectute c. II.: Quibus nihil opus est in ipsis ad bene beateque vivendum, to which he opposes these: omnia bona a vero Deo, non a seipso petere; — Virgil's words: spes sibi quisque, to which he opposes these: cuique Deus vera spes.

[3] Habuit Adam liberum voluntatis arbitrium et ad bonum et ad malum, sed ad bonum divino munere adjuvandum, ad malum autem divino judicio deserendum. Quemadmodum non adjuvaretur in bono ab eo, qui vita esset animae ejus, ut anima corporis ejus? Vid. pag. 212. ed. Baluz.

[4] He proposes various expedients, to understand the words with a limitation evacuating them of all meaning, salvantur omnes, quoscunque ille salvare voluerit, and he is of the opinion, that this arbitrary interpretation of the word "all" can be supported by many examples, just as it was customary to defend such arbitrary modes of interpretation, in times when the grammatical study of the sacred Scriptures was more common. Omnes autem non semper universitatem generaliter, verum aliquando exceptionem quandam particulariter comprehendere, etiam ipse apostolus idoneus auctor est, for in the text 1 Corinth. 10: 33, the term "all" can be understood only with limitation. Or the term "all" may be understood thus: quod ex *omni genere* hominum colligat ad salutem id est quosdam Judaeorum atque gentilium, quosdam utriusque sexus, nonnullos magistratuum et privatorum, aliquos dominorum atque servorum, ingeniosorum atque habetum. So too the omne olus, Luke 11: 42; — or that it refers to the disposition, which the Spirit of God produces in the hearts of believers, qui velle nos facit

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Servatus says, we might infer that many, in their efforts to soften the rigor of the Augustinian system, had already advanced so far as to depart from Augustin in the doctrine respecting the relation of free-will to grace; for he speaks of those who supposed that God's predestination, even in respect to the elect, was conditioned on his foreknowledge of their conduct.[1] To this opinion he expresses himself decidedly opposed, because the grace of God is made thereby to depend on human merit, and is therefore rendered void. He gives it to be understood, that men of high standing in the church had asserted this; but we find none such, at least among those who appear in the controversy with Gottschalk. And he himself says, that predestination in this sense was acknowledged by the most; but that many[2] took offence at a predestination to damnation; and he rightly states also what it was, in this doctrine, that chiefly offended them.[3] Would such persons but consider, he said, that God fore*knew* the sins which would grow out of Adam's free-will, but fore*ordained* what should follow, as the consequence of these sins, they would cease to find so much difficulty in the doctrine. He sets forth himself the practically mischievous conclusions which might be derived from the doctrine of absolute predestination. Many would say: Why not abandon ourselves, then, to every lust, if we must perish at last? But he replies: Nothing of that sort can be said by one who stands on the true Christian foundation. Far from indulging such thought must be the Christian, who knows that he has been redeemed by Christ, that he was dedicated to God by baptism, that the way to that repentance which is unto salvation stands ever open. How can he, while he lives, despair of salvation, instead of trusting in God's goodness that he lives for the very purpose of finally becoming better? The very utterance of such a sentiment betrays one who is actuated by an insatiable love of sin, or who, by his incorrigible impiety, has plunged himself into despair. Those declarations of holy Scripture, where it is said, that Christ died for all, he explains to himself in the same way as he does the declaration, God will have all men to be saved. Perhaps, he says, it might be argued with a degree of plausibility, that Christ died for all those who have received the *sacraments of faith*, whether they observe them or not. Yet he expresses himself on this contested question with great moderation. "Since many — says he — reject it as a blasphemous assertion, as an assertion which greatly detracts from the merits of our Redeemer, to say that he did not redeem all men, we will, therefore, holding fast only to the faith, that God has redeemed, by the blood of Christ, all whom he willed, leave the matter so far undetermined,[4] as to allow that if it could be shown, that the blood of the Redeemer had somewhat bene-

omnes homines salvos fieri; in proof, Rom. 8: 26, ipse spiritus postulat, hoc est, postulare nos facit.

[1] Deum propterea praedestinasse quoslibet, quod praescierit eos devotos sibi futuros et in eadem devotione mansuros.

[2] In quibus et quaedam praeclara praesulum lumina.

[3] Ne credatur Deus libidine puniendi aliquos condidisse et injuste damnare eos, qui non valuerint peccatum ac per hoc nec supplicium declinare.

[4] Ita causam in medio relinquimus.

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fitted even the damned in the mitigation of their punishment, we would not only not oppose it, but even gladly adopt their opinion; for if the sun, though it cannot enlighten, still gives warmth to the blind, why may not that mightier sun, though it does not save those who are blinded and lost by their own guilt, still make them experience, in the mitigation of their sufferings, the influence of so great a ransom?" At the same time, this view seems to him contradicted by the passage in Galatians 5: 2; for he argues: "If it is here said, that Christ shall profit them nothing who had fallen from the faith, how should he profit those who after baptism, have fallen into sin, and have not reformed, but died in unbelief?" But in order to concede something to the advocates of that view, he cites a passage from Chrysostom, who on this matter is unquestionably widely opposed to Augustin.[1] And he then leaves it free for each one to decide, after mature consideration of the whole matter, as God may enable him to do by inward illumination, or as he may believe he finds it clearly laid down in the sacred Scriptures.[2]

It deserves at the same time to be remarked, that Servatus Lupus, much as he was inclined to respect the authority of Augustin, yet nowhere speaks of his declarations as infallible in matters of faith, but seems to have ascribed this infallibility to holy Scripture alone, as in fact ascribing *such* authority to Augustin would have been directly at variance with his own declarations concerning himself.[3]

At the invitation of king Charles the Bald, John Scotus also took part in this controversy. He wrote, in the year 851, a book on predestination,[4] in which he declared himself opposed to Gottschalk's doctrine. But it was not in the nature of the man to pass judgment on his opponents with the candid impartiality of a Servatus Lupus. He drew a frightful picture of Gottschalk's heresy, as he styled it. He affirmed that both divine grace and man's free-will were denied by it, since it derived alike the crimes which lead to damnation and the virtues which lead to eternal life, from a necessary and constraining predestination. By unconditional necessity, grace as the free gift of God was destroyed on the one hand, and the free-will of man on the other.[5] His performance generally was an outpouring of virulent abuse on the head of that Gottschalk, whose confessions of faith he pretended to refute. A twofold predestination in the sense of Gottschalk, one the cause of man's virtue and everlasting blessedness, the other the cause of sin and of everlasting destruction,[6] seemed to him an altogether

[1] Ponam unum, quod eum eis faciat testimonium, et eos omnes, ut opinor, in gratiam reduxero.

[2] Eligat sane superioribus acute consideratis unusquisque quod optimum ei Deus occulta inspiratione suggesserit, aut magistra ejus scriptura manifesta ratione protulerit.

[3] After citing Augustin's decision on the contested points, he says (p. 237): Ne amore doctorum amplecti judicemur errores eorum, procedat Paulus in medium; — and in another place, p. 239, he says: Jam ergo, cum res in tuto sit, ponamus verborum controversias, ne puerili animositate contra invicem pro inani victoriae jactantia litigantes corripiamur ab apostolo 2 Tim. 2: 14. Nam cum sit nobis unus magister coelestis, qui est verus et veritas, unde accipitur et quo referenda est omnis veritas, cur pro nostris inventis dimicemus?

[4] Published by Mauguin, in the first volume of the work above cited.

[5] See De praedestinat. c. IV.

[6] Which first Gottschalk to be sure had not asserted.

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untenable theory, for this, if for no other reason, because it supposes an opposition, a contradiction in God, which is irreconcilable with the simplicity of the divine essence.[1] But to understand the character of his polemics as well as his own doctrine, it is necessary to keep in view the fundamental ideas of his system, as they have been already stated. All he says on the contested questions is a necessary consequence from these principles. According to his view, everything in fact that is predicated of God, is only an anthropopathic designation of his incomprehensible nature. For this reason, opposite attributes may be transferred to God.[2] When we attribute to the divine Being an act of creation, of will, of foreknowledge, of foreördination, the same thing at bottom is denoted by all this, the one divine Essence.[3] Above all, no relations of time can be transferred to God; in relation to him we cannot speak of a before or an after. Hence it is only in an anthropopathic way, only in an improper sense, that a foreknowledge and a foreördination can be predicated of God. But in reference to sin, we can speak neither of a divine causality, nor even of a knowledge in the case of the divine Being. Sin for the divine Being has no existence at all. Much less can we speak of a predestination or a foreknowledge of God with regard to sin. And as sin or evil has no existence at all for the divine Being, so it can be said only in an improper sense, that God *punishes sin*. The idea denoted by such a mode of expression is no other than this — God has so constituted the order of things, that *sin punishes itself*, and all rational beings find their appropriate place in the universe according to their different moral conduct. Every sin carries with it its own punishment, which takes place secretly in the present life, but will appear openly in the life to come.[4] Now this theory might be carried to such a length as to end in the opinion that sin met only with an internal, spiritual punishment, and in the total denial of sensible punishments after death, of a sensuous purgatory and a sensuous hell, which would be contrary to the doctrine of the church. In his work De divisione Naturae, he actually carried out his principle to this extent. He found in all the representations of sensuous punishments in the sacred Scriptures, only figurative descriptions of the internal punishments which sin must carry along with it, and which consist in the inward anguish, the remaining, unsatisfied strivings of earthly desires, left entirely to themselves.[5]

[1] Si autem divina natura summa omnium, quae sunt, causa multiplex, cum sit, simplex et una saluberrime creditur, consequenter necesse est nullam in se ipsa controversiam recipere credatur.

[2] What he says on this point in the work alluded to completely harmonizes with the system unfolded in the work De divisione naturae, with this difference only, that in the book on predestination he expresses himself with more caution and reserve. Omnia paene sive nominum sive verborum aliarumque orationis partium signa proprie de Deo dici non posse. Eis tamen utitur humanae ratiocinationis post peccatum primi hominis laboriosa egestas. c. IX.

[3] Quicquid invenitur esse non aliud id esse, nisi unam veramque essentiam, quae ubique in se ipsa tota est, et quae est illa, nisi omnium naturarum praesciens praedestinatio et praescientia praedestinans. c. X. near the end.

[4] Nullum peccatum est, quod non se ipsum puniat, occulte tamen in hac vita, aperte vero in altera. c. VI. near the close.

[5] L. V. c. 29. f. 265. Ubi Judas salvatoris nostri proditor torquetur? Numquid alibi, nisi in polluta conscientia, qua Dominum tradidit? Qualem poenam patitur? Seram profecto poenitentiam et inutilem, qua semper uritur. Quid patitur dives ille in inferno? Nonne splendidarum epu-

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The notion of a sensuous hell he would reckon among the prejudices clinging to the sensuous multitude who are as yet incapable of the higher, spiritual apprehension.[1] And even on the present occasion he adhered to what he had said in that work concerning spiritual punishments, even on the present occasion he maintained that nothing outward was, in and of its own nature, punishment; that God had created no part of the world to subserve the end of punishment. Yet, he now endeavored to bring the peculiar and established theory respecting the fire of hell into harmony with his own view of punishment. This fire of hell was created by God to fill its own appropriate place in the harmony of the universe, but not for the wicked. Only to those who bore their own punishment within them, would it prove to be a place of punishment, just as the same light of the sun acts in one way on the sound, and in another on the diseased eye.[2] For why ought not everything that is in itself good, to become evil to the wicked, when he has estranged himself from the supreme good?[3] — "To the eternal, divine laws — says he — all must be obedient. In this only consists the difference between the elect and the reprobate, that the latter obey these laws from constraint, the former with free-will. The divine wisdom has fixed a boundary in its laws, beyond which the perversity of the godless cannot go. Sin cannot go on progressing without end; it finds its limits in the divine laws. The wickedness of the godless, and of their head, the devil, tends to nothing else than to fall utterly from Him who is the highest being; so that, if the divine law allowed of it, their nature would sink into nothing, as sin is nothing. But in the very fact that sin finds itself held in check by the eternal laws, so that it cannot fall so low as it would, in this very fact it finds its punishment. God then has foreördained the godless to punishment; which means only this: he has circumscribed them by his immutable laws, which their wickedness cannot escape.[4] Just as God frees the will of those whom he has foreördained to grace, and so filled them with the sense of his love, that they not only rejoice to abide within the bounds of his eternal law, but also esteem it their highest glory to be neither willing nor able to transgress it; so he constrains the will

larum, quibus in hac vita vescebatur, egestatem? Qua flamma consumitur impurissimus rex Herodes, nisi suo furore, quo in necem exarsit innocentium? Haec exempla de pravis malarum voluntatum motibus, quos in semetipsis vitiorum torquet justissima vindicta, diversarumque libidinum cicatrices sufficiunt. Unusquisque enim impie viventium ipsa vitiorum libidine, qua in carne exarsit, veluti quadam flamma inextinguibili torquebitur.

[1] Vid. fol 284, 286 and 292.

[2] Non ergo ille ignis est poena neque ad eam praeparatus vel praedestinatus, sed qui fuerat praedestinatus, ut esset in universitate omnium bonorum, sedes factus est impiorum. In quo procul dubio non minus habitabunt beati quam miseri, sed sicut una eademque lux sanis oculis convenit, impedit dolentibus. c. XVII. § 8.

[3] Quid enim bonorum illi non noceret, quando ei auctor omninm placere non poterat, aut ubi nullum bonum non nocebit cui summo bono frui non placuit?

[4] Quid enim appetit impiorum omnium et sui capitis, quod est diabolus nequitia, nisi ab eo qui est summa essentia recedere? In tantum, ut eorum natura, si lex divina sineret, in nihilum rediret, hinc namque nequitia est dicta, quod nequicquam, id est nihilum esse contendit. Sed quoniam ei difficultas ex aeternis legibus obsistit, ne in tantum cadat, quantum vellet, ex ea difficultate laborat, laborando torquetur, punitur, et fit misera inanium voluptatum egestate. Praedestinavit itaque Deus impios ad poenam vel interitum hoc est circumscripsit eos legibus suis incommutabilibus, quas eorum impietas evadere non permittitur.

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of the reprobate, whom he has foreördained to punishment, in such manner that everything which, in the case of the former, results in the joy of the eternal life, becomes, on the contrary, to the latter, the punishment of everlasting wo." [1]

John Scotus stands forth, it is true, as a defender of the free-will; and he accuses his opponent of denying this, and of subjecting everything to a constraining necessity. In fact, however, he proceeds on precisely the same principle with theologians of Gottschalk's bent, since he too assumes that it is only by the grace which God communicates to the elect, the corrupt will can be awakened to goodness. But he is deceived in his notions of freedom and of ability, by supposing man free within his own individuality, and by ascribing even to fallen man the ability for good, though this ability can only come into actual exercise through the influence of that grace. He employs an illustration which sets his view of the matter in a clear light. As a man in the dark, though he possesses the ability to see with his eyes, yet sees nothing, till the light comes to him from without, so is it with the corrupt will, till the light of divine mercy shine upon it.[2] And so he says in another place, that the will of man has not a false, but a true freedom, though this freedom itself is so impaired by the consequences of the first sin, as to be wanting in the will to do good, or if it will to do good, in the ability to accomplish the good; but still there ever remains a certain natural freedom, which manifests itself in the innate longing after blessedness.[3]

Following out the conceptions thus defined, he must assuredly, if he had clearly understood what Gottschalk meant, and instead of accusing him of conclusions he never admitted, allowed him to experience common justice, have agreed with him in his results respecting predestination, grace, and free-will. His own doctrine concerning God,[4] concerning the creation, and concerning sin, did in truth really lead to the result of contemplating everything, good and evil, as a necessary evolution from God, though certainly he had never distinctly avowed this to his own mind; and the illogical method common to the learned of these times, with the sole exception of Servatus Lupus, would render the possibility of self-deception here extremely easy. But that which, beyond question, constitutes an essential difference between John Scotus and his opponents, nay, his fellow-combatants also, is his doctrine concerning the mode of the divine punishments, and his doc-

[1] Vid. De praedestinat. c. XVIII. § 8.

[2] C. IV. § 8. Sicut enim homo in densissimis tenebris positus habens sensum videndi quidem nihil vidit, quia nihil potest videre antequam extrinsecus veniat lux, quam etiam adhuc clausis oculis sentit, apertis vero et eam et in ea cuncta circumposita conspicit, sic voluntas hominis quamdiu originalis peccati propriorumque umbra tegitur, ipsius caligine impeditur. Dum autem lux divinaé misericordiae illuxerit, non solum noctem peccatorum omnium eorumque reatum destruit, sed etiam obtutum infirmae voluntatis sanando aperit et ad se contemplandum bonis operibus purgando idoneum facit.

[3] Manente tamen adhuc naturali libertate, quae intelligitur beatitudinis appetitu, qui ei naturaliter insitus est.

[4] Although he says in his work on predestination (c. V. § 5): Non enim Deus omnium bonorum causa est necessaria, sicut ignis ardendi, sol calefaciendi, illuminandi, aut coactiva, ut sensus dormiendi, sitis bibendi, sed est voluntaria, ut sapientia sapientis, ratio ratiocinantis similiter.

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trine concerning the restoration, which last, to be sure, does not hold in this book so prominent a place, as in the work containing his entire system.

Hinkmar was compelled to regret that he had called into the field a champion of this character,[1] and he soon renounced all connection with him; for many weak spots were thus laid open to the friends of Gottschalk's doctrine, who were not slow in detecting the heresies contained in the book of John Scotus. Archbishop Wenilo of Sens published nineteen propositions from that book, which he denounced as heretical. Prudentius, bishop of Troyes, and Florus, a deacon at Lyons, were thus drawn to write against them. Prudentius finds it offensive in John Scotus to maintain, that God's working was one with his being. From thence, he said, it might be inferred, that everything in the world which presents itself as a working of God is one with his being; and it perhaps floated before his mind, that this would lead to a pantheistic hypothesis, irreconcilable with God's holiness.[2] The several attributes of God which are one with his essence, as truth, justice, goodness, he held to be quite different from the facts which are relatively predicated of him, as his foreknowledge and predestination, denoting some relation of God to things without his own essence.[3] Prudentius concluded his work by saying, that he would not, as yet, pronounce the anathema on John Scotus, but he would earnestly entreat him to return to the purity of the Christian faith. The deacon Florus undertook a more complete refutation of the doctrines of John Scotus, attacking him rather with arguments of dogmatical speculation, while Prudentius confined himself for the most part to testimonies from the church fathers. He admitted that in God his attributes of wisdom and knowledge are one with his being; but he thought it dangerous to assert, that God's *predestination* and *foreknowledge* are one with his being.[4] With greater vehemence he repelled as blasphemous the assertion, that evil and sin were nonentities; and therefore could not be objects of the divine knowledge.[5] Such an assertion seemed to him fraught with practical mischief, as it would naturally lead men to think of sin as a trifling evil.[6] Conformably to the principles laid down by Augustin, respecting the relation of natural things to divine, he too asserted that the first man, in his state

[1] He himself complained some time afterwards of the pultes Scotorum.

[2] Velut Dei essentia praedicantur occisio, in errorem inductio, morbi, fames, naufragia, insidiae, et alia complura, quae in divinis elogiis indita prudentium nullus ignorat. T. I. f. 218.

[3] Unius quoque, ut desipis, ejusdemque videlicit naturae non sunt, quia nulla auctoritate Dei natura praescientia vel praedestinatio nuncupatur. pag. 404.

[4] Yet constrained, perhaps, on the one hand by the force of his premises, while he feared on the other hand the conclusions to which they led, he explains himself somewhat doubtfully on this point: Utrum vero, sicut dicitur, Deus substantialiter dici possit praescientia, judicet secundum rationem et regulam fidei qui potest, nobis tamen videtur, quod non ita possit dici de illo nisi vel mendaciter vel nimis inusitate, non est aliud illi esse et aliud praescire. p. 591.

[5] Pag. 642.

[6] Iste ergo, qui tam assidue dicit et repetit peccata nihil esse, quid aliud conatur agere diabolo instigante, nisi ut ea quasi leviget in cordibus auditorum, ut non doleant, non agnoscant, quanto malo teneantur. p. 671.

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of innocence, and with a moral nature still unperverted, needed divine grace in order to perseverance in goodness.[1]

While he censured John Scotus on account of his abuse of the worldly sciences, he did not suffer himself to be so far misled by the zeal of the polemic, as to discard them as useless in themselves to theology; but he had the discretion to distinguish the right use of them, in investigating truth, from that abuse. He only demanded, that everything should be tried by the test of the sacred Scriptures. But at the same time he declared, that in order rightly to understand and apply Scripture truth, it was not enough to study the letter alone, but that the inward illumination of a Christian temper was also required. The holy Scriptures themselves could not be rightly understood and profitably read, unless faith in Christ first existed in the heart of the reader, so that the truth might be rightly apprehended by means of that, or unless faith in Christ was truly sought, and found in them by the light which cometh from above.[2]

To meet these antagonists, Hinkmar was now compelled to look round for new allies. Gottschalk had, at some earlier period, asked assistance of Amulo, archbishop of Lyons, and sent him his confessions. This person adopted Gottschalk's doctrine, as understood by himself. Incapable of judging without prejudice, he belonged to the class who adopted the milder views of the Augustinian scheme, or he viewed the whole subject through the glass which had been put into his hand by archbishop Hinkmar. He accused Gottschalk of actually asserting that, which was commonly imputed to him by his opponents only as an inference from his doctrines. But at the same time, he distinguished himself by the gentleness with which he treated one whom he supposed to have erred from the truth. In the letter by which he endeavored to persuade him to renounce his dangerous errors,[3] he addressed him as a beloved brother, to whom he wished every blessing he desired for himself.[4] He transmitted this letter for Gottschalk to archbishop Hinkmar, and manifestly it was his desire to effect a reconciliation between them; but he went on a supposition, which could never be realized, that Gottschalk could be made to see the offensive points in his doctrine. When archbishop Amulo had so expressed himself, Hinkmar might hope to find in him an ally in the contest with his new opponents. In union with a bishop of his diocese, of the same mind with himself, bishop Pardulus of Laon, he addressed to him, and to the church at Lyons, in the year 853, two letters concerning Gottschalk and his doctrine, and to these added also the letter written by archbishop Rabanus Maurus on the same

[1] Licet naturaliter illud homini inseruerit, quando eum creavit utique bonum et bona voluntate praeditum, tamen et tunc indigebat gratia conditoris, ut in bono, quo creatus fuerat, permaneret. p. 629.

[2] Nisi aut fides Christi praecedat in corde legentis, per quem veraciter intelligantur, aut ipsa fides Christi in eis fideliter quaeratur et Deo illuminante inveniatur. p. 718.

[3] Agobardi opera ed. Baluz. T. II. p. 149.

[4] Quod autem non solum fratrem, sed etiam dilectissimum dico, Dominus novit, quia te fideliter diligo, hoc tibi cupiens, quod et mihi, unde et salutem tibi veraciter opto, praesentem pariter et futuram.

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subjects to Notting, bishop of Verona. But meanwhile archbishop Amulo had died, and his successor, Remigius, took up the matter in a way altogether contrary to the expectations of Hinkmar. In a letter written in the name of the church at Lyons, in reply to that of Hinkmar,[1] he condemned the unjust and cruel treatment of Gottschalk in language which breathed alike the spirit of justice and of gentleness. "Let the judges themselves reflect — said he — whether they exercised that moderation and Christian charity, which should ever be expected from a spiritual tribunal, composed of priests and monks?"[2] Their mode of conducting themselves towards Gottschalk, he said, was regarded with universal abhorrence;[3] for before this, all heretics had been refuted and convicted by words and reasons.[4] In condemning Gottschalk's doctrine of predestination, men condemned not that unhappy monk, but the very truth of *the church* itself.[5] Instead of adjudging to the flames a confession, which contained not so much his doctrines as the doctrines of the church, they should first have examined it with Christian charity and deliberation.[6] If it were true, that Gottschalk had used insulting language to the bishops, that indeed was an inexcusable offence, and deserved to be punished; *but it had better have been done by others than by themselves.* Moreover, a benevolent pity should have constrained them to shorten, or at least to render more supportable, the long and inhuman confinement to which he was subjected for so many years, so as to gain over by love and the spirit of meekness the brother for whom Christ died, rather than to abridge his days by excessive grief.[7]

In reference to the two contested questions, whether the declaration, "God will have all men to be saved, was to be understood without qualification,[8] or with such an one as the doctrine of absolute predestination required; whether Christ died for all men, or only for the elect; — in reference to these questions, Remigius declared indeed, that his own opinion agreed with the particularistic view; yet he proposed, as Servatus Lupus had done before him, as a compromise for the sake of peace, that on this point every man might freely enjoy his own opinion, and that neither party should condemn the other; since nothing had been decided on the subject by the church, — and a difference existed in the declarations of Scripture as well as in the interpretations of them by approved church teachers.

[1] In Mauguin Vindiciae praedest. et gratiae T. II. p. II.

[2] Sed et de ipsis flagellis et caedibus, quibus secundum regulam S. Benedicti dicitur adjudicatus, quibus et omnino fertur atrocissime et absque ulla misericordia paene usque ad mortem dilaceratus, quae moderatio et mensura juxta pietatem ecclesiasticam et sacerdotalem sive monachalem verecundiam servari debuerit, ipsi potius apud se dijudicent. p 107.

[3] Omnes non solum dolent, sed etiam horrent. p. 109.

[4] Cum omnes retro haeretici verbis et disputationibus victi atque convicti sunt.

[5] In hac re dolemus non illum miserabilem, sed ecclesiasticam veritatem esse damnatam.

[6] Sensus illi non ignibus damnandi, sed pia et pacifica inquisitione tractandi.

[7] Ut frater, pro quo Christus mortuus est, per caritatem et spiritum mansuetudinis potius lucraretur, quam abundantiori tristitia absorberetur.

[8] The forced interpretations of this passage which we noticed in the case of Servatus Lupus, were resorted to also by Remigius. l. c. p. 86.

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When Hinkmar perceived that the number of his opponents continually increased, he resolved to oppose them by a resort to ecclesiastical authority, and in a second synod at Chiersy caused four propositions to be drawn up in opposition to the Gottschalkian doctrine. In these four propositions, the principles of the Augustinian system were also adopted as the points of departure. To the first man was ascribed a free-will by which he could have persevered in original righteousness.[1] Through the abuse of this free-will, the first man sinned, and thereby all mankind became a mass of perdition, (massa perditionis). Out of this mass, a good and righteous God elected, according to his foreknowledge, those, *whom* by his grace he foreordained to *eternal life*, and *for whom* he foreordained *eternal life*. As to those on the other hand whom by a sentence of justice he left in the mass of corruption, he foreknew that they *would* perish, though he by no means predestinated them to this that they *must* perish. But no doubt on the principle of justice he foreordained for them eternal punishment. Hence there is but one predestination of God referring either to the gift of grace, or to the retribution of justice — and *this form of expression* constitutes precisely the point of opposition to the doctrine of the praedestinatio duplex. The second main difference here expressed consists in the principles: God will have all men to be saved; Christ died for the salvation of all men, — which propositions, however, are necessarily modified by their connection with that first proposition, and in the system of Hinkmar, as in that of Rabanus Maurus, are to be understood only under this limitation.

To these decrees the second synod at Valence in 855 opposed six other capitula. In these, a two-fold predestination in the sense already defined was asserted; but at the same time it was most positively declared, that the sin of men had its sole ground in the will of the first man, and of his posterity, that it was solely an object of divine foreknowledge. Moreover reprobation was attributed to man's guilt, and to God, only as a just sentence.[2] The doctrine was expressly condemned, that Christ died for unbelievers; yet the interest in behalf of the objective validity of the sacraments, which was of so much moment in the church system of doctrine, led them to insert in the fifth canon the additional clause "that the whole multitude of believers, born again of water and of the Holy Spirit and thereby truly incorporated into the church, has according to the apostolical doctrine

[1] It deserves to be noticed how important to the other side was the proposition by no means denied by Hinkmar, that even in the original state, free-will might act in the good only as an organ of divine grace. Remigius, archbishop of Lyons, in his tract De tenenda veritate scripturae sacrae, which he wrote in opposition to those four decrees, objects to them especially that in the first Capitulum, this ability is attributed to free-will without any mention of grace, on the principle of the originalis justitia. Hoc nos primum in eis movet, quod absque ulla commemoratione gratiae Dei, sine qua nulla rationalis creatura, scilicet nec angelica nec humana unquam potuit aut potest vel poterit in justitia et sanctitate esse, manere atque persistere, ita primus homo, definitur liberi arbitrii a Deo conditus, tanquam per ipsum tantummodo arbitrium liberum in sanctitate et justitia potuisset permanere. c. III. p. 182.

[2] C. II. Nec ipsos malos ideo perire, quia boni esse non potuerunt, sed quia boni esse noluerunt, suoque vitio in massa damnationis vel merito originali vel etiam actuali permanserunt.

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been baptized into Christ, and purified by his blood from sin; for in truth their regeneration would not be a real one, were not their redemption a real one. It was as necessary to assume this, as it was impossible to doubt the reality of the sacraments. Yet out of the multitude of believers and redeemed some attained to everlasting blessedness, because by the grace of God they persevered faithfully in their redemption, but others never attained to the actual enjoyment of eternal bliss, because they would not persevere in the blessedness of the faith received at the beginning, but rather frustrated the grace of redemption and rendered it of no effect, by erroneous doctrine or a wicked life." With regard to grace, it was determined, that without it *no rational* creature could lead a blessed life, thus in these public determinations also the need of grace was not supposed to arise in the first place from sin, but from the natural and necessary relation of the creature to the Creator. Furthermore the absurd and foolish errors, as they are called, of Scotus, were particularly condemned.[1] It was intended afterwards, at an assembly held at Savonnieres (apud Saponarias) in the suburbs of Toul, to agree upon some common system of doctrine on the contested points; but no such agreement was ever arrived at. True, there was no difference between the two parties respecting the substantial doctrines of faith; and could they have come to a mutual understanding with respect to the meaning of terms, the parties would have been led, unless prevented by more deep-seated causes, to an agreement in doctrine; for both certainly were agreed in adopting the Augustinian system, with all the consequences that flowed from it. But while each party clung to its own formularies as the only correct ones, and refused to depart from them at any price, the possibility of coming to an understanding on the points of difference by a distinct explication of the whole subject of dispute, was out of the question; besides, the tenacity with which these formularies were held, was due in part to other motives, on one side, to the interest for dogmatical consistency in the system of absolute predestination; on the other, to the interest for Christian universality in the doctrines of divine grace and redemption, which universality could, to be sure, with the views entertained by its advocates be held only in appearance, since the system of predestination, from beginning to end, stood in contradiction with it. The want of scientific method and logical clearness in the disputants, the habit of appealing in disputes to citations from the church fathers, rather than to rational arguments, all this served to lengthen out the contention about forms of expression, leaving no chance of coming to an understanding about the essential contents of the thoughts. The last event in this controversy, was the publication by Hinkmar of a work on predestination, composed in defence of the four capitula drawn up at Chiersy. The deficiencies just mentioned clove to Hinkmar, in a remarkable degree; and connected with them was the extreme prolixity and diffuseness of his style. The consequence was that he could talk the longer on these disputed questions,

[1] C. VI.: Ineptas quaestiunculas et aniles paene fabulas Scotorumque pultes.

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without coming any nearer towards resolving the different forms of expression into a difference contained within the conceptions themselves. Thus the dispute was handed down to the following centuries. Although in truth no material, dogmatical difference was lying at bottom, yet such a difference might finally have been evolved as the result of the dispute; but as the case was it certainly proved of great practical importance, when the doctrines that God will have all men to be saved, that Christ died for all, were made prominent points of religious instruction, and the doctrine of absolute predestination was thrown more into the back-ground of the religious consciousness.

A controversy of still greater importance arose in the ninth century on the doctrine of *the Holy Supper*.

It has already been observed, in tracing the history of doctrines in the preceding periods, that the constant tendency to confound the internal thing with its external form had in the earliest times prevailed to a remarkable degree in the mode of apprehending the doctrine of the sacraments generally, and that of the Holy Supper in particular, by virtue of which tendency the divine element that filled the religious consciousness in the whole transaction, was transferred to the outward sign; so that the latter came to be considered as the bearer of a divine power communicated by the consecrating words of the priests. Thus with the Holy Supper was connected an idea of the inter-penetration of the bread and wine by the body and blood of Christ; and inasmuch as the sensible element presented itself to devotion simply as the bearer of the supernatural, the predominant reference in the religious consciousness was to the supernatural alone, while the natural was almost wholly overlooked, or rather the natural element appeared to the religious consciousness as already transfigured in the reflected light of the higher essence on which the religious mind was exclusively fixed. Thus it might happen, that to religious intuition the substance of the bread and wine would be lost in the idea of the present body and blood of Christ, which was here contemplated as the only real thing; and thus was formed an intuitive habit of regarding the bread and wine as transformed into the body and blood of Christ. In the preceding periods, several gradations from the more spiritual to the more sensuous mode of apprehending the sacred ordinance had existed among Christians, without being separately evolved in consciousness to any such antagonism as seriously to disturb Christian fellowship. But in this period, and in the Western church, the predominant tendency to sensualize the objects of religious faith, the inclination to the magical in religion, the idea of a sacerdotal order in the Christian church corresponding to the priesthood of the Old Testament; and connected with this the notion of a sacrificial function belonging to the new order of priesthood, all contributed to open the way for a general admission of the doctrine of transubstantiation, although this could not be brought about without a previous struggle with the opposite and more spiritual mode of apprehending the eucharist, a struggle which the culture of the Carolingian age was eminently calculated to call forth. *Paschasius Radbert*, abbot of the monastery of Corbie, who, in the

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year 831, composed, for his disciple Placidius,[1] a work in which he aimed to set forth the whole doctrine of the Holy Supper,[2] was the first to expound and defend at length the doctrine of transubstantiation. In this tract he expressly rejects the opinion held, as he says, by some, that the eucharist consists only in a spiritual communion of the soul with the Redeemer, for its own spiritual benefit.[3] This to him seemed not enough, since assuredly the effects of the redemption reached not merely to the soul, but also to the entire man. He stands up for the idea, which had prevailed from the earlier times, of a spiritual and bodily communion with Christ, whereby the body was supposed to receive an imperishable principle of life, preparatory to the resurrection. But the new thing in his doctrine was, that by virtue of the consecration, by a miracle of almighty power, the substance of the bread and wine became converted into the substance of the body and blood of Christ, so that beneath the sensible, outward emblems of the bread and wine, another substance was still present. The principle on which he starts, and which was the predominating one in his whole mode of religious intuition, is that the will of God, being the original cause of all created things, must ever remain the sole cause of the changes which take place in them. Although a miracle therefore may seem to be something contrary to the course of nature, yet in reality it is not so; because the very essence of nature consists in the obedience of all things to the divine laws.[4] Accordingly we must believe that, since God has so willed it, under the outward, phenomenal forms of the bread and the wine (sub figura panis et vini) are present the body and the blood of Christ after the consecration. "If thou believest in the miracle of the incarnation of the Son of God, thou must believe also in the miracle which is wrought by the same divine power through the words of the priest. The same body is here present as that in which Christ was born, suffered, arose, and ascended to heaven. Simply to avoid giving any shock to the senses, while an opportunity is furnished for the exercise of faith, the miracle is performed after a hidden manner, discernible only to faith, under the still subsisting outward forms of color, taste, and touch. That which the senses here perceive, and that which is done in a sensible manner, is the symbol. That which is wrought secretly under this image or symbol, and that which faith perceives, is the truth, the reality. It belongs to the essence of a sacrament, to which class he reckons baptism, and the

[1] Cognomen of the abbot Warin of Corvey.

[2] De sacramento corporis et sanguinis Christi.

[3] C. XIX: Non sicut quidam volunt, anima sola hoc mysterio pascitur.

[4] Quotienslibet videtur quasi contra naturam aliquid evenire, quodammodo non contra naturam est, quia potissimum rerum natura creaturarum hoc habet eximium, ut a quo est, semper ejus obtemperet jussis. This principle of uncompromising supranaturalism Paschasius Radbert expressed also in the controversy on the question, whether Christ was not born in the same way as all other men. Quia non ex natura rerum divinae leges pendent, sed ex divinis legibus naturae leges manare probantur. On the other hand, the monk Ratramnus, of Corbie, maintained, that it was impossible to conceive of a true birth and a true incarnation of Christ on any other supposition than that the birth of Christ was after the same kind with that of every other man. See the two writings in D'Achery Spicilegia, T. I.

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chrism (confirmation),[1] that the divine operation should take place invisibly, under cover of that which is presented visibly to the senses. Believers would not receive the body of Christ in *a true and real* manner, were it *not* given to them under this covering. He cites instances, however, where, for the removal of doubts or to satisfy the earnest longing of individuals, instead of the bread and wine, the body and blood of Christ were presented perceptibly to the sense, but afterwards, at the distribution by the priest, again resumed their previous covering.[2] Such stories, evidencing the power of popular credulity, were well calculated to reäct powerfully back upon the same.

Again, it was his opinion, that as believers were by this sacrament to be raised above things sensible to things divine, so if they were really filled with the spirit of God, the divine life would reäct to purge the senses, so that they would seem to perceive nothing but the divine and heavenly.[3] We mark here, how a certain transcendental bent of religious feeling, operating to repress the understanding, might find its satisfaction in the doctrine of transubstantiation. Radbert endeavored to prove the presence of the body and blood of Christ in the eucharist, and the necessity of partaking of it, in order to attain to eternal life, from the well-known passage in the sixth chapter of John. And we see from the way in which he expresses himself on the subject,[4] that in his times, the *communion* as well as the *baptism of infants* still prevailed. But we also see, how through the more clearly developed consciousness of the relation of the two sacraments to each other, the custom of infant-communion would gradually become obsolete. The question arose, whether in the case of those which died before partaking of the eucharist, any injury would be entailed by this omission — which he answered in the negative, because such infants being placed in communion with Christ by baptism, attained immediately to the intuition of him in their state of purity to which they had come by that sacrament.[5]

The work of Paschasius Radbert, being the first in the Western church in which this doctrine was so distinctly expressed, created a great sensation. Men found in the writings of the church fathers, particularly of Augustin, much which seemed to conflict with such a theory. He himself was afterwards constrained to own, that *many* doubted,[6] whether the body of Christ in the eucharist was the same body as that in which he was born, suffered and rose again. Frude-

[1] It may be certainly gathered from his own language (c. III.) that he does not mention these three simply as examples, but that he was accustomed to designate them by the name, *the sacraments.*

[2] C. XIV.

[3] C. II.: Divinus spiritus, qui in nobis est, etiam per eandem gratiam ampliatur eosdemque sensus nostros ad ea percipienda instruit et componit, ita sane, ut non solum gustum interius ad mystica perducat, verum et visum atque auditum, nec non odoratum et tactum, ita tenus quodammodo illustrat, ut nihil in eis nisi divina sentiantur, nihilque nisi coelestia.

[4] C. XIX.

[5] Et ideo non obesse credimus, eos viati cum non accepisse hujus sacramenti, quia in nullo post perceptam vitam declinaverunt a via, donec perventum est ad veritatem, in qua sempiterna et vera est vita. c. XIX.

[6] In his letter to the monk Frudegard, opp. Paris, 1618. fol. 1619. Quaeris de re, ex qua multi dubitant.

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gard, a monk, proposed doubts to him on this particular point, citing various passages from Augustin, which had at first occasioned perplexity in his own mind respecting the same subject. Paschalis was persuaded, that all doubts would be removed by attending to Christ's words at the institution, and in the sixth chapter of John's gospel, and endeavored to explain Augustin's language according to his own view. Not all certainly to whom those words of Paschasius Radbert were offensive, had the same positive view of the Lord's Supper. To many, those expressions were offensive because it seemed to follow from them, that Christ's glorified body descended to the earth, and became subject to sensible affections. They held fast to the older view, that as the divine Logos in Christ had assumed a human nature, so in the Holy Supper he assumed immediately, by a miracle of almighty power, a body under the forms of the bread and wine, which was therefore another body of the incarnate Logos, a medium for the communication of a divine life.[1]

Sometime after the year 844, Paschasius Radbert dedicated to king Charles the Bald, as a Christmas gift, a second edition of his work on the Holy Supper, better adapted to popular use,[2] requesting him to favor its spread; and that monarch perceiving the diversity of opinion on this subject among the learned sought counsel again of Ratramnus, the monk of Corbie, who was thus led to write his work, De corpore et sanguine Domini. Without mentioning the name of Paschasius Radbert, who was his own abbot, and whom therefore he could not decently offend, he entered immediately in this book into the investigation of two questions, strictly connected with Radbert's doc-

[1] This view seems to be found in the anonymous tract, belonging to these times, which has been published by Mabillon, Acta sanct. O. B. Saec. IV. P. II. f. 592, and in which he thinks that he recognizes the letter of Rabanus Maurus to the abbot Egilo, which letter was written in opposition to those expressions of Paschasius Radbert. We believe we see this view expressed in the following words: "Divinitas verbi facit, ut unum sit corpus unius agni, et hoc idcirco, quia et illud et istud verum est corpus." Respecting the end and purpose of the communication of Christ in the eucharist it is here said: "Ut discant nihil aliud esurire quam Christum, nihil sentire nisi Christum, nihil aliud sapere, non aliunde vivere, non aliud esse quam corpus Christi." A remarkable story by this author, who had perhaps been a missionary among the Bulgarians, by no means makes it clear, that a large number of the Bulgarians had not as yet been converted, but rather proves the opposite. Christianity must have already produced a great impression among the people; hence there had arisen among the heathen an intermixture of pagan and Christian notions, the belief in Christ as a god among the other gods, and the pagan views might very easily find a point of coincidence in the doctrine of the eucharist, as it was then taught. A respectable pagan requested this author to drink — as it was the custom of the heathen to drink to the honor of their gods — in illius Dei amore, qui de vino sanguinem suum facit. It seems to be assumed also in this tract, that none but the faithful received the body of Christ. The same perhaps was the view, from which Rabanus Maurus combatted Paschasius Radbert; see his Letters to Heribald, bishop of Auxerre (Autissiodorensis), published under the name of the liber poenitentialis in Steuart. tomus singularis insignium auctorum, Ingoldstadt, 1616. c. 33, where he himself cites his own letter on the doctrine of the eucharist, probably written on occasion of these controversies — and which has not as yet been published.

[2] The address to the king, published by Mabillon, acta sanctor. O. B. Saec. IV. P. II. f. 135. Hinc inde, ut condignum est, ad superventura dici dominici festa missuri sunt auri argentique et vasorum diversi generis munera, variae supellectelis vestium ornamenta atque phalerata equorum caeterorumque animalium quaeque praecipua.

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trine of the Holy Supper; — whether the bread and wine when consecrated were called body and blood of Christ, after a sacramental, improper manner (in mysterio) or in the true and *proper* sense; and whether it was the same body as that in which Christ was born, suffered, and rose from the dead? The two questions were in his opinion closely connected, and ought to be examined together. The conclusion he arrived at was this: either the change which takes place in the outward elements in the eucharist, is a sensuous, sensibly perceptible change; in which case the body and blood of Christ must also be manifest to the senses, and wherever a sensible perception takes place, faith is no longer required; or the change which here transpires is a secret, spiritual one, manifesting itself only to faith; and that which is wrought by it, is something spiritual and divine, which only the inner man can appropriate by faith. The bread and wine then are not the body and blood of Christ in the proper, but only in a secret, spiritual sense; and it is not therefore the same natural body of Christ, as that in which he was born, died, and rose again, but it is this body in another sense, an image and pledge of *this* body.[1] Ratramnus now concluded: the bread and wine remain after being consecrated the same for sensuous perception as they were before; the change therefore can only be a change of that other kind, and the bread and wine can only be called body and blood of Christ in that other sense. Paschasius Radbert had, it is true, also taught the doctrine of a *conversio* secretly wrought by the Spirit of God, perceptible only by faith, but his assertion respecting the way in which bread and wine were the body and blood of Christ, seemed to Ratramnus inconsistent with that view. He referred to the fact, that the mingling of the wine and water in the sacramental cup was considered a symbol of Christ's union with the church; and from this he drew the conclusion that in the same sense as the water was called a symbol of the church, in that same sense the wine was called a symbol of the blood, and the bread a symbol of the body of Christ. He cites the words of Christ in the sixth chapter of John's gospel, with Augustin's interpretation of them: Christ himself here says, that he spoke of his body and blood not in the proper, but in an improper, spiritual sense; he pointed away from the flesh to the spirit, from carnal sight, to spiritual understanding.

Ratramnus' view is as follows: as the divine Word dwells in the natural body of Christ, so it unites itself with the bread and wine; and hence both, as mediums for the communication of the divine Logos, or of spiritual fellowship with Christ, are called in an improper sense body of Christ. Bread and wine produce, after the consecration, an effect on the souls of believers, which they cannot produce by their natural qualities. Believers are made conscious, at the celebration of the holy supper, of a spiritual communion with Christ, or of the communication of the divine Logos. This Ratramnus transferred, as something objective, to the outward elements themselves. In this sense, he

[1] Quia *fides* totum, quicquid illud totum est, adspicit, et oculus carnis nihil apprehendit, intellige, quod non in specie, sed in virtute corpus et sanguis Christi existant, quae cernuntur.

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spoke of a *conversio* of the bread and wine into the body of Christ. And in this reference he said at the same time, that what outwardly appears, is not the thing itself, but only an image of the thing; but that which the soul feels, and takes into its consciousness, is the truth of the thing; it is *that word* of God (the Logos), which nourishes and gives life to the soul. He affirms, that the word of God, as the invisible bread, which dwells after an invisible manner in this sacrament, imparts life and nourishment, after an invisible manner, by means of this communion, to the souls of believers.[1] Paschasius Radbert had said in reference to the passage Ps. 78: 24 — here the manna is called the bread of angels; by this, however, could not be understood *bodily* food, the proper manna, but only what was prefigured thereby, Christ, who is the bread of life even for the angels, Christus cibus angelorum; for all that pertains to the eating of the body of Christ is of a spiritual and divine nature.[2] To this passage Ratramnus also refers but he *concluded* from this same passage that what was meant could only be a spiritual union with Christ, the spiritual power of the Logos, of which the angels stood in need as well as men.[3] Paschasius found in the passage 1 Cor. xi, a type of the communication of Christ in the eucharist;[4] Ratramnus, on the other hand, understood this not barely in a typical sense, but he inferred from the explanation of St. Paul, that the Jews at that time received the body of Christ in the same manner as believing Christians now do; that both in like manner could be understood of a spiritual communication of the Logos, there through the medium of the manna, as here through the medium of the bread and wine.[5]

According to Radbert's view, even the unbelieving received the objectively present body of Christ, though not to their saving benefit. According to Ratramnus, on the contrary, the way in which the divine Logos communicates himself in the eucharist, presupposes the spiritual susceptivity, the spiritual organ of faith. Again, we find in Paschasius Radbert that view of the sacrifice of the mass which had commonly prevailed from the time of Gregory the Great. On the contrary, Ratramnus designates the eucharist as being only a commemorative celebration of Christ's sacrifice, by which remembrance Christians should make themselves susceptible of partaking of the divine grace of redemption.[6] "But when we shall have attained to the intuition of Christ—he concludes—we shall no longer need such instruments to remind us of that which infinite grace has suffered for our sakes; for, beholding him face to face, we have no further occasion to be stimulated by the good of external, temporal things; but, by the con-

[1] Verbum Dei, qui est panis invisibilis, invisibiliter in illo existens sacramento, invisibiliter participatione sui fidelium mentes vivificando pascit.

[2] Fol. 1566: Ac per hoc unde vivunt angeli, vivit et homo, quia totum spirituale est et divinum in eo quod percipiet homo.

[3] Utrumque hoc incorporeo gustu nec corporali sagina, sed spiritualis verbi virtute.

[4] L. c. c. V.

[5] Inerat corporeis illis substantiis spiritualis verbi potestas quae mentes potius quam corpora credentium pasceret atque potaret. According to the edition of Paris, 1673, with a French translation. pag. 125.

[6] Ut quod gestum est, in praeterito praesenti revocet memoriae ut illius passionis memores per eam efficiamur divini muneris consortes, per quam sumus a morte liberati. pag. 211.

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templation of the truth itself, we shall understand how much we owe to the author of our salvation." [1]

Furthermore, it is said that the above mentioned John Scotus was prevailed upon, by king Charles the Bald, to compose a tract on this disputed question; and he likewise is said to have protested against the views of Paschasius Radbert. Though at a later period the writings of Ratramnus and of John Scotus were confounded together,[2] yet it does not follow from this, that the whole report about the existence of such a tract of Scotus had arisen barely from a confusion of names. It is in itself probable, that as John Scotus enjoyed the highest reputation for extensive learning, and on this account stood in eminent favor with Charles the Bald, he as well as Ratramnus would be asked by the king to give his judgment on this controversy. We should take into the account also, that Hinkmar, of whom we cannot suppose, that he would be likely to confound the two men together, mentions, among several erroneous doctrines actually found in the writings of John Scotus, this error, that in the sacrament of the altar, the true body and the true blood of Christ were not present, but only a memorial of his true body and blood.[3] It may at least be inferred with certainty, from the above cited principal work of John Scotus, that he must have been an opponent of the doctrine of Paschasius Radbert, and that in opposing the latter he would agree with Ratramnus on many points, though his particular view could not be the same. He affirmed, for example, such a deification of the humanity of Christ after his resurrection, as that by virtue of it, his human nature rose above the limitations of a finite existence and of the corporeal world.[4] He held to a ubiquity of Christ's glorified human nature, which was no longer circumscribed by the limits of a finite state of being.[5] He would therefore, on this ground, have considered the stories concerning the appearances of Christ's body, which Paschasius Radbert had brought forward to prove the doctrine of transubstantiation, as utterly untenable.[6] According to this view, he might hold the bread and wine in the eucharist to be simply symbols

[1] Cognoscentes, quod ubi pervenerimus ad visionem Christi, talibus non opus habebimus instrumentis, quibus admoneamur quid pro nobis immensa benignitas sustinuerit.

[2] As Lauf, in his acute and discriminating essay on this subject in the Studien und Kritiken (Bd. I. St. IV) has certainly shown.

[3] Tantum memoria veri corporis et sanguinis ejus. De praedestinatione c. XXXI. T. I. opp. f. 232.

[4] Nulli fidelium licet credere, ipsum post resurrectionem ullo sexu detineri "in Christo enim Jesu neque masculus est neque femina" sed solum verum et totum hominem, corpus dico et animam et intellectum, absque ullo sexu vel aliqua comprehensibili forma, quoniam haec tria in ipso unum sunt, et Deus facta sine proprietatum transmutatione vel confusione, una persona locali et temporali motu carens, dum sit super omnia loca et tempora Deus et homo. Vid. l. V. de division. natur. c. 20. f. 242.

[5] Si ergo transformata caro Christi est in Dei virtutem et spiritus incorruptionem, perfecto ipsa caro virtus est et incorruptibilis spiritus, ac si Dei virtus et spiritus ubique est, non solum super loca et tempora, verum etiam super omne quod est, nulli dubium, quin ipsa caro in virtutem et spiritum transformata, nullo loco contineatur, nullo tempore mutetur, sed sicut Dei virtus et spiritus, verbum videlicet, quod etiam in unitatem sibi substantiae acceperat, omnia loca et tempora et universaliter omnem circumscriptionem excedat. l. V. c. 38. f. 296.

[6] Proinde non immerito redarguendi sunt, qui corpus Dominicum post resurrectionem in aliqua parte mundi conantur adstruere et localiter et temporaliter moveri et in eo sexu, in quo apparuit mundo intra mundum detineri. l. V. f. 243.

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of the deified, omnipresent humanity of Christ, which communicated itself, in a real manner, to recipient, believing minds.

These attacks on his doctrine of the Lord's Supper could not, however, unsettle the convictions of Paschasius, for these convictions were intimately connected with his whole way of thinking. In a book which he wrote, after these objections to his doctrine had already become known to him,[1] he took notice of them, and inveighed against those who talked only of signs and symbols in the eucharist, as if man still lived in the age of types and shadows, as if the reality of them all had not appeared in Christ.[2]

This controversy was continued into the tenth century; yet the more spiritual views of a Ratramnus were gradually forced to give way, as heretical, to the prevailing mode of thinking,[3] although the expressions of Paschasius Radbert still gave offence to many. To many he seemed to be presumptuously seeking to determine too much concerning things incomprehensible. A Ratherius of Verona thought it important to hold fast that, although the color and the taste of the bread and wine remained, yet by a miracle of God's almighty power it became the true body and the true blood of Christ; and he utterly repelled, as curious questions, the inquiries, whether the substance of the bread was removed and the body of Christ brought down in an invisible manner, or whether the bread was changed into the body of Christ. That which is an object of faith excludes these subtle inquiries, by which men would penetrate beyond what is given. We should rest content with Christ's words.[4] Perhaps from the same point of view, Herigar, abbot of the monastery of Laub, in the territory of Liege, — the monastery where Ratherius had received his education, and an eminent seat of learning amid the barbarism of the tenth century, — wrote a book, near the close of this century, against Paschasius Radbert.[5] The famous Gerbert composed a tract, on purpose to palliate those expressions of Radbert which had been found

[1] The twelfth book of his commentary on Matthew; — for the ninth book of this commentary he began after he had resigned his post as abbot, after the year 851.

[2] Unde miror, quid velint nunc quidam dicere, non in re esse veritatem carnis Christi vel sanguinis, sed in sacramento, virtutem carnis et non carnem, virtutem sanguinis et non sanguinem, figuram et non veritatem, umbram et non corpus, cum hic species accipit veritatem, et figura veterum hostiarum corpus. In Matth. l. XII. c. XIV.

[3] The archbishop of Canterbury, in the year 950, had to contend with ecclesiastics who asserted: Panem et vinum post consecrationem in priori substantia permanere et figuram tantummodo esse corporis et sanguinis Christi, non verum Christi corpus. See the passage from an ancient account of his Life, in Mabillon Analecta T I. pag. 207.

[4] Sed cujus corporis caro sit ista, rogas, importune forsitan, ut sese vanitas habet humanae curiositatis et si delata ipsa (caro Christi) et panis forsitan invisibiliter sublatus aut ipse in carnem mutatur. Then, after citing the words of Scripture: Habes cujus sit corporis caro ista et sanguis, tanto certius, quanto veritatis ejusdem, quae loquitur, voce instruimur. De caeteris quaeso ne solliciteris. Si mysterium est, non valet comprehendi, si fidei, debet credi, non vero discuti. Vid. Ratherii epistola I. ad Patricium, opera ed. Ballerin. f. 523.

[5] In the history of the abbots of this monastery, in D'Achery Spicileg. T. II. f. 744, it is said of him: Congessit contra Ratbertum multa Catholicorum patrum scripta de corpore et sanguine Domini; from which, it is impossible to find out what his own views were.

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offensive, wishing to preserve for the edification of the church a book which served to promote faith in the true body of Christ.[1]

Thus we find three tendencies in the mode of apprehending the doctrine of the Lord's Supper. The sternly pronounced doctrine of transubstantiation, in the sense of Radbert; — the milder view of those who were not satisfied with Radbert's mode of expressing himself, and who, without determining anything further, were for holding fast only to this, that bread and wine, after the consecration, are the true body of Christ; — and the more spiritual theory of Ratramnus, which had to meet an increasingly decided opposition from the spirit of the times. The opposition to this latter tendency, against which the reigning spirit was too strongly set, would gradually serve to promote the victory of the doctrine of transubstantiation — an event brought about under the controversies excited by Berengarius, of which we shall now proceed to speak. Though the reigning tendency of spirit favored more and more the doctrine of transubstantiation expressed by Radbert, yet the controversy with him had as yet led to no decision of the contest between the opposite tendencies.[2]

Berengarius was born at Tours, probably near the beginning of the eleventh century. He received his theological education in the flourishing school of Fulbert, at Chartres, whose paternal love of his pupils was ever preserved in lively remembrance by Berengarius, as it was by all his scholars.[3] That wise and pious teacher was not satisfied with imparting to his scholars all possible knowledge, but he regarded it of the greatest moment to take care for the welfare of their souls. One of Berengar's fellow-students, at that time, named Adelmann, in a letter written at a later period, of which letter we shall have occasion to speak on a future page, reminded him of those hearty conversations which they had at eventide, while walking solita-

[1] Gerbert's book, De corpore et sanguine Domini, published by Petz in the Thesaurus anecdotorum novissimus, T. I. p. II. f. 133. — the same which Cellot had published before in an incomplete form, as an anonymous production, in the appendix to his historia Gotheschalci.

[2] The language of pope Nicholas in the same age, is by no means favorable to the doctrine of transubstantiation: Panis, qui offertur, panis est quidem *communis*, sed quando ipse sacramento sacratus fuerit, corpus Christi in veritate fit et dicitur. Sic et vinum modicae aliquid dignitatis existens (these words, though they do not essentially affect the sense of the whole passage, I give according to a necessary emendation) ante benedictionem post sanctificationem spiritus et sanguis Christi efficitur. In the second letter to the emperor Michael, Harduin V. fol. 125. We should be careful to observe here the point of comparison, seen from the connection in which the passage is found. *Before:* ordinary stone becomes, by consecration, an altar, a mensa sancta; *after:* the cross was simple wood; but, after having been formed into this shape, sacra est et daemonibus terribilis, propter quod in ea figuratus est Christus.

[3] When, after a long series of years, Adelmann, then president of the cathedral school in Liege (afterwards, from A. D. 1048, bishop of Brescia), wrote to Berengarius, his fellow-student, and whom he therefore called his Collectaneus, he thus spoke of the old teacher, who had been so dear to them, but who had been now for a long time dead: Nos sanctam vitam salubremque doctrinam catholici et christianissimi viri una experti sumus et nunc ejus apud Deum precibus adjuvari sperare debemus, nec ille putandus est memoriam, in qua nos tanquam in sinu materno semper ferebat, amisisse, nec caritas Christi, qua sicut filios amplectabatur, extincta est in eo, sed absque dubio memor nostri et diligens plenius, quam cum in corpore mortis hujus peregrinaretur, invitat ad se votis et tacitis precibus. See this letter of Adelmann, in the edition of C. A. Schmidt. Brunsvici. 1770. pag. 3.

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rily with their preceptor in the garden, how he spoke to them of their heavenly country, and how sometimes unmanned by his feelings, interrupting his words with tears, he adjured them by those tears to strive with all earnestness to reach that heavenly home, and for the sake of this to beware, above all things, of that which might lead them from the way of truth handed down from the fathers. Berengarius certainly possessed a heart not unsusceptible to such admonitions; but he possessed, also, a more liberal spirit of inquiry than his teacher; and it was impossible for him, when once this spirit had been awakened by the teachings of Fulbert himself, to confine himself within the bounds which the latter prescribed. If we may credit the sayings of his opponents, which we must confess bear the impress of spiteful exaggeration, this more liberal tendency of Berengarius, which strove after independence, had already shown itself at an early period, in the way in which he criticised, before his fellow-students, the lectures of his preceptor.[1] After leaving this school, he occupied himself for awhile in his native city, Tours, in pursuing and teaching secular learning; then he devoted himself wholly to the study of the sacred Scriptures, and of the ancient fathers.[2] The esteem which he had acquired by his knowledge and his piety, procured for him, at first, the office of Scholasticus (superintendent of a cathedral school) in the church of Tours, and afterwards the place of archdeacon, at Angers. The benevolent zeal which he manifested, in sustaining and encouraging the efforts of all who sought after knowledge, gained him scholars and friends throughout all France.[3] It was objected, however, to him and to his school, that he was constantly deviating from the beaten track, — that he was for striking out his own path, in matters both of secular and of ecclesiastical science, — a proof of the independence and freedom of judgment, with which he pursued all his inquiries.[4] Thus, for example, he studied to make improvements in grammar, and endeavored to introduce a new pronunciation of Latin.[5] But these objections related at first only to matters not connected with the interests of the faith, and his good reputation for orthodoxy would not thereby

[1] The words of Guitmund are in the first book of his work De corporis et sanguinis Christi veritate in eucharistia. Bibl. patr. Lugd. T. XVIII. f. 441. He says of Berengarius, against whom this book is directed: Is ergo cum juveniles adhuc in scholis ageret annos, ut ajunt, qui eum tunc noverunt, clarus ingenii levitate ipsius magistri sensum non adeo curabat, condiscipulorum pro nihilo reputabat; but in this whole passage, it is impossible to mistake the tone of passion, of exaggerating declamation.

[2] Adelmann, in his letter to Berengar: Audivi jam pridem te saecularibus literis vale fecisse atque sacris lectionibus sedulo insudare. ed. Schmid. pag. 31.

[3] The abbot Durand says of Berengar: Cui plures Francorum, nonnulli quoque Normannorum, quos aut ipse docuerat aut in discendi studio aliquantisper juverat, plurimum favoris dependebant. De corpore et sanguine Christi. P. IX. Bibl. patr. Lugd. T. XVIII. f. 437.

[4] Adelmann's words: Quod ajunt te novitatum captatorem, veteres accusare atque probatissimos scriptores artium exauctorare, adeo ut Priscianum, Donatum, Boëtium prorsus contemnas, multaque eorum dicta, quae eruditorum omnium usu comprobante ad nos usque demanarunt, opposita auctoritate tua evertere coneris. l. c. p. 31.

[5] L. c. Juvenes quosdam, qui ad nos descenderant, in claustris suis a praelatis eorum regulariter pulsatos esse, eo quod in lectionibus ecclesiasticis accentus tuos insolentes usurparent, auresque fratrum aliter imbutas inusitatis quorundam verborum prolationibus offenderent.

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be endangered, nor the general estimation in which he was held be diminished. Had it been otherwise, the hermits of that district would not have invited him to compose an Exhortatory Discourse, for the use of their order. The discourse which he wrote for this purpose is an important document, on account of the light it throws on the character of Berengarius.[1] It exhibits, to a remarkable degree, that vivacity and that clearness of method, by which Berengar's style was distinguished from the common mode of writing in his times. We see plainly that he was a man in whom the love of science had by no means extinguished or dulled the interest for Christian piety. We see in his way of judging respecting the dangers of the eremitic life, that while he would not reject a mode of life which stood so high in the estimation of his age, he was ready to attack, with the freedom of the Christian spirit, the ascetical prejudice by which this mode of life was so over-valued, giving special prominence to the thought, that men in withdrawing outwardly from the world, still did not escape from its snares, but that they carried its spirit within them, and must always have to struggle with it. We see again, that he had vitally appropriated Augustin's doctrine concerning grace; and that this was considered by him of great importance to the growth of the inward life. Augustin, who was reverenced by this whole school above all others,[2] had also contributed, in no small degree, to shape the development of Berengar's dogmatical views, as well as his aims and habits as a practical Christian; and perhaps on this ground, the opposition of Berengarius, as we find it expressed in Claudius of Turin and others, in the middle ages, to the prevailing tendency of the church doctrine, would have been more fully evolved, had he not been obliged, by the controversies in which he was constantly engaged, to have his mind wholly occupied with some one point, where it remained fixed, and had not his further progress been checked and hindered, by the unsettled fortunes of his life.

"The hermit — said he in the letter just mentioned — is alone in his cell, but sin loiters about the door with enticing words, and seeks admittance. I am thy beloved — says she — whom thou didst court in the world. I was with thee at the table, slept with thee on thy couch; without me, thou didst nothing. How darest thou think of forsaking me? I have followed thy every step; and dost thou expect to hide away from me in thy cell? I was with thee in the world, when thou didst eat flesh and drink wine; and shall be with thee in the wilderness, where thou livest only on bread and water. Purple and silk are not the only colors seen in hell — the monk's cowl is also to be found there. Thou, hermit, hast something of mine. The nature of the flesh, which thou wearest about thee, is my sister, begotten with me, brought up with me. As long as the flesh is flesh, so long shall I be in thy flesh. Dost thou subdue thy flesh by abstinence? — thou be-

[1] Published in Martene et Durand Thesaurus novus anecdotorum T. I. f. 191.

[2] Guitmund says in his l. III. De eucharistiae sacramento, f. 463: "Si ergo vobis, O Berengariani, Augustinus, ut solet, clarissimus est," and "dicit vobis Augustinus vester."

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comest proud; — and lo! sin is there. Art thou overcome by the flesh, and dost thou yield to lust? — sin is there. Perhaps thou hast none of the mere human sins, I mean such as proceed from sense; beware then of devilish sins. Pride is a sin which belongs in common to evil spirits and to hermits." And he recommends, as the only sure preservative against it, prayer for divine grace, persevering prayer, which the pure in heart will never suffer to sleep. "I exhort you not to rely on your own strength, like the heretic Julian,[1] in the Demetrias;" — then quoting some remarks from this letter, he proceeds, "I think otherwise. The Christian contest rests in this, that each, in the consciousness of his frailty, throws himself entirely on grace, and finds that with his own strength alone he can do nothing but sin."

The high regard in which Berengarius was held by his contemporaries appears from another fact. A quarrel arose between a bishop and the chapter of his cathedral. Berengarius was called in to act as mediator. He advised the parties to acknowledge the wrong which each had done to the other, and setting passion aside, to settle the difficulty by mutual concessions.[2]

Perhaps he was first induced by the work of Ratramnus[3] to make the doctrine of the Lord's Supper a matter of particular investigation. We might infer this, though not with absolute certainty, from the fact that wherever the question related to the eucharist, he always began with speaking of this work. But it is quite possible, also, that the offence which he, as well as others, took at Radbert's language, was what first led him to consult the work of Ratramnus, and that the perusal of that treatise not only confirmed him in his opposition, but induced him to carry it still further.

Sometime between the years 1040 and 1050, he began to speak favorably of that view of the Lord's Supper which was presented in the work of Scotus or of Ratramnus, and to represent the doctrine of Paschasius Radbert as contrary to reason, to the sacred Scriptures, and to the older church fathers. The report that on this point he combatted the common opinion, was spread by his numerous scholars through all parts of France and of Germany.[4] It came to the ears of his early friend Adelmann, then archdeacon at Liege. He was said to teach, that not the true body and the true blood of Christ were in the Holy Supper, but a symbol of them.[5] Adelmann inquired about this of his friend, in a letter which has not come down to us. Re-

[1] Pelagius is meant; see Vol. II. p. 574.

[2] Martene et Durand, T. I. f. 195.

[3] For unquestionably everything said amid these controversies respecting the book of Scotus applies so exactly to the work of Ratramnus, as has been demonstrated in the above cited dissertation of Lauf, that we certainly have reason for supposing the two writings were confounded together.

[4] Adelmann, then archdeacon at Liege, wrote him the report was everywhere spread, ut non solum Latinas, verum etiam Teutonicas aures, inter quas tamdiu peregrinor, repleverint, quasi te ab unitate sanctae matris ecclesiae divulseris et de corpore ac sanguine Domini aliter quam fides catholica teneat, sentire videaris. p. 5.

[5] Non esse verum corpus Christi, neque verum sanguinem, sed figuram quandam et similitudinem. From these words, it can by no means be gathered, as Stäudlin asserts in his Essay on Berengar, in the Archiv für alte und neue Kirchengeschichte, II. 1, that Adelmann had heard his friend accused of holding Docetic views of Christ's body. The point in discussion here, as appears from the connection, and in the whole letter, is simply the relation of Christ's body to *the eucharist;* the object is to show that the true body was not present, but only

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ceiving no answer to this letter, which probably never reached its destination, he wrote him, two years later, a second letter, earnestly entreating and conjuring him to restrain that prurient curiosity, which would not be satisfied without explaining and comprehending everything.[1] Certain conversations passed also between a bishop Hugo, of Langres, and Berengar, on this subject. In these conferences, the latter must have denied the doctrine of transubstantiation, and spoken of a spiritual presence of the body of Christ in the Lord's Supper, or a presence to the eye of faith, to believers. To the bishop of Langres also this appeared a dangerous error; and he traced it to the same cause as Adelmann had done. For this reason he afterwards wrote, and addressed to Berenger, a work on the subject, in which he treats him with great respect.[2] In this work, he maintains that bread and wine cannot be called in the true sense body and blood of Christ, while it is assumed that the substance of the bread and wine still remain. He finds something self-contradictory in the language of those who talk of a corpus intellectuale.[3]

Berengarius hoped to find a more favorable hearing from his friend who was at that time prior of the monastery of Bec, in Normandy, the celebrated Lanfranc, widely known as a restorer of scientific culture in those districts. He was surprised to learn that a man of his spirit should so zealously defend Paschasius Radbert, and style the opposite doctrine of John Scotus heretical. Berengar thought he could not possibly have searched the sacred Scriptures carefully enough on this doctrine. And deficient as he felt himself to be in this respect,[4] yet he proposed that, before such judges or hearers as Lanfranc might choose, they should enter into a joint investigation of the subject. Until this should be done, he must not take it ill of him, if he said, that if John Scotus, whose opinion of the Lord's Supper he himself approved, must be considered a heretic, then with the same propriety might Ambrose, Jerome, Augustin, and others, be considered heretics.[5] Lanfranc being then absent at Rome, the letter did not come first

a symbol of it. Berengar, it is true, always insists that when he speaks of Christ's body in the eucharist, he means nothing but the true body, as he was far from everything like Docetism. But from this it by no means follows that his opponents had ever *charged* him with holding Docetic opinions.

[1] He says characteristically: Odit Dominus nimios scrutatores, and as proof he adduces our Lord's rebuke of Nicodemus, John 3: 10, qui baptismi mysterium curiosius investigans gravi repulsus eulogio.

[2] He ever speaks of him as a man who on many accounts was entitled to the utmost respect, in quibusdam reverendissime.

[3] Among other objections, he states that if it should be held the body of Christ is said to be in the eucharist only because the same saving virtue proceeds from this sacrament as from the body of Christ, the peculiar nature by which the eucharist is distinguished from other sacraments would thereby be destroyed, and the name of baptism, or of any other sacrament, might just as well be applied to it. At si panis et vini sacramentum ob solam salutis potentiam cum nato et passo unum atque idem est, similiter auctori nihil refert, hoc sacramentum eodem judicio baptismum vel esse vel dicere vel quicquid in sacramentis salubriter celebratur. See his Tractatus de corpore et sanguine Christi, Bibl. patr. Lugd. T. XVIII. f. 417.

[4] Quantumlibet rudis in illa scriptura, he says of himself; from which expression of modesty, however, we can by no means infer that Berengar did not at that time feel certain that he was right. The contrary rather is expressed by his language.

[5] The letter published by D'Achery, in his notes to the Life of Lanfranc, in the edition of his works.

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into his own hands. Its contents were known in Rome; and at a council held there by pope Leo IX. in 1050, the matter was brought forward for discussion. Lanfranc avers, it is true, in his relation of these events, that he was compelled to clear himself before the council from the suspicion of heresy, which was thus brought upon him.[1] But it is plain from the character of the letter, as Berengar, when he accuses him of prevarication, rightly asserts,[2] that such a letter could not have furnished the least occasion, even to the fiercest zealot, for throwing upon him a suspicion of that sort; and we are obliged, therefore, to suppose that Lanfranc, convicted in his own conscience of not having treated Berengar, before this council, as their ancient friendship should have led him to do, and perhaps of not being actuated by the purest motives, sought to palliate the matter by this disingenuous statement. At this council, Berengar was condemned unheard, as a heretic. The pope himself, however, finding it impossible perhaps to shut his eyes to the injustice of this procedure, cited Berengar to appear before a council to be held the same year under his own presidency at Vercelli. It is on this occasion we may observe that high feeling of ecclesiastical rights which had ever been maintained in France, at least by *one party*. The defenders of these principles advised Berengar not to obey the citation; since, according to the old ecclesiastical laws, his cause ought first to be tried in the French church; and only in case of an appeal put in to the pope, was there any authority for bringing it before his tribunal.[3] Still he resolved to obey the summons. But on applying to king Henry II. of France, who was patron of the abbey of St. Martin, of Tours, for permission to make the journey, the king, taking advantage of the sentence already pronounced upon him at Rome, caused him to be thrown into prison, and his goods to be sequestered.[4] The pope did not attempt, however, to punish the French king for this contempt of his authority, nor to procure the liberation of Berengar. He did not even put off the trial, till he could hear the defendant himself. A single passage, in which the bread and wine in the Lord's Supper was called a figure of the body and blood of Christ, read from the book of Ratramnus, was sufficient to rouse the fury of the zealots in the council, and one of them cried out in language characteristic of his party: "Si adhuc in figura sumus, quando rem tenebimus?" (If we are yet in the figure, when shall we have the thing?) The book was committed to the flames.[5] When two clergymen, who had appeared as the defendant's advocates, began to speak, they were interrupted by the fury of the multitude, and the pope was obliged to have them arrested in order to save them.

[1] In his tract de corpore et sanguine Domini, ed. Venet. f. 171.

[2] Berengar, in his tract de sacra coena, Berolini, 1834, p. 36: Qua fronte hoc scribere potuisti? Nec sani ergo capitis fuit, aliquid contra te suspicari de scripto illo.

[3] Berengar, l. c. p. 41: In quo tamen nullam papae debebam obedientiam. Dissuaserant secundum ecclesiastica jura, secundum quae nullus extra provinciam ad judicium ire cogendus est, personae ecclesiasticae.

[4] Berengar, l. c. p. 42. According to Berengar's testimony, p. 46, heresy only furnished the pretext; the king wanted to extort money from him to bestow on a worthless favorite.

[5] Berengar, l. c. p. 43.

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But besides the bishop Eusebius Bruno of Angers, Berengar had many other friends among the bishops and eminent clergy of France, who effectually used their influence to procure his liberation from the king.[1] Yet the persecutions he had suffered could not moderate his zeal against the doctrine of transubstantiation nor school him to greater prudence. He felt himself impelled to defend publicly the truth stigmatized as a heresy. He offered to prove before the king, or any other one, by the Holy Scriptures, that at the council of Vercelli the doctrine of Scotus was unjustly condemned, and the doctrine of Radbert wrongly approved.[2] Many of his friends, who agreed with him in his opposition to the doctrine of transubstantiation, and who were altogether disgusted with the fanatical heat of the zealots, yet disapproved the bold and incautious manner with which, in exposing the conduct of the heads of the church thus far in this matter, he dared to assail even the pope himself;[3] and they advised him to be more moderate in his zeal, to wait till he was called upon to give an account of the faith that was in him, and not unseasonably obtrude his opinions before men still incapable of entering into their deeper spiritual meaning; in other words, not to cast his pearls before swine.[4] Berengar followed this advice in part. He declined entering into private conversation on the disputed doctrine with those in whom he could discover no spiritual sympathy with himself; but on the other hand he earnestly sought an opportunity to set forth and defend his doctrine before an assembly of bishops. His confidence in the power of truth inspired him with a strong hope that he would succeed in clearing himself before such an audience from the suspicion of heresy, and in obtaining for his doctrine a more general recognition. His confidence in the power of truth made him overlook the invincible difficulties, which he would have to

[1] Thus we find a letter of bishop Frollent of Senlis (Silvanectensis) to Berengar, which expresses great regard for him, acknowledges him to be a man of eminent piety, and begs an interest in his prayers. The same person informs him, that he had made the king his firm friend: quod multum firmiter acquisivi tibi gratiam regis. Berengar himself requests Richard, an ecclesiastic who had some influence with the king, to procure for him an indemnification for his losses. See this letter in D'Achery Spicileg. T. III. f. 400.

[2] In the letter above cited he says, that even if he did not receive that indemnification from the king, me tamen praesto habet, in eo uno servire regiae majestati, ut satisfaciam secundum scripturas illi et quibus velit, injustissime damnatum Scotum, etc.

[3] Martene and Durand have published in the first volume of their Thesaurus novus anecdotorum f. 196, a remarkable letter, with the superscription: Carissimo B . . . suus P . . . , which latter is perhaps Berengar's old friend the Canonical (Primicerius) Paulinus of Metz. This person acknowledges him to be a witness for the truth; and expresses the wish that God would carry on the good work begun in him to perfection. He writes: Quod in scripturis tuis de eucharistia accepi secundum quos posuisti auctores bene sentis et catholice sentis. But then he adds: sed quod de tanta persona (the pope) sacrilegum dixisti (that is, most probably, taking the last word but one as a masculine, that he had called Leo IX. a sacrilegum, as we find that he actually did; see his work De sacra coena, ed. Berolinens. p. 36, near the end) non puto approbandum, quia multa humilitate tanto in ecclesia culmini est deferendum, etiamsi sit in ejusmodi quippiam non plene elimatum.

[4] That old friend wrote to him, in his own name and in that of the abbot of Gorzes, (see above, p. 336): Rogamus etiam, ut sobrie in Domino semper sapias, neque profunditatem scripturarum, quibus non oportet, margaritas scilicet porcis projicias, praeter quod de ea quae in te est Christi fide omnibus praesentibus rationem reddere paratum te exhibeas.

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encounter from the prevailing spirit of his times. His opponents also anxiously waited for a council; for they were hoping on much better grounds they should be able by this means to put down effectually both Berengar and his erroneous doctrines. Nor were the plans of the zealots aimed against Berengar alone, but also against his more eminent friends — those who agreed with him in their general bent and in their opposition to the doctrine of transubstantiation; and who although they by no means went with him on all points, yet however moderately they expressed themselves, were placed in the same category with himself; such for example as bishop Eusebius Bruno of Angers. It was determined by king Henry I. of France that such a council should be held at Paris. Still many of the most violent of the zealots felt distrustful of such a council if it should be held without the concurrence of the pope. The character of this whole class is revealed by a letter which Deoduin, the then bishop of Liege, wrote to the king. He praises the king's zeal in this business. But he was afraid the false teachers would be allowed to present and defend their opinions before the council, as if the matter must first be investigated, when the truth was that the opponents of the doctrine of transubstantiation must be regarded as decided heretics. It was his opinion therefore, that the only question now to be proposed was, whether they would recant, or refusing to do so whether they should suffer the punishment they deserved.[1] If on the other hand they were permitted to go home unpunished from the council, it would be said, they could not be convicted of any error, and thus the evil would be made worse. But as it was Deoduin's opinion, that the bishop Eusebius Bruno followed the Berengarian heresy, and a bishop could not be judged without the concurrence of the pope,[2] he therefore thought it advisable to let the matter rest, till full power could be obtained from the pope to pass judgment on Eusebius Bruno as a bishop.[3] The representations of this fierce zealot could not prevent, however, the meeting of such a council; partly because the principle of ecclesiastical law, to which bishop Deoduin appealed, was by no means universally admitted in France, partly because bishop Eusebius Bruno was very generally esteemed to be an orthodox man. The council of Paris therefore was actually held.[4]

[1] Neque tam est pro illis concilium advocandum, quam de illorum supplicio exquirandum.

[2] According to the principles of the new ecclesiastical code, formed since the Pseudo-Isidorian decretals and pope Nicholas I, a code which had a large party in its favor even in France, though there was also a party opposed to it.

[3] Ergo majestatem vestram omnes exoratam vellemus, ut interim illorum impiam, sacrilegam et nefariam assertionem audire contemneretis, donec accepta Romanae sedis audientia damnandi potestatem haberetis. Bibl. patr. Lugd. T. XVIII. f. 532.

[4] The reasons alleged by Lessing in his Berengarius Turonensis, and assented to by Gieseler, seem to me insufficient — and in this I am of the same opinion with Stäudlin Archiv für alte und neue Kirchengeschichte, II. 1. — to prove the falsity of what is said in express terms by the abbot Durandus of Troanne, a contemporary, in his tract De corpore et sanguine Christi, Bibl. patr. Lugd. T. XVIII. f. 437. respecting the convocation of such a council; though his report cannot be pronounced free from the objection of inaccuracy, especially in dates. Berengar's tract against Lanfranc, which is now published entire, and which throws a clear light on so many things connected with the history of his controversies, makes no mention, it is true, of this council. But this silence proves nothing; for

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Berengar set out to attend it, taking this opportunity to visit his friends in Normandy. But he determined to avoid being drawn into any new disputes concerning his doctrine, now that he was looking forward to a public justification of his opinions at the council of Paris.[1] While on his journey, however, he probably obtained such information respecting the plots of his enemies at the council, as convinced him that he was not to expect there a calm hearing, or even personal safety. He therefore thought it expedient to keep away.[2] The fears of Berengar were certainly not groundless. If the account given by Durand, abbot of Troanne, is not an exaggerated one, the council of Paris not only condemned Berengar and his adherents as heretics, but decreed that, unless they recanted, they should be punished with death.

Such was the perilous situation of Berengar, when the papal legate, cardinal Hildebrand, came to France, on other ecclesiastical business. For the transaction of this business, a council was held in 1054 at Tours; and there the cause of Berengar, by which the minds of men were so deeply excited, must needs be called up again. To suppress such a heresy seemed to the bishops a matter of greater importance than all others. By universal acclamation Berengar was accused of holding that only bread and wine, but not the body and blood of Christ, were in the eucharist. Hildebrand, a man of preëminent vigor and decision, as we have already had occasion to observe in the history of the papacy, did not mean to have his judgment influenced by the outcry of the multitude. He granted Berengar the calm hearing, which had hitherto been denied him; and Berengar convinced the le-

nowhere in the tract does he give a full account of the connection of events, or take notice of the preceding transactions and controversies in France. Another argument against the truth of Durand's report Lessing finds in the circumstance that according to it, an intercepted letter of Berengar to his old friend, the Primicerius Paulinus of Metz, was presented before the council in proof of his heresy, by the bishop of Orleans; while according to Berengar's own statement (de sacra coena, pag. 51), the bishop of Orleans was afterwards unable to produce at the council of Tours any evidence whatever against Berengar, but only appealed to the voice of common rumor. Now whether the statement of Durand or that of Berengar be incorrect, or whether the bishop of Orleans contradicted himself, still in any case it cannot be made out from a single misstatement of this kind in a relation of facts by a man who was unquestionably passionate and prone to exaggeration, that the whole story of this council at Paris was a fiction.

[1] To this journey I refer Berengar's words in his letter to the monk Ascelin in Normandy (in the edition of Lanfranc's works, ed. D'Achery not. in vitam Lanfranci, f. 19. ed. Venet.): Per vos igitur transiens disposueram omnino nihil agere cum quibuscunque de eucharistia, priusquam satisfacerem in eo episcopis, ad quos contendebam, secundum evangelicam et apostolicam scripturam. As Berengar, after the council of Vercelli and after his liberation (compare the words above cited from his letter to Richard) immediately proposed that his doctrine should be subjected to such an examination, it is most suitable to refer the above words in his letter to Ascelin to a council which was to be held about this time. Besides, if he was speaking here of the council of Vercelli, he would have mentioned the pope with the bishops; and the circuitous route through Normandy agrees better, to say the least, with a journey from Angers or Tours to Paris, than with one from the same places to Italy.

[2] To this I refer the words of Berengar in the above cited letter to Ascelin: Et nunc quod apud episcopos *agere susceperam* (which therefore he was unable to accomplish, quia non tutum erat) vellem, *si mihi tutum fieret*, saltem apud vos agere in audientia quorumcunque. With this agrees what Durand reports, that Berengar, terrore perculsus, did not appear before the council, — which he explains of course from his own point of view, as meaning that he was prevented by his consciousness of guilt.

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gate, that his doctrine had been misrepresented. He explained to the satisfaction of Hildebrand,[1] that he recognized the bread and wine after consecration as the body and blood of Christ. The legate now agreed with him, that the outcry in France should first be appeased, and that Berengar should then accompany him to Rome, in order that by the authority of pope Leo IX. the matter might be set forever at rest.[2] He stood forth as mediator betwixt Berengar and the council. The first step was to appoint a committee, at the head of which stood the archbishop of Tours, for the purpose of giving him a preliminary hearing. Berengar expressed himself on the subject of the Lord's Supper precisely in the same manner to them as he had done before to Hildebrand. The other bishops signified that they also were satisfied with the explanation. The points of difference, probably through Hildebrand's influence, were not brought into discussion; and it was only required, that Berengar should make the same confession before the assembled council. This was done. At this point some of the bishops began to manifest a suspicion about the sincerity of his confession, and proposed that he should be required to state on oath, that he believed from the heart, what he had expressed with his mouth. Bishop Eusebius of Bruno, and another of his friends urged him to yield to the cry of the multitude, for the sake of restoring peace.[3] He followed their advice, as he believed he could swear to such a confession without denying a single conviction of his heart, for he held that the point in dispute between him and his opponents, was not whether bread and wine were the body and blood of Christ, but *in what sense they were so;* and as he believed that this confession could with more propriety be expressed from his own point of view, than from that of his opponents, a point on which we may speak further when we come to examine his opinions. But his opponents represented the matter differently. Considering it solely from their own point of view, and unable to conceive how the bread and wine could be said to become body and blood of Christ except in the sense of the doctrine of transubstantiation, they

[1] With regard to Hildebrand's own views of the eucharist, which perhaps may be gathered from his conduct in this controversy, and from the declarations of Eusebius Bruno hereafter to be noticed, we should be still more clearly informed, if the passages cited under the name of a "magister Hildebrand," from a commentary on the gospel of Matthew, published by Peter Allix in his preface to the Determinatio of John Parisiensis or Pungens asinum on the eucharist, might with certainty be ascribed to cardinal Hildebrand. In this fragment, after an investigation of the different ways in which the conversio of the bread into the body of Christ may be conceived, the conclusion is arrived at, that nothing can be decided with certainty on this point, that the *conversio* therefore is the only essential part of the doctrine, namely, that bread and wine become body and blood of Christ, and that with regard to the way in which that conversion takes place men should not seek to inquire. This coincides with the view, which evidently lies at the basis of the cardinal's proceedings. But whether the author was this Hildebrand, must ever remain a very doubtful question, since it is not probable, that if a man whose life constitutes an epoch in history wrote a commentary on the gospel of Matthew, it should have been so entirely forgotten.

[2] Cujus auctoritas superborum invidiam atque ineptorum tumultum compesceret, thus Berengar himself relates, correcting the certainly inaccurate representation of this event by Lanfranc, in his second tract against him already referred to, p. 50 et seq. ed. Berolinens. His report bears on its face the stamp of truth.

[3] Ne tumultum compescere popularem suffugerem, says Berengar.

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represented it as if he had been induced by fear to recant his opinions before this council and profess the doctrine of the church, as they called the doctrine of transubstantiation, and as if he was then restored to the communion of the church by cardinal Hildebrand.[1] Consequently when Berengar afterwards proceeded to set forth and defend his doctrine as he had done before, he was accused by them of having denied his confession, perjured himself and relapsed into his old error. Quiet, therefore, could thus be restored to the French church only for a short time. Hildebrand, it is true, had made up his mind to employ a more certain and powerful means of securing this object by taking Berengar with him to Rome; but this purpose was frustrated by the death of Leo IX.

Berengar at length determined to resort to this means himself, and in 1059, during the papacy of Nicholas II, he repaired to Rome. He doubtless hoped that he should enjoy the powerful protection of Hildebrand; but in this he was disappointed. The party of blind zealots and brawlers was too mighty for him in Rome; the very phrase "spiritual participation of the body of Christ," excited them to the utmost fury.[2] He complained to the pope, that he should be left exposed to the fury of these wild beasts. After having voluntarily undertaken so long and painful a journey, he begged the privilege of a patient hearing. The pope said, he had better leave the whole matter to cardinal Hildebrand. But the truth was that in a case of this sort, where Hildebrand perceived the dominant spirit to be altogether against him, and where many even of those who were otherwise bound to him by the same interests, must be his opponents — that prelate either found himself unable with all his vigor and firmness to push the matter through with the same ease as he would when combatting for the papistico-theocratical system, or else was unwilling to venture so much here when he had other interests to attend to of so much more consequence to himself.

Berengar was obliged therefore, in the year 1059, to appear before an assembly of 113 bishops. If we may believe his own report, there were even in this assembly many likeminded with himself, but who felt themselves obliged to yield to the superior numbers of the brawlers, and dared not to speak.[3] Nor have we any reason to question his word, for the thing is not improbable.[4] After what had already occurred, he had to expect the worst. A confession of faith drawn up

[1] So Lanfranc, Guitmund, Durand.

[2] Berengar says concerning him in his second book against Lanfranc, p. 72: Qui nec audire poterant spiritualem de corpore refectionem et ad vocem spiritualitatis aures potius obturabant.

[3] Pag. 65: Qui non consenserunt concilio illi et actibus ejus, qui veritatis non ignari et ipsi discipuli Jesu revera soli synodus erant dicendi, tantum propter metum Judaeorum occulti.

[4] Even Lanfranc gives it to be understood, that Berengar had friends at Rome, on whom he reckoned, though he explains this in his own way; namely, that they had become his friends for other and extraneous reasons. His words are: Cum sub Nicolao venisses Romam fretus iis, qui plus impensis a te beneficiis, quam ratione a te audita opem tibi promiserant. Lanfranc de corpore et sanguine Domini, c. II. Both may have been true, that there were those who when students had enjoyed his assistance (see above, p. 502) and those also who when students had followed his spiritual bent and doctrines.

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by one of the most narrow-minded and boisterous zealots, cardinal Humbert, was laid before him. This was purposely so worded as to cut off all possibility of resorting to a spiritual interpretation. The import of it was substantially as follows: that the bread and wine after consecration are not merely a sacrament, but the true body and the true blood of Christ; and that this body is touched, and broken by the hands of the priests, and comminuted by the teeth of the faithful not merely in a sacramental manner, but in truth."[1] As Berengar confesses, the fear of death unmanned him; he faltered, and taking the confession of faith in his hands, prostrated himself with it on the ground, thereby signifying his submission and repentance. He committed his writings to the flames with his own hands.[2] They now eagerly went to work, as Lanfranc himself says, and scattered abroad this confession in Germany, France, Italy and in all the districts, where the report of Berengar's heresy had spread, in evidence of his recantation.

Berengar, however, had only yielded to the fear of death *for that moment*. Returned to France, he once more taught his doctrine with the same boldness as before. In his correspondence with Lanfranc, who accused him of denying his convictions, and of downright perjury, and particularly in his second controversial tract against Lanfranc, he summed up the arguments in defence of his doctrine of the Lord's Supper, exposing at the same time the injustice and violence with which he had been treated at Rome, not even sparing the character of the pope. "In him — said he of Leo IX. — I found by no means a saint, by no means a lion of the tribe of Judah, not even an upright man. To be declared a heretic by him I account as nothing; for he showed himself to be a fool both in this and in other matters."[3] So in his other writings, he styled Leo, not the pontifex, but the pompifex, the pompatick, and the Roman church a council of vanity and a church of malignants, — not an apostolic see, but a seat of Satan.[4] He dared to speak of the frivolity, the ignorance, and the unbefitting man-

[1] See opp. Lanfranc, f. 170.

[2] Lanfranc represents the matter thus. When Berengar came to Rome, he no longer dared defend the doctrines he had held, and of his own accord requested the pope and council to prescribe for him the faith which he should confess. He then publicly recited the confession of faith drawn up by Humbert, swore to it and subscribed it. As we have already seen evidence that Lanfranc sometimes distorted facts to suit his own particular interest; as Berengar does not contradict him in *everything*, nor attempt in any way to explain away his denial of the truth which he had before taught, where he was under the necessity of doing it, if he had been disposed to vindicate or excuse himself at the expense of truth; and as he does, however, on *this point* so openly and confidently contradict him, we have certainly every reason to trust his report in this case rather than that of Lanfranc. He says, correcting the latter's statement, p. 26: Manu, quod mendaciter ad te pervenit, non subscripsi, nam ut de consensu pronunciarem meo, nullus exegit, tantum timore praesentis jam mortis scriptum illud, absque ulla conscientia mea jam factum, manibus accepi. And p. 61: Confiteor et ego iniquitatem meam Domino, ut remittat impietatem peccati mei, quod prophetica, evangelica et apostolica scripta in ignes conjicere minime satis exhorrui. Comp. p. 73.

[3] Cum desiperet etiam circa alia. See the second tract against Lanfranc, p. 34.

[4] So states a contemporary, the anonymous author edited by Chifflet, in Bibl. patr. Lugd. T. XVIII. f. 835: Ultra omnes haereticos Romanos pontifices et sanctam Romanam ecclesiam verbis et scriptis blasphemare praesumsit. Nempe Sanctum Leonem, papam, non pontificem, sed pompificem, et pulpificem appellavit, sanctam Romanam ecclesiam, vanitatis concilium et ecclesiam malignantium, Romanam sedem non apostolicam sed sedem satanae dictis et scriptis non timuit appellare.

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ners of Nicholas II,[1] whom he described as the tail of lying prophets. In citing the decrees of the older North-African councils, respecting the invalidity of the baptism performed by heretics, to prove that the majority in a council does not by any means always determine what the truth is, he compares with bitter regret the present with the earlier condition of the church. We see that he was a man who longed for a reformation of the church; but doubtless a reformation of another sort, than the one then contemplated in the plan of Hildebrand. "That time — said he — when religion flourished in the first bloom of her youth, was a time when men distinguished for science and dignity of life, were made bishops in conformity with the ecclesiastical laws; when that which constitutes the greatest, nay the sole ornament of the Christian religion, love, had not yet grown cold by the domination of wickedness; but when rather by the glowing fire of love, all impurity of heart was consumed, all darkness of the understanding dispelled by the purity of its light! — But in the times in which God has made it our lot to live, we see the annihilation of all religion — we see the sun turned into darkness, the moon into blood. We see how all confess God with words, but deny him by their works — how they say Lord, Lord; but do not the things he has commanded them."[2]

Lanfranc had said that Berengar at Rome was induced to alter his opinion. To this the latter replies: "Very true, human wickedness could by outward force extort from human weakness a *different confession;* but *a change of conviction* is what God's almighty agency alone can effect."[3] Lanfranc had reproached him with an impious act of perjury. Berengar, who, as we have already observed, denied that he had ever taken such an oath, replied: "Even if I *had* taken it, yet, under the compunctions of repentance, I should not have considered myself bound by it. To take an oath, which never ought to have been taken, is to estrange one's self from God; but to retract that which one has wrongfully sworn to, is to return back to God. Peter once swore that he knew not Christ. Had he persevered in that wicked oath, he must have ceased to be an apostle."[4] "By what just title — says he to Lanfranc — wouldst thou be a priest and a monk, if thou must always thus refuse the least pity to human weakness?[5] Thou, priest, coldly passest by him whom robbers have left half-dead; but God has already provided for me, so that I shall not be left alone." He compares himself to Aaron and to Peter, who were liable to the same rebuke.[6] He implores of all his readers their considerate compassion,[7] not because he had been a false teacher, but because he had been moved by the fear of death to cease defending the truth, because, at the command of the multitude, he had burned writings which contained nothing but gospel doctrine. He constantly

[1] Nimia levitate Nicolaus ille, de cujus ineruditione et morum indignitate facile mihi erat non insufficienter scribere, ut sine injuria de illo proponi potuerit, propheta prophetans mendacium ipse est cauda. In his second tract against Lanfranc, p. 71.

[2] L. c. p. 58.

[3] L. c. p. 59.

[4] L. c. p. 28.

[5] L. c. p. 61.

[6] L. c. p. 62.

[7] Misericordiae viscera mihi compatiantur obsecro. p. 62.

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maintains, in opposition to Lanfranc, that the voice of the majority, by which error has so often been stamped as truth, cannot decide as to what is truth. He sets the small minority of wise and discerning persons, possessed of the consciousness of truth, over against the multitudo ineptorum; — the church — he said — stands not in the latter, but in the former. The consciousness of truth often retired into a few; seven thousand had not bowed the knee to Baal. He reminded him of the example of the few who remained with our Lord when all forsook him; of the few bishops who alone resisted Arianism when it overspread the entire church, in the times of the Roman bishop Liberius, which few alone deserved the name of the church, the name of members of Christ.[1] As evidence from his own times, he points to the multitude, who had framed to themselves crude, anthropomorphic notions of God, compared with the few, who had a more correct understanding of the image of God in man. "Should the *majority*, then, decide in this case; should the church stand in the majority?"[2] Thus we see how in this respect also Berengar inclined to the protestant conception of the church, as a community developing itself from within, *proceeding forth from a spiritual and common appropriation of divine truth.*

Accordingly, he now styles the doctrine of transubstantiation an *ineptio, vecordia vulgi.* At the same time, however, he asserted that he by no means stood alone in his convictions respecting the Lord's Supper; there were many, of all ranks and orders, who abhorred the error of Lanfranc and Paschasius Radbert;[3] and even the declarations of his opponents show that Berengar was not wrong in saying that the number of those who thought like himself was by no means small; and perhaps many of those who in their own way had come to entertain similar views, were also embraced under the common heretical name of Berengarians.[4]

He went on with his work, disseminating his doctrine not only by what he wrote, but also by means of his scholars, through France;[5] and, as a teacher, he ever continued to exert a wide influence both in France and in other countries.[6] It turned out, perhaps through the influence of the powerful Hildebrand, that no further steps were taken

[1] Idonei cum paucis vocari ecclesia, vocari membra Christi.

[2] Nec sentiendum est cum eis, quanquam infinitissimos ad eorum comparationem, qui circa hoc recte sentiunt, negare nemo possit. Vid p. 54, 116.

[3] Conscientiam tuam latere non potest, quam plurimos vel infinitos esse cujuscunque ordinis et dignitatis, qui tuam de sacrificio ecclesiae execrentur errorem atque Paschasii. p. 54.

[4] Vid. Durand. Troanens. Bibl. patr. Lugd. T. XVIII. f. 437.

[5] The before cited anonymous author says: Haeresin suam clanculo per discipulos suos usquequaque non cessavit disseminare.

[6] We have evidence of this, also, in a letter of the Scholasticus Gozachin, of Mayence, written in the year 1060, to his former scholar, the Scholasticus Walcher, of Liege, published by Mabillon, in the 4th Vol. of his Analecta. The old pious and faithful teacher could not look with complacency upon the newly-awakened spirit of inquiry. He complains: Quidem pseudomagistri hac illac per villas pagosque urbisque circumcursant, novas Psalterii, Pauli, Apocalypsis lectiones tradunt; and then says: vide quam sanae doctrinae theologi de Turonensi emergant academia, cui praesidet ille apostolus satanae Berengarius. He calls this academy the Babylon nostri temporis. Vid. l. c. p. 383.

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against him in Rome. Pope Alexander II. simply exhorted him, in a friendly way, to forsake his sect, and give no further offence to the church; to which Berengar is said to have replied, that he could not deny his real convictions.[1] No doubt it may have been the case, also, that in Rome, as well as in France, there were some who, following the principles of cardinal Hildebrand, and of bishop Eusebius Bruno of Angers, sought, as had been done at Tours, by uniting the two parties on what both considered as essentials, and throwing aside those points which were matters of contention, to repress the controversy. The very words of Christ, to which men should cling with steadfast faith, without prying too curiously into their meaning, should, in the view of the persons just described, be this all-uniting symbol.[2] The bishop of Angers expressed himself very decidedly on this point. Berengar had fallen into a dispute with another canonical priest of Tours, named Gottfrid, a zealous defender of the doctrine of transubstantiation.[3] This antagonist he proposed to refute, by certain citations from a well-known work, which passed under the name of Ambrose, De sacramentis. He brought the matter before bishop Eusebius Bruno, requesting that the debate might be held in his presence, and that he would act as arbitrator. The bishop, who was anxious to see a stop put to this whole controversy, was not pleased with the proposal; and took the opportunity to state at length, in a letter to Berengar,[4] his own views respecting the whole matter. He expressed his regret that such a controversy had arisen at all, and that it had reached even to Angers.[5] Instead of entering into passionate disputes, it were far better, he said, to abide by the very fountain of truth itself. According to that, men ought to believe and confess, that by the power and agency of the Word by which all things were created, after the consecration by the priest the bread became the true body, and the wine the true blood of Christ. The question how this was done, he repelled; referring it to God's almighty power, as in the case of all the miracles of sacred history. If it should now be asked, what the ancient church fathers taught on this subject, the inquirer, supposing him qualified for such investigations, should be referred to their writings, that after careful examination

[1] This is stated by Chifflet's Anonymus Bibl. patr. Lugd. T. XVIII. f. 385. There was hardly any occasion for inventing a story of that sort.

[2] It is clear from the words of Eusebius Bruno, in his letter presently to be cited, that this was a plan actually pursued by many. Besides cardinal Hildebrand, the papal legate Gerald, and the archbishop of Besançon, had acted according to it. Hoc consilio — says Eusebius Bruno — querimonia, quae in praesentia Geraldi tunc legati apud Turonum emersit, sedata est. Hoc consilio eodem tumultus, qui in audientia domini Eldebranni (Hildebrandi) in eadem civitate efferbuit sopitus est, hac veridica confessione exactioni principis hujus nostri, in capellula, cujus in vestra epistola mentionem fecistis, satisfactum est, et rediviva pestis, quae nescio quorum improbitate exagitata caput extulerat, domini Bisonticensis archiepiscopi et eruditorum, qui adfuerunt, auctoritate calcata est.

[3] As Berengar styled it, the ineptia atque insania Lanfranci.

[4] In the work of Franciscus de Roye de vita, haeresi et poenitentia Berengarii. Andegavi 1657. p. 48.

[5] Veritatis asserendae an famae quaerendae gratia nescio, Deus scit, haec orta motaque quaestio, postquam Romani orbis maximam paene partem peragravit, ad ultimum nos cum infami longinquorum et vicinorum redargutione acerrime pulsavit.

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and a right understanding, he might be prepared to adopt thankfully, and without interrupting brotherly concord, what might seem to him most fully to accord, in those writings, with the gospel truth. He was far — he said — from despising the writings of the fathers; but he did not ascribe to them the same authority as to the gospel. For they themselves would not have assented to this; and he did not think it well to appeal to their sayings, to decide so important a question;[1] because by improper citations from the fathers, which might chance to be corrupted, or not correctly understood, or not fully explored, occasion of stumbling might be given to the church.[2] Enough would be found to satisfy their religious needs, and to settle and confirm their faith, if men would but hold fast to those simple words of Christ, and, at the same time, peace would be preserved in the church. He concluded by declaring, that henceforward he would have nothing at all to do with any dispute on this matter; either as a partisan, a hearer, or a judge; that he would never attend any synod which might be held on this subject; for the case had already been thrice disposed of by a tribunal in that province, and for the fourth time by a definitive sentence of the apostolical see.

From this letter, it is impossible to ascertain with certainty the real views of Eusebius Bruno. One thing is indeed plain, that he did not wish to see the doctrine of transubstantiation fixed as a settled article of faith; in fact, had he not manifested this by his words and acts, he would not have come into the reputation of making common cause with Berengar. But it is quite possible that he agreed with Berengar more fully than he cared to confess in this letter. Perhaps he was more reserved about expressing with exactness his own views of the Lord's Supper, from a regard to existing circumstances; for he perceived that the dominant spirit was too strongly inclined to the doctrine of transubstantiation, to leave any room for hoping that any good could be effected by publicly opposing it. He was convinced, that such open opposition would only serve to procure for the doctrine of transubstantiation a more speedy and certain victory. Perhaps for this reason he deemed it best, to fall back, for the present, on the words of the institution, as a check against any further determinations. But assuredly there is no good reason for supposing that the bishop did not express, in this letter, the entire conviction of his heart. At least, in what he said about the authority of the older church teachers in settling contested questions of doctrine, he did not shun the open expression of his sentiments, notwithstanding that his language might give offence to many of the more bigoted clergy. In all probability, his general conviction was, that nothing more could be certainly determined in the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, than that

[1] Porro nos non patrum scripta contemnentes, sed nec illa qua evangelium legentes, — neque enim ipsi viventes et scribentes hoc voluerunt et in suis opusculis ne id fieret voluerunt, — eorum sententiis salva quae eis debetur, reverentia in tantae rei disceptatione abstinemus.

[2] Ne si patrum sensa aut aliquo eventu depravata aut a nobis non bene intellecta aut non plene inquisita inconvenienter protulerimus, scandalum illud, quod tantopere fugimus, incurramus.

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the true body of Christ was there present, and that in this belief there was enough to satisfy the religious need. In seeking to define precisely the *how*, and to obtain currency for subjective views, which still could not be certainly demonstrated, the Christian fellowship, grounded on an agreement in essentials, ought not to be disturbed. And when Eusebius Bruno expresses himself thus universally respecting the right use of the older church fathers, we may conclude that he was desirous of preserving the gospel simplicity, the sober practical bent in the doctrines of faith, and that he was by no means inclined to the scholasticism which was now bursting from the bud.

But Berengar's zeal was not to be restrained within the limits which the discreet prudence of his bishop would prescribe; and he must therefore himself contribute, by this strong reäction against the still mightier tendency of the spirit of his times, to hasten its triumph. In the meantime his friend, cardinal Hildebrand, had become pope. Perhaps he attempted, in the first place, by his legate Gerald, to have the controversy settled at a council held within the limits of France, at Poictiers, in the beginning of the year 1076; for it may be presumed, from what Eusebius Bruno says in the above cited letter, with regard to Gerald's mode of thinking, that he would aim to bring about a compromise after the same manner as had been done at the council of Tours. But such was the excitement of the zealots against Berengar at this council, that he came near falling a victim to it.[1] Gregory VII. having failed to settle the controversy in this way, deemed it necessary to cite Berengar himself to Rome.[2]

In the year 1078, then, Berengar, in obedience to the pope's citation, came to Rome. Beyond doubt, it was Gregory's intention to secure him repose in the same manner, as had been done at the council of Tours. At an assembly on All-saints-day, he induced him to lay down a confession of faith similar to the former; and this he declared to be

[1] Ferme interemptus, in the Chronicon Maxentii or Molleacense. Labbe Biliotheca Manuscriptorum T. II. fol. 212.

[2] We have, it is true, a detailed report of these remarkable transactions only from Berengar himself, published by Martene and Durand, in the Nov. thesaur. anecdot. T. IV. f. 103, and we might therefore question the credibility of a witness in his own cause. But we never find him distorting the facts to his own advantage; the statement, if we take it in connection with the times, contains no evidence of internal improbability, and the traits of Gregory VII. therein depicted, fully harmonize with his character. We shall also find in the charges, which were afloat against Gregory VII, and in the tirade of cardinal Benno against him, a great deal which serves to corroborate Berengar's statements. But nowhere does he appear to be contradicted by other credible accounts. Chifflets' "Anonymus" merely notices what was of the greatest moment to him — the general council in the fasts which he himself attended, and he had knowledge only of the public transactions, not of what had before taken place betwixt Gregory and Berengar. He says: Ultimae quoque generali synodo sub Gregorio papa 1078, nos ipsi interfuimus, et vidimus, quando Berengarius in media synodo constitit et haeresin de corpore Domini coram omnibus propriae manus sacramento abdicavit. But the report in the Chronicon of Hugo de Flavigny directly confirms Berengar's statement; for it is clear from this, that at the last synod there was still a small party in his favor, and it was not till the third day of the meeting that the party of the zealots for the doctrine of transubstantiation, obtained the victory. Quidam — says the Chronicon — caecitate nimia perculsi, figuram tantum adstruebant rerum ubi res coepit agi, priusquam tertia die ventum foret in synodum, defecit contra veritatem niti. Bibl. Ms. T. I. Pars altera f. 214 et 215.

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satisfactory — enough for the weak, and for the strong. To the authority of Lanfranc he opposed that of Damiani. He directed the works of many of the older church teachers to be brought forward, and their declarations respecting the Lord's supper to be laid before the clergy, in order to convince them, that if a person confessed bread and wine were, after the consecration, the true body and the true blood of Christ, this was enough. But the party of the zealots was not to be satisfied with any such confession. They required of Berengar some other proof of his sincere orthodoxy; and for the present they sought occasions for delay, hoping for an opportunity to effect their designs under more favorable circumstances. A regard to his own interests would make Gregory VII. extremely cautious about doing anything in this matter which might turn the public tone of feeling against himself, and excite the suspicion that he was inclined to favor the erroneous doctrine; for this would have proved a serious obstacle to the prosecution of his most important plan; indeed, this charge was actually lodged against him by the party in opposition. To accomplish his object, without requiring Berengar to do anything contrary to his convictions, he tried various expedients. By all these attempts, however, the clamor of those who insisted on Berengar's public profession of the doctrine of transubstantiation and condemnation of the opposite doctrine could not be appeased; the only way left for Gregory to conciliate the zealots was to yield to their demands. Berengar was required publicly to take oath, that he so thought, as he professed in that confession, and then to prove his veracity by the ordeal of the hot iron. Already he was preparing himself, by prayer and fasting for this trial, when the pope informed him, through his confidential agent the abbot of Monte Cassino, that the trial should not be undergone. The pope then proposed to a monk whom he held in the highest esteem, that by rigorous fasting he should prepare himself to supplicate the grace of the Virgin Mary, whom he consulted on all dubious and weighty matters, that the true way in which the contested point ought to be considered might be revealed.[1] Afterwards he informed Berengar, that this monk had received as an answer, that nothing more ought to be adopted in relation to this doctrine than what was found written in Holy Scripture, and that Berengar's doctrine was in accordance with Scripture in holding it sufficient to say that the bread after consecration was the true body of Christ. There are two ways of interpreting this transaction. Either we must suppose that Gregory ventured upon a *pious fraud* to pacify the multitude; or that he really believed such a supernatural decision had been given, which last would not be inconsistent with his whole mode of thinking. Once, however, Berengar was thrown into the utmost alarm by the intelligence that it was the pope's intention to give

[1] This statement of Berengar is corroborated by what Benno says in his Pasquill against Gregory VII.: Jejunium indixit cardinalibus, ut Deus ostenderet, quis rectius sentiret de corpore Domini, Romanane ecclesia an Berengarius; and then he states, that the pope directed two cardinals in particular to ask a sign from God. This agreement between two men, one an opponent and the other a friend of the pope, would of itself lead us to conclude, that the above statements are founded in truth.

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him up to imprisonment for life, for the purpose of removing all suspicion from himself, and putting an end to the whole dispute.

The opposite party contrived, in the meantime, to have Berengar detained in Rome till the meeting of the synod usually held there in Lent. At this synod, they hoped to accomplish their designs more easily by union with those of similar sentiments from other countries. And here the thing was actually accomplished which they were expecting and aiming to bring about. After a short contest, the doctrine of transubstantiation obtained a complete victory. The confession previously laid down by Berengar was again placed before him, but with one slight alteration, designed for the purpose of precluding false interpretations. Instead of converti, was written substantialiter converti; with the antithesis: non tantum per signum et virtutem sacramenti, sed in proprietate naturae et veritate substantiae. As he carefully read through the confession of faith, a sophistical interpretation suggested itself, whereby he might explain it in consistency with his own views. The word substantialiter he interpreted as meaning salva sua substantia. And so he declared himself ready to adopt the symbol thus altered, with liberty to interpret it after his own manner. But some of his opponents having remarked that he was seeking evasions, the council required him to swear, that he understood this confession *as they understood it*, and not so as to favor his own opinion. To this Berengar replied, for as he says in his own account of the transaction, "the compassion of the Almighty stood by me, so that I could reply—that with *their* understanding he had nothing to do; he stood to that which a few days before he had declared to the pope."[1] This appeal of Berengar to a conversation he had had with the pope, would not be likely to strike the latter very agreeably. To turn away all suspicion from himself, the pope yielded to the zealots. He ordered, that Berengar should prostrate himself on the ground and confess, that he had hitherto been in error in that he had not taught a change as to substance. Berengar relates the sequel as follows: "Confounded by the sudden madness of the pope, and because God in punishment for my sins did not give me a steadfast heart, I threw myself on the ground, and confessed with impious voice that I had erred, fearing the pope would instantly pronounce against me the sentence of condemnation, and as the necessary consequence, that the populace would hurry me to the worst of deaths. Said I within myself: all who wish to slay thee boast in the name of Christians. It will be thought by all men, that in destroying thee, they have done God service. It is easier for thee to take refuge in the divine compassion. Only deliver thyself from violence, and out of the hands of mistaken men." Upon this, the pope commanded that he should never, for the future, presume to dispute with any one nor to teach any one concerning the body and blood of the Lord, unless with a view to reclaim the erring to the faith. After having detained him some time longer in Rome, the pope dismissed him with two letters, one recommending him to the protection of the bishops

[1] Hic mihi omnipotentis misericordia non defuit.

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of Tours and Angers, and a second addressed to all the faithful, pronouncing the anathema on all who should presume to molest Berengar, a son of the Roman church, either in his person or his estate, or to style him a heretic.

The report of his trial at Rome which he drew up after his return proves, that he had not altered his opinions, as in fact we might presume he would not from all that goes before. That which occasioned him the deepest mortification, was his denial under the fear of death, of what he knew to be the truth. This he called a *sacrilegium*. He concludes his report by expressing his feelings in the following words: "God of all might, Thou, who revealest thy almighty power especially by forgiveness and compassion, have mercy on him, who acknowledges himself guilty of so great an impiety; and you also, Christian brethren, into whose hands this writing may come, prove your Christian charity; lend your sympathy to the tears of my confession; pray for me that these tears may procure me the pity of the Almighty." At length, sensible that he could effect nothing against the irresistible spirit of the times, he retired to a solitary life in the island of St. Cosmas, near Tours, where he reached a good old age, for he lived to the year 1088. In after times, the change made by Berengar in his mode of life, was regarded as a proof that he abandoned his erroneous doctrine, and did penance for it; but we may far more naturally refer his penitence to that which, according to the confessions just quoted, never ceased to be the object of his most painful recollections.

It now remains for us to give a more full and distinct explanation of the doctrine of Berengar. He contended not only against transubstantiation, but against every notion of a *bodily* presence of Christ in the Lord's Supper, drawing his arguments from reason, from the testimonies of Scripture and from the older church teachers. Considered from his own point of view, the intellectual apprehension of a clear understanding, such a notion appears to him altogether absurd, worthy only of the ignorant populace. Paschasius Radbert and the populace he always conjoins.[1] With intense indignation he noticed those legends of Paschasius Radbert about the sensible appearances of Christ after the consecration of the eucharist, which were immediately veiled again under the forms of the bread and wine.[2] The words of the institution would involve a falsehood — Christ who is the truth, would contradict himself, if the bread and wine, which he presupposes to be present, were no longer there.[3] He constantly maintained, that the confessions which he had been forced to lay down, testified for him rather than against him; for to predicate anything of bread and wine

[1] Vulgus et Paschasius, ineptus ille monachus Corbiensis, vulgus et cum vulgo insanientes Paschasius, Lanfrancus et quicunque alii. Ep. Adelmannum p. 38 et 39. ed. Schmid.

[2] He remarks of one of these statements about an apparition of this kind which appeared to a priest by the name of Peswil (see Paschasius Radbert de corpore et sanguine Domini c. XIV. p. 1595): Fabula omni catholico audito ipso indignissima. See the book De sacra coena, p. 37.

[3] Constabit etiam eum, qui ita opinetur, Christum, qui veritas est, falsitatis arguere, dum simulat, panem et vinum post consecrationem esse in altari, cum non sit in eo, nisi ipsius sensualiter corpus. l. c. p. 299.

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presupposed the present existence of these sensible objects.[1] Subject and predicate must both alike be true, in order to the truth of the general proposition which they express. Now when it is predicated of one thing, that it is something else, there would be a contradiction in terms, if predicate and subject must both be understood alike in the proper and literal sense. In such cases, we should rather understand the subject in the proper, the predicate in a figurative sense. He cites in illustration such expressions as those where Christ is called a rock, a lamb, a corner-stone.[2] The saying, that notwithstanding the annihilation of the substance, the sensible marks of the bread and wine might still remain,[3] he pronounces absurd, — an assertion destroying the very conception of nature, of the creation of God, by introducing into it an absolute contradiction.[4] Paschasius Radbert, as we have stated before, had said, that the only reason why the body of Christ is not communicated in a form perceptible to the senses was that the senses might not be shocked at the sight of the body and blood of Christ. In reply to this Berengar observes, the "horror" remained the same, whether the flesh and blood appeared to the senses or not; for in man's spirit, from which all the feelings flow, is the very seat of this "horror;" and the thought of eating a human body was the very thing most directly calculated to excite this "feeling."[5] Christ's body is at present glorified in heaven; it can no longer be subjected to the affections of sense; it can therefore, neither wholly nor in part, be produced anew, nor be properly communicated. It were an unworthy trifling, could we suppose it true, to think that when the Lord's Supper is a million times distributed, Christ's body descends a million times from heaven, and returns back as often. A favorite maxim of Berengar often cited by him, was the passage from St. Paul: "Though we have known Christ after the flesh, yet now henceforth know we him thus no more," 2 Cor. 5: 16. He dwells upon the words in the Acts of the Apostles, that Christ glorified was received up into heaven until the times of the restitution of all things, Acts 3: 21.[6] Yet Berengar believed it might be said, in

[1] In his last statement of the transactions in Rome: Quicunque enunciat affirmationem hanc: panis et vinum post consecrationem sunt corpus Christi et sanguis, necessario mentitur, si affirmationi huic auferat vel subjectos terminos, qui sunt panis et vinum post consecrationem, vel praedicatos, qui sunt corpus Christi et sanguis. Martene et Durand. T. IV. fol. 107.

[2] The Canon: Ut, ubicunque praedicatur non praedicabile, quia tropica locutio est, de non susceptibili, alter propositionis terminus tropice, alter proprie accipiatur. Verbi gratia: petra Christus erat, inquit apostolus, constatque subjectum terminum, qui est petra illa, quae in deserto manavit aquas, susceptibilem ejus praedicati, quod est Christus, usquequaque non esse ac per hoc apostolicam illam propositionem subjectum terminum, quod est petra propria locutione, praedicatum, quod est Christus, tropica locutione habere. De sacra coena, p. 83.

[3] Ea, quae sunt in subjecto, as it was expressed at a later period, the accidentia.

[4] Expressed in his own spirited style as follows: Secundum evangelicum illud: quod Deus conjunxit, homo non separet, convenientissime possit inferri: quae Deus in ipsa eorum constitutione inseparabilia, quantum ad sensum corporis esse instituit, Lanfranci vecordia separare non debuit. De sacra coena, p. 190.

[5] Horreres autem non secundum quod desipit Lanfrancus atque Paschasius, quantum ad solum contuitum ocularum sed quantum etiam ad quemcunque sensum corporeum, et maxime et primo quantum ad interioris hominis decus, ad intellectualitatis contuitum, ubi primum locum habet omnis appetitus vel horror et maximum. Berengar. de sacra coena, p. 222.

[6] Christum autem secundum carnem no-

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a certain, that is as he himself explains, a figurative sense, that bread and wine are the body of Christ; here agreeing with Ratramnus, but with this difference. He did not understand it in the sense, that the divine Logos communicated himself through bread and wine, and that the latter in so far became identical with, and took the place of, the body of Christ as the bearer of the manifestation of the Logos in humanity; — but according to his view it should be understood thus, that the faithful by means of this external sign, instituted by Christ for the very purpose, were therein to be reminded, in a lively way, of the fact that Christ had given his life for their salvation, and that they, by a believing appropriation of these sufferings of Christ which brought salvation, were through the operation of the divine Spirit, brought into a *true*, supernatural communion with him, and had as lively a conviction of his presence among them, as if he were bodily present. To this spiritual appropriation of the sufferings of Christ in believing remembrance, Berengar referred the passages in the sixth chapter of John.[1] He held, that those passages contained no reference whatever to the Lord's Supper, and appealed to the fact, that in common life, eating and drinking were often employed figuratively to express an intellectual appropriation; and that this was especially the case in the New Testament, as he shows by apposite examples.[2] Christ does not descend *from* heaven, but the hearts of the faithful ascend devotionally to him *in* heaven.[3] The body of Christ is received wholly by the inner man — by the heart, not by the mouth of the faithful.[4] The true body of Christ is presented on the altar; but in a spiritual manner, for the inner man. The true, the imperishable body of Christ is eaten only by the true members of Christ, in a spiritual manner. The pious receive at one and the same time, in a visible manner, the external sign (the sacrament), and in an invisible manner the reality which is represented by the sign (the res sacramenti); but by the godless the sign only is received.[5]

vit, qui eum secundum corpus etiam nunc corruptioni vel generationi obnoxium constituit. p. 94. Omitto, quod ipsi sit refutandum rationi humanae, quod indignissimum Deo esse facillimum sit cuipiam pervidere, quicunque sibi confingit, totum Christi corpus sensualiter adesse, quando celebretur mensa dominica, in altari, indissimulabiliter tali figmento suo millies millies in coelum revocat quotidie, corpus Christi ludibrio millies millies quotidie, quamdiu volvuntur tempora obnoxium facit corpus Christi, quod constat innegabiliter, quamdiu volvuntur tempora, sessurum esse ad dexteram patris. p. 198.

[1] Ubi dicit Dominus: nisi manducaveritis carnem filii hominis et sanguinem biberitis, flagitium aut facinus videtur jubere, figurata ergo locutio est praecipiens, passioni Domini esse communicandum et suaviter recondendum in memoria, quod caro ejus pro nobis crucifixa et vulnerata sit. p. 165.

[2] Quasi non sit assolens in communi sermone, assolentissimum in scripturis, audiri incorporalem animae comestionem atque bibitionem, unde Christus ipse: qui manducat me, etiam vivit propter me. Certum est autem, quando haec dicebat, nihil eum de sacramentis altaris constituisse, et illud: ego cibum habeo manducare, quem vos nescitis, ubi refectionem suam sine dubio conversionem Samaritanae et populi ejus accipi voluit cibi nomine, quae profecto corde manducatur, non dente. p. 236.

[3] Ut nullus fidelium cogitare debeat se ad refectionem animae suae accipere, nisi totam et integram domini Dei sui carnem, non autem coelo devocatam, sed in coelo manentem, quod ore corporis fieri ratio nulla permittit, cordis ad videndum Deum mundati devotione spatiosissima nulla indignitate nullis fieri prohibetur angustiis, ad quod i. e. cordis devotionem, ad cordis contuitum necessario te trahit. p. 157.

[4] L. c. p. 148.

[5] Verum Christi corpus in ipsa mensa proponi, sed spiritualiter, interiori homini.

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But inasmuch as Berengar did not consider the external signs in the Lord's Supper as being merely an accidental medium for their communion with Christ to be received through faith, but as the very medium for this communion instituted by Christ himself; inasmuch as he transferred the divine effect thus produced in the believing heart to the external sign itself from which this effect proceeded, so he could adopt in his own sense the expression *conversio*, as applied to the bread and wine. He could say, a change does in fact take place in the bread and wine. These things, to the believing heart, become really of a higher nature. They produce an effect there which they could not have produced by their natural properties. To the faithful, they are in truth the body of Christ, representing as they do to faith, to devotional feeling, this body in a powerful manner. The substance of the bread and wine is not indeed destroyed. This would have been not a conversio but an eversio. But this substance itself becomes the conveyer of higher powers and influences. Thus the substance proceeding from the original creation, the good thing of nature, remains; but it is by grace transfigured to a still higher dignity and power.[1] The natural bread can do nothing towards communicating eternal life; but that relation to the religious consciousness which is communicated to it by means of the consecration, renders it capable of affecting the life eternal.[2] In the Lord's Supper, it is of far less moment what the external things are in their natural qualities, than what they are as sanctified by the institution of Christ, and what they are as sanctified by the consecration.[3] Availing himself of the equivocal sense attached to the Latin word *conversio*, he introduced other significations of the term which did not belong to this case.[4] But the kind of "conversion" to be understood here was more exactly designated by the term sacrament, by the word *consecrare*, which was here employed. A sanctification accordingly was supposed to take place here by the act of setting apart and referring an object of common life to a religious use, and the raising of it through this sanctification, this consecration, to a higher significance and dignity, its existing nature not being destroyed, but used as a support for something higher than itself. Hence, he said, it had happened in process of time, owing to the peculiar nature of religious language, that to the objects, thus

Verum in ea Christi corpus ab his duntaxat, qui Christi membra sunt spiritualiter manducari.—Utrumque a piis visibiliter sacramentum, rem sacramenti invisibiliter accipi, ab impiis autem tantum sacramenta. Letter to Adelmann, c. 37 and 38.

[1] Panis consecratus amisit vilitatem, amisit inefficaciam, non amisit naturae proprietatem, cui naturae, quasi loco, quasi fundamento dignitas divinitus augeretur et efficacia. De sacra coena, p. 99.

[2] Inefficax erat panis natura ante consecrationem ad vitam aeternam, post consecrationem efficax, quia sicut ad aeternitatem amissam in Adam nemo proficeret, nisi verbum caro fieret, ita nemo Christianus ad immortalitatem redit, si per contemtum profanat sacramenta altaris. He purposely avoids so representing it as if a participation in the outward elements was absolutely necessary to the attainment of everlasting life. p. 145.

[3] Panis iste consecratione suscepta non est aestimandus, quantum ad sacrificium Christi, secundum quod est panis, quod eum natura formavit, sed secundum quod eum benedictio corpus Christi esse constituit. Secundum quod majus in eo est, dico te corpus Christi ab altari accipere. p. 179.

[4] As for example the sense of converti ad aliquem, conversio = a change in which the present nature of the thing is not destroyed, but raised to a higher dignity and character. p. 144.

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sanctified by their appropriation to a religious use, was transferred the name of that which they represented to the religious consciousness, simply because for the religious consciousness they possessed *this* meaning and no other whatever.[1] Thus, for example, to Gerald, who has been made a bishop by consecration, but lives a life unworthy of his sacred calling, we would say, "Remember, thou art no longer Gerald, but the bishop."[2] In this view of the matter, he maintained, that the objection of his opponents who accused him of representing the Lord's Supper as nothing more than a sacrament, involved a contradiction; for a *sacramentum* has no existence, except in reference to a res sacramenti.[3]

This view of the doctrine of the Lord's Supper was unquestionably based on a view of the sacraments generally, directly opposed to the prevailing bent of mind in the church of this period, a view which, had the distinction been a little more clearly drawn between the outward sign and the inward thing, must have eventuated in a more decided opposition to the superstitious notion respecting the magical effects of the sacraments. That it was so appears particularly from the following remarks of Berengar on the Lord's Supper and on baptism: "Our Lord Christ requires of thee no more than this. Thou believest that out of his great compassion for the human race he poured out his blood for them; and that thou, by virtue of this faith, wilt be cleansed by his blood from all sin. He requires of thee, that, constantly mindful of this blood of Christ, thou shouldst use it to sustain the life of thy inner man in this earthly pilgrimage, as thou sustainest the life of thy outward man by sensible meat and drink.[4] He also requires of thee, that in the faith that God so loved the world as to give his only begotten Son as a propitiation for our sins, thou shouldst submit to outward baptism, to represent how thou oughtest to follow Christ in his death and in his resurrection. The bodily eating and drinking of bread and wine — says he — should remind thee of the spiritual eating and drinking of the body and blood of Christ, that whilst thou art refreshed in the inner man, by the contemplation of his incarnation and of his passion, thou mayest follow him in humility and patience."[5]

His profound conviction of the importance of pointing men away from the externals of the sacraments to the essence of the inward

[1] Omne, quod sacratur, necessario in melius provehi, minime absumi per corruptionem subjecti. Berengar. de s. c. p. 116. Vim autem verbi, quod est sacrare, ad religionem pertinere, notum est omnibus, et noto dicendi genere res in religione consecrata non solum res consecrata vel sacrosancta, sed dicitur etiam ipsa sacratio vel sacramentum. Sicut egregius aliquis non solum justus, sed etiam ipsa justitia contraque impius non solum carnalis vel terrenus, sed caro et terra nominatur. In the letter to Adelmann. p. 42.

[2] P. 178.

[3] Constat enim, si fit sacramentum, nulla posse non esse ratione rem quoque sacramenti, p. 114.

[4] Exigit a te Christus Dominus, ut credas, misericordissima ergo humanum genus affectione esse factum, quod sanguinem fudit et ita credendo sanguine(m) ejus ab omni peccato laveris, exigit, ut ipsum eundem Christi sanguinem semper in memoria habens, in eo, quasi in viatico ad conficiendum vitae hujus iter, interioris tui vitam constituas, sicut exterioris tui vitam in exterioribus constituis cibis et potibus.

[5] Dum te reficis in interiore tuo incarnatione verbi et passione, ut secundum humilitatem, per quam verbum caro factum est, et secundum patientiam, per quam sanguinem fudit, interioris tui vitam instituas, quanta debes humilitate quanta debes, emineas patientia. p. 222 et 223.

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Christian life, is emphatically expressed in the following remarks: "The sacrament is, indeed, a perishing and transitory thing; but the power and grace that operate through it constitute the very channels of eternal life to the soul. Partaking of the sacrament is common to many, but the communion of love is confined to a few. He who sincerely loves the Lord, comes to the sacrament in the right way. The new commandment is love. The new testament is the promise of the kingdom of heaven; the pledge of that inheritance is the communion." [1]

With the doctrine of the sacraments stands closely connected the doctrine concerning the church; and we have already remarked that Berengar, by his whole dogmatical tendency, was led to the idea of an invisible church proceeding from the common spiritual appropriation of divine truth. So also he left the beaten track, in allowing freer scope to rational investigation, independent of the authority of church tradition. When Lanfranc accused him of slighting ecclesiastical authorities, he repelled the charge, but at the same time remarked, that beyond a doubt it was an incomparably higher thing to exercise reason than to employ authority in the search after truth." [2] When Lanfranc reproached him with flying to dialectics, he replied, "I do not regret having employed dialectics for the clear exposition of the truth; even Christ, the wisdom and the power of God, did by no means despise it; for we find him using it for the refutation of his adversaries." [3] To show this he cites Matt. 12: 27, and 22: 46. "To fly to logic, is the same as to fly to reason; and he who placed no confidence in that gift, whereby man was created in the image of God, renounced his own dignity, as well as the power of being renewed in the image of God from day to day." [4]

Berengar, as we have said, disputed the truth of those wonderful stories which were supposed to confirm the doctrine of transubstantiation. For this reason he was accused by his adversaries of entertaining an aversion to miracles generally. Thus one of his opponents, archbishop Guitmund, of Aversa,[5] remarks: "He who denies miracles, is an enemy to the church; for as the church was founded on miracles, and is built up by the same means, so miracles belong to the very preservation of its existence.[6] He therefore who denies the miracles of the church, destroys, so far as in him lies, the very conception of the church. And what greater folly can there be than to deny

[1] See the letter ad Ricardum in D'Achery Spicileg. T. III. f. 400.

[2] Ratione agere in perceptione veritatis, incomparabiliter superius esse, quia in evidenti res est, sine vecordiae coecitate nullus negaverit. Berengar. de s. c. p. 100. Unde ipse Dominus, adhuc modicum, inquit, in vobis lumen est, ambulate, John 12: 35 — (Since it can hardly be conceived, however, that Berengar should have understood by "the light," in this, perhaps imperfectly preserved, passage, nothing else than reason, we may probably state the train of thought in his mind as follows. Christ designates himself as the light for reason; he calls upon men so to use their reason as to receive him into themselves as its light.) — et apostolus, non potui, inquit, loqui vobis quasi spiritualibus. Com. in the letter to Adelmann, pages 44 and 45.

[3] Suos inimicos arte revincere.

[4] Ad rationem est confugere, quo qui non confugit, cum secundum rationem sit factus ad imaginem Dei, suum honorem reliquit.

[5] De veritate Eucharistiae, lib. III. Bibl. patr. Lugd. T. XVIII. Iol. 459.

[6] He applies here the well known words of Sallust: Imperium facile his artibus retinetur, quibus initio partum est.

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miracles, when one is surrounded by them on every side, when one's own existence is itself a miracle?"[1] The writings from which such miraculous stories were derived, Berengar declared to be apochryphal. This was the occasion of one of the most grievous charges against his whole school. The writings, it was said, which edified entire Christendom, some[2] few presumed to reject, merely because *they* were not pleased with them.[3] It deserves notice,[4] that Berengar and his school were also accused of denying the veracity of the gospel narratives. It was said, that according to him it ought not to be believed that Christ entered the room where his disciples were assembled, while the doors were shut. This charge was no doubt founded in part upon certain erroneous conclusions from statements wrongly understood; but at the same time it may have had some foundation of truth. When Berengar said, the body of Christ, as such, could not be present in several places at one and the same time, perhaps it was replied, that as the body of Christ had entered a room where the doors were shut, in contradiction to the common notions respecting the nature of body, so it might be present at one and the same time in several places, being in fact superior to all limitations of space. Now in meeting this argument, we cannot suppose Berengar would say, as he did in replying to the argument from those legends, that the gospel narrative was incredible; but he might take the liberty of interpreting the account in a *different way* from his opponents, and so as to make it unnecessary to suppose, that Christ actually passed through the doors when they were shut.

While Berengar founded an important school, which adopted his own views of the doctrine of the Lord's Supper,[5] he at the same time communicated an impulse to another party, opposed to the doctrine of transubstantiation, which party perhaps continued to act independently of his own peculiar school. Thus, while these two parties agreed in their opposition to transubstantiation, they might still be kept apart by other differences in their views of the eucharist. Nor can there be any doubt that, as has already been remarked, an opposition dating back to some remoter period, had been handed down from age to age, against the doctrine taught by Paschasius Radbert; yet it was no more than natural, that all the opponents of this doctrine, however independent they might be of Berengar, should still be named after him, as their head, and thrown into one and the same class, as Berengarians. There were many who denied the transformation of the

[1] Hoc ipsum etiam omnino quod sunt, nonnisi ex divino miraculo est.

[2] Pauculi minus docti et animales, says Guitmund.

[3] Probably an allusion to the zealous study of the ancient authors: Qui paganorum libenter historias amplectuntur, Christianas historias, quas totius amplectitur mundus, cassare laborant.

[4] Vid. Guitmund, f. 460.

[5] That Berengar had many followers, according to his own declarations and those of his opponents, quoted on a former page (515), is by no means contradicted by the fact, that he is also reproached with having but a small number of followers on the doctrine of the eucharist; for this is to be understood relatively; the number was small, in comparison with the great body of the Christian church.

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bread, but supposed that the body of Christ became united with the unaltered substance of the bread;[1] others, who were offended only by the assertion of Paschasius Radbert, that the same body of Christ was in the eucharist, which had been born, had suffered, and risen again.[2] Others, it is reported, found nothing else to object to but the assertion, that even the unworthy communicants received the body of Christ; and these were of the opinion, that such communicants received only the bread and wine.[3] Indeed, from different forms of expression, men may have framed to themselves different notions, not understanding them precisely in the sense of the persons who employed them. Thus we find Berengar himself accused of altering his views, where doubtless there was really nothing more than a change of expression, with the same essential views lying at bottom.[4]

As to the rest, it was impossible for Berengar, at the position which he maintained, and with his own more spiritual mode of apprehension, to enter into the whole connection of thought in the theory of his opponents, or to recognize in the doctrine of transubstantiation, which to him appeared altogether antichristian, that strong interest of Christian feeling, and of the Christian habit of intuition which lay at the foundation of it. Yet, to the defenders of the doctrine of transubstantiation, the very thing which invested this doctrine with so much importance was that connection of ideas, in which it presented itself to their Christian consciousness. If the Lord's Supper — said they — contains nothing but types and shadows, then Christ is not truly with his church; no real union exists betwixt him and believers. To them, however, it seemed, that *one* of two things must be true. Either the substance of the bread and wine remains; then these latter are the reality, and only types and shadows of Christ's body: or the body of Christ alone is the real, present substance; and under bread and wine we have only the substance of the body and blood of Christ, though it appears otherwise to sensuous perception. In the case of those, within whose minds this doctrine had developed itself out of the depth of their own Christian feelings, the Christian element, seized on the side of feeling and intuition, was really so predominant as to have a reflective influence on the perceptions of the

[1] As Guitmund states it, l. III. de eucharistiae sacramento. Bibl. patr. Lugd. T. XVIII. f. 461. The impanatio Christi is a similar representation, as we remarked already in the second period. See Vol. II. p. 671.

[2] Nonnulli aliquanto, ut sibi videntur, prudentiores atque religiosiores, qui carnem quidem dicant esse Christi, — sed quandam novam quam benedictio recens creavit. Durand f. 424.

[3] Guitmund l. III. f. 464.

[4] See Guitmund l. III. f. 463, that he taught many nihil in cibo altaris nisi umbram tantum et figuram haberi; to others, who pressed him more closely, he said ipsum ibi corpus Christi esse, sed impanatum latere; but in Berengar's connection of thought, the figura presupposed the *res sacramenti*, to which it referred, the *reality* of Christ's body. The notion of an impanatio, as we may gather from the preceding remarks, was altogether foreign from Berengar's mind; and the charging him with such a notion, certainly proceeded from a false interpretation of his language. He said that the consecrated bread was the true body of Christ, and yet controverted the doctrine of transubstantiation; hence it was inferred, that he could only mean an impanatio. If such a misconception existed on this point, then we may conclude that a great deal which was said respecting the several opinions of the Berengarians is liable to suspicion.

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bodily sense, and thus the natural itself became to them a different thing. To their transcendent feelings, the body of Christ was the sole reality, and the substance of the bread the same as if it were not present. Everything was transfigured into the heavenly; — nothing earthly remained. Hence it was needless to ask, what had become of the earthly elements of the Lord's Supper? — the whole had passed up into the form of the spiritual.[1] Nor is it difficult to see, how from the same essential contents within the Christian consciousness arose, in accordance with the different forms and grades of culture, the different modes of apprehension which were peculiar to Berengar and to his opponents. Both agreed in believing, that in the Lord's Supper the essential thing upon which all depended, was the cordial reception of Christ; and again, that it is the eye of faith alone, which here beholds Christ. But to the cautious, reflecting Berengar, who recognized the rights of the understanding no less than those of the feelings, it must seem absolutely needful to separate and carefully distinguish the divine element apprehended by faith from the natural elements perceived by the senses. His opponents, on the other hand, in whom this discriminating faculty of understanding was repressed, or wholly overpowered, by the transcendent element of feeling, could never bring themselves to allow of any such distinction. It could only appear to them as a cold abstraction, an evacuation of the whole mystery. Standing at this position, faith perceives *only the body of Christ, the substance of the bread is no longer there.*[2] What practical importance came to be attached to the doctrine, regarded from this point of view, appears from the following words of the pious Guitmund.[3] "What can be more salutary than

[1] From this point of view, we should contemplate the controversy also which had gone on since the time of Paschasius Radbert, about the question whether what Christ says, Matt. 15: 17, could be applied to that which is received in the eucharist, which might seem to lead to offensive conclusions. But here it was necessary to exclude all that was sensuous and earthly from the thoughts; everything should be viewed in the light of a loftier, spiritual, intuition. Neque de caetero subire credenda est (caro Christi) cujuslibet injuriae incommoditatem, sed potius in spiritualem refundi virtute divina operationem. Ut enim Deus et homo Jesus Christus impleta humanae redemptionis dispensatione a morte ad vitam, ad incorruptionem excessit a corruptione, ita etiam hoc divinum ac coeleste sacramentum non immerito creditur a specie visibile in id repente transformari, quod solus ipse novit. Vere inter manus ministrorum ad invisibilem speciem coelesti commercio perducitur ejusdem sacramenti etiam visibilis forma, videlicet ut tantum fiat sacramentum, id est ex toto sanctitas ac vita animarum. Nec ut pravi quique audent delirando confingere, in digestionis corruptionem resolvitur, sed magis in mentibus utentium vitam salutemque efficaciter operatur. Durand. Troanens. de corp. et sang. D. f. 421.

[2] Crede, ut videas, says Durandus, f. 427, nam credere jam corde est videre.

[3] Guitmund, Lanfranc's disciple, had made himself generally esteemed, for his piety and learning, while a monk in the monastery of St. Leufroy in Normandy. His sovereign, William duke of Normandy, afterwards king William the Conqueror of England, wished to transfer him, with many others, from Normandy to the new kingdom, and to bestow on him a bishopric in that country. But Guitmund informed the king, in very bold language, that he could not obtrude himself as a bishop on a foreign people, whose language and customs he did not understand, by means of a person who had destroyed so many of their relatives and friends, and who had deprived them of their property or freedom. Goods obtained by robbery he could not receive, being a monk. He looked upon all England as an estate acquired by robbery; and he feared to touch any part

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such a faith? Purely receiving into itself the pure and simple Christ alone, in the consciousness of possessing so glorious a gift, it guards with the greater vigilance against sin; it glows with a more earnest longing after all righteousness; it strives every day to escape from the world, as the enemy of its Lord, and, reposing with fuller trust on promises which are secured by so great a pledge, it strives with more confidence and with more ardent aspirations after God, to embrace in unclouded vision the very fountain of life itself."[1]

II. In the Greek Church.

The Greek church enjoyed, it is true, one great advantage over that of the West, in possessing a culture transmitted from still older times, which had not, as yet, become utterly extinct. In the consciousness of this, the Greeks were accustomed to look down with supercilious contempt upon the Latin church, as one that subsisted among barbarians. But the Western church possessed an advantage far outweighing the dead matter of traditional learning, in the fresh and vigorous principle of a new spiritual creation, which, with inferior means, could bring about vastly greater effects. Of such a principle, which might have infused life into the inert mass of its learning, the Greek church was destitute. Since the last half of the ninth century, and under the patronage of the emperor Basilius Macedo and his successors, scientific studies among the Greeks had indeed gained a new impulse; but still the want of that animating principle could not thus be supplied. In all departments of Theology, the historical, the exegetical, the dogmatical, to collect and arrange the transmitted stores of the more living intellectual development of earlier times, without subjecting them to any original, self-active elaboration of thought, was therefore the predominant tendency. As a representative of theological learning among the Greeks, in the last half of the ninth century, we may take Photius, — the celebrated author of that compilation of critical excerpts from the two hundred and eighty works which he had read, intituled the *Bibliotheque*: — of his character, labors, and fortunes, we shall have occasion to speak hereafter. His correspondence[2] evidences the wide range of his researches on theological subjects, and the high authority in which he stood as a man of learning among his contemporaries. He was resorted to alike by the laity and the clergy, for the resolution of all sorts of questions

of it. He warned the king, by pointing to the example of earlier and greater revolutions among the nations, and to the fate of earlier conquerors. He admonished him not to be dazzled by earthly success, but to be constantly mindful of death, and of the account he must render to the supreme Judge of all, for his administration of the government committed to his care. He recommended him and his family to the divine grace, and begged that he might be permitted to return back to Normandy. Opinam Angliae praedam amatoribus mundi quasi quisquilias derelinquo. Liberam paupertatem Christi amo. At a later period he made a journey to Italy, where he was highly honored by Gregory VII, and made a cardinal; afterwards, by pope Urban II, he was made archbishop of the Neapolitan town Aversa. Vid. Oderici Vitalis historia ecclesiastica, l. V. c. 17.

[1] Guitmund l. II. f. 464.

[2] Published by Richard Montague (Montacutius), bishop of Norwich. London, 1651.

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pertaining to theology and exegesis. The most distinguished exegetical author was Oecumenius, bishop of Tricca in Thrace, who flourished near the close of the tenth century, and wrote a celebrated Commentary on the New Testament.

There were two causes, strictly connected with each other, which especially contributed to hinder the healthful and free evolution of the church and of theology among the Greeks: the despotism of the civil government, befor which everything crouched,—the bishops themselves not seldom consenting to act as its humble instruments; and the extinction of the sense of truth, the spirit of insincerity, already a predominant trait which had stamped itself on the entire life of the people, and was continually appearing in the fulsome exaggerations of their ordinary language. Thus acuteness and learning could be employed as weapons of sophistry, to uphold despotism and falsehood. Men could prove anything they wanted to prove. Knowledge without a soul, instead of presenting any check to the prevailing superstition, walked quietly by its side, or was even employed to support and defend it. But from the Christian consciousness itself there had already gone forth, in the preceding period, during the controversy about images, a reäction against one particular branch of superstition, which, if it could only have made some further progress and more fully evolved the spiritual tendency of which it was the manifestation, would, doubtless, never have stopped with attacking this single superstition, but would have introduced a radical revolution into the whole state of the church and of theology. And a reäction of the same sort sprung up, for the second time, in the present period. But the two causes above mentioned still operated, to prevent a favorable issue to *this* reäction; for superstition stood in alliance with the reigning spirit of insincerity, and despotism was not fitted to carry such a reäction successfully to its end; it would only convert into a lie the truth itself, which, contrary to every law of spiritual development, it would thrust upon men by force. Besides, such attacks on superstition, which were wholly negative in their aim, and directed only against a single branch of it, while the common root of all superstition, in the minds of the people and of the church, was left untouched, could not possibly succeed. A true reformation was impossible, until the true essence of Christian faith should be revived, bringing about a regeneration of the national mind, and by that very means the consequent expulsion of all the elements foreign to pure Christianity. Accordingly, the issue of the controversies about images in this period, was such as might naturally be expected, under the existing condition of the Greek church, and from the way in which these controversies were actually conducted. But even supposing this reäction could have been carried to its furthest extent, and the spiritual tendency from which it sprung could have been fully developed, it would still remain a question, whether, in the prevailing corruption of the times, this further progress in the way of negation would not have superinduced a spirit of scepticism still more than a spirit of faith.

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We will now proceed to a nearer consideration of this reäction itself, in the history of the second controversy concerning images.

We remarked towards the close of the controversy about images in the preceding period, that although image-worship in the Greek church had obtained the victory, and the opposite party had been crushed by the government, yet the principles of the iconoclasts had become too securely fixed in the minds of both ecclesiastics and laymen, to be dislodged at once by tyrannical dictation. There were, as it is reported in a document of these times, concealed iconoclasts, who to avoid giving offence, complied externally with the forms of image-worship; and others who even ventured to express their convictions publicly, banishing all images from their churches, and having nothing in them but naked walls; who discarded every sensuous medium of worship, and were for simply elevating the thoughts to God in the prayer of the spirit.[1] The great neglect which from motives of policy was shown to the iconoclasts by the second Nicene council,[2] served to promote the succeeding reäctions of the party. For the truth was, that multitudes of the party had submitted in that council, to the dominant power, and consented to a recantation which they might afterwards excuse under the softer name of accommodation (*οἰκονομία*), merely for the sake of retaining their bishoprics; and these were only waiting for some favorable political change, to reävow publicly the principles they had never relinquished, and to labor more zealously than ever for their propagation.[3] The change so earnestly desired by this party took place, when Leo the Armenian, a man from the bosom of the army in which with the memory of iconoclast emperors had been transmitted an attachment to their religious principles, placed himself, in the year 813, on the imperial throne. It was already noticed with surprise, that when the patriarch Nicephorus invited him to give the church by a written confession of faith in accordance with the church orthodoxy, the customary pledge of security,[4] he put it off, doubtless not without a purpose, till after his coronation. The patriarch probably dared not, on account of this refusal, to refuse the ceremony of coronation to an emperor, who already had the power in his hands; perhaps at the moment he suspected nothing. But when three days afterwards he again invited the crowned emperor to do the same thing, the latter contrived in some way or other wholly to evade it; for as in a confession embracing the

[1] See the Interview of the patriarch Nicephorus with the emperor Leo the Armenian in the Life of this patriarch, composed by the Deacon Ignatius, March 13th, § 42, and in the Collection originum rerumque Constantinopolitanarum manipulus, published by Franc. Combefis. Paris, 1664. pag. 162.

[2] See Vol. III. p. 232.

[3] Important information with regard to the connection of these events is supplied by Nicetas, in his life of the patriarch Ignatius, when speaking of the proceedings of the second council of Nice, he says: *ἐπειδὴ συμπαθέστερον μᾶλλον ἢ δικαιότερον ἐχρήσαντο τοῖς αἱρετικοῖς καιροῦ πάλιν ἐκεῖνοι δραξάμενοι τὴν οἰκεῖαν δυσσέβειαν χαλεπώτερον ἀνενεώσαντο.* Harduin. T. V. f. 990.

[4] That the patriarch should require such a confession of him, is not to be regarded as a mark of suspicion, since evidently this was one of the customary formalities, observed by every new emperor on entering upon his government. This is clearly implied in the language of the historian Joseph Genesius, *κατὰ τὸ ἐθικὸν τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς εὐσεβοῦς πίστεως.* l. I. ed. Lachmann, pag. 26.

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whole orthodox faith, the confirmation of image-worship and the condemnation of the iconoclasts could not fail to be included, he would either have to give up his own convictions, and should he afterwards undertake to do anything against images, incur the charge of perjury and of a fraud practised upon the church, or he would be obliged to declare at once at the very beginning of his reign, that he could not make the usual confession on the subject of images, thereby calling forth at once the controversy on this subject, which he had good reasons for avoiding. But the patriarch's suspicions if not awakened by the first, would of course be aroused by this second refusal of the emperor. The emperor before he attempted to do anything for the suppression of images, wished to be still further confirmed in his own convictions, and to be provided with the means of rebutting the objections, which might be urged by the defenders of their worship. He therefore consulted with a few ecclesiastics of his own persuasion, and in particular he directed one of them, John the Grammarian, to bring together a collection of declarations from the older church-fathers on the subject in question, — measures which of course would only serve to strengthen him in his own views. Once while he was attending on divine service, the words were recited from Isaiah xl.: "To whom then will ye liken God," etc., upon which the iconoclasts about him seizing on the passage, endeavored to persuade him that it was a voice from the Almighty, calling upon him to destroy the worship of idols. In December therefore of the year 814 he began to make preparations for the accomplishment of his designs. He sought gradually to gain over the patriarch Nicephorus, a zealous defender of image-worship,[1] at least so far as that the first step against images might be taken without resistance on his part. Summoning him to his presence, he introduced the subject with cautious reserve, saying nothing about his own repugnance to images, but dwelling upon the disposition which prevailed among the people. "The people — said he — take offence at image-worship; they look upon its prevalence as the cause of the public misfortunes, of the disastrous defeats we have suffered from infidel nations" — and so far as the army was concerned, he may have said the truth. He therefore begged the patriarch, considering that such was the disposition of the public mind, to give his consent that those images which were placed in inferior situations might be removed.[2] But when the

[1] Nicephorus was descended from a family of most devoted image-worshippers. His father, one of the imperial secretaries under Constantine Copronymus, incurred the latter's displeasure, when it was discovered, that he kept images in his house and worshipped them. He was scourged, deposed and banished for refusing to renounce image-worship. Nicephorus himself shared in the triumph of image-worship, as imperial commissary, at the second Nicene council. He next became a monk, and was elevated from the monastic life to the patriarchal dignity. See his Life by his scholar, the deacon Ignatius, 13 March; in the Greek original, in the second volume, March, in the Appendix, f. 705.

[2] Τὰ χαμηλὰ περιελῶμεν. Possibly this may mean, as it seems to have been understood by many, "Let us do away with image-worship altogether, as a low, unworthy thing;" but we can hardly suppose the emperor would express himself so harshly concerning images, when it was his design to bring the subject before the patriarch in the gentlest manner, and to induce him to consent merely to an οἰκονομία. It is better to understand by χαμηλὰ simply the χα-

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patriarch, who had good reason to fear that one step in yielding would soon lead to another, refused to listen to any proposition which required him to suit his conduct to the public tone of feeling, the emperor demanded of him an express warrant from Scripture in favor of images. Such a warrant, the patriarch of course could not produce; but he spoke of the authority of tradition, on the ground of which many other things had been adopted into church practice, which were still held sacred by the emperor himself, though they were not found prescribed in the sacred Scriptures. As to the worship of images (the *προσκύνησις* before the images) he could appeal to the fact, that it was precisely the same with the homage paid to the cross and to the books of the gospels;[1] for as we have already observed,[2] the iconoclasts were guilty of an inconsistency in paying adoration to the cross, concerning the magical powers of which, they adopted the common notions.[3] With the principle of a religious mode of thinking opposed to the reigning spirit of the age, but a principle not as yet clearly evolved in their own minds they united a form of Christian intuition which would not harmonize with that principle, but which they had caught up from the Christian life of their times. Hence the defender of image-worship had unquestionably the advantage of consistency in his contest with the emperor.

The emperor requested the patriarch to converse on the subject with those of the clergy, who defended the opposite principles, and to consider how he would refute the arguments which they could produce. Nicephorus promised to send him well-instructed theologians, who would more fully explain to him the correct doctrine on this subject, and refute all the objections of its opponents. He selected for this purpose certain bishops and monks; but they met with as little success in their object as he had done himself, and they refused to enter into any conference with the heads of the iconoclasts. Meantime the fury of the soldiers, who were deadly opposed to images, broke out in open violence; whether it could no longer be restrained, or whether, ac-

μηλαὶ εἰκόνες, so distinguished from the others. The moderate opponents of image-worship, whom Theodorus Studita wrongly accuses of inconsistency, were willing to let the images stand as historical representations, as means of bringing events vividly before the senses and memory, (they said: *ὅτι καλὸν ἡ ἱστορία, ἐξηγήσεως καὶ ἀναμνήσεως λόγον ἔχουσα*), they were opposed only to the *worship* of these images; and to counteract this among the people, they insisted, that the images should be taken away from the low places (*τοῖς χαμηλοτέροις*), should be everywhere removed from places where the multitude could touch them. See Theodore's Antirrheticus II. against the Iconoclasts opp. f. 84.

[1] See the statement in the continuation of Theophanes, fol. 347. ed. Venet.

[2] Vol. III. p. 213.

[3] The opponent of images, whom Theodore no doubt represents as speaking in the spirit and after the customary manner of his party, requires, that the cross in this controversy should be left entirely out of the question. *Ὁ σταυρὸς γάρ ἐστι τὸ κατὰ τοῦ διαβόλου ἀήττητον τρόπαιον.* Antirrhet. II. f. 88. "Through Christ — says he — the cross is become sanctified." f. 92. The party appealed to all those passages of the New Testament, which speak of the significance and power of the *cross* of Christ; and they were of the opinion, that no texts could be found where the like was said of the *image* of Christ. But to this Theodore replied, that these texts spoke not of the *sign* of the cross, but of that which was represented by this sign. If that which had been said of the thing itself was here transferred to its sign, so might that which is said of Christ be applied to his image. Antirrhet. I. f. 76.

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cording to the current report, they were set on by the emperor himself. It wreaked itself on that colossal image of Christ, standing before the emperor's palace, which Leo the Isaurian had removed, and which Irene had restored to its former position. This furnished a reason or a pretext to the emperor for removing the image once more, so as to secure it from the insults of the soldiers. The patriarch looked upon these occurrences as betokening the danger which now threatened the faith, and in the night he called together within his palace several bishops and abbots, to deliberate on what was to be done for averting the danger, and to invoke the divine assistance in behalf of the church. The emperor, on learning of this, dreaded the consequences of such a combination. At day-break he sent for the patriarch, whom he accused of fomenting schism, and of sowing the seeds of insurrection, while the emperor himself was only studying how to preserve the peace. He requested him, as soon as possible, to make his appearance, and to give him a report of all that had been done. The patriarch obeyed, and the whole assembly went with him. He first had a private audience with the emperor, while the others waited before the gates of the palace.[1] The emperor received the patriarch with reproachful language for acting so contrary to his own salutary measures to promote pure doctrine and the peace of the church. He could appeal to his own knowledge, that a party by no means small or insignificant had seceded from the church on account of these images, firmly believing they had on their side the authority of Scripture.[2] For this reason, it was their own duty to hear the arguments of this party and to refute them. He therefore demanded once more, that a conference should be held between the bishops and theologians of the two parties.

Here arose a dispute betwixt the patriarch and the emperor on the employment of images in religion, and on their worship. Nicephorus resorted to the common arguments, and refuted the objection drawn from the forbidding of images in the Old Testament, after the current fashion of polemics among the image-worshippers, as we have explained it in our account of the image-controversies in the first section.[3] At

[1] The authorities followed in this account are, besides the continuation of Theophanes, already cited, the Life of the patriarch Nicephorus, also cited above, and the Life of the abbot Nicetas, by his scholar Theosterict; 3d April, in the I. Tom. of the April — Appendix, f. 23. The Life of Theodore, abbot of the monastery Studium, at Constantinople, prefixed to his Works in Sirmond. opp. T. V.

[2] Οὐκ οἶσθα, ὡς οὐκ εὐαρίθμητον μέρος διενοχλεῖ καὶ ἐκκλησίας διίσταται τῆς τῶν εἰκόνων ἕνεκεν γραφῆς τε καὶ στάσεως, ῥησεων γραφικῶν περὶ τῆς τούτων ἀποτροπῆς ἐπικομιζόμενον διατάγματα. See the Life of Nicephorus. l. c. § 40.

[3] Though this conversation between the emperor and the patriarch certainly did not correspond word for word to the form in which it is represented in the two reports cited on p. 533, yet we may suppose that something like this was said on both sides; we have the current form of the arguments used by the two parties. It deserves notice, that according to the statements of Nicephorus in defending the worship of the images of the saints, the saints are distinguished from the great mass of Christians, insomuch that he depreciates the ordinary Christian life, representing the saints as those who alone answered to the idea of that life. He divides men, with reference to the service of God, into three classes: those who shun sin from fear of the divine punishment, *slaves;* those who are incited to strive after goodness by the hope of future blessings, *hirelings;* finally, those who do good not from the impulses of fear or

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the same time he declared that, though he could discourse with the emperor, he could hold no sort of intercourse with the clergy who had separated themselves from the church. He then begged that he might be allowed to introduce into the emperor's presence several witnesses of the principles he had expressed, and being permitted, sent for the bishops and monks assembled before the gates of the palace. Many of them spoke with great freedom in favor of image-worship. Among the boldest was the man who then stood at the head of monachism in the Greek church, Theodore, abbot of the famous monastery in Constantinople, called the Studion, after the name of its founder, Studius, a noble Roman.[1] This person had often shown before, under persecutions and sufferings, the inflexibility and steadfastness of his zeal in maintaining the sacred laws against the attacks of those who were possessed of the civil and ecclesiastical power, and had thus acquired a moral power which despotism itself was forced to respect.[2] He caused it to be felt in the present case. The check presented by the popes in the Western church against the arbitrary exercise of political power, sometimes in defence of the interests of religion and morality, would most often in the Greek church, where no bishop was to be found so independent of the civil government, proceed from monks, who, by the universal veneration which their austere life had procured for them, exercised a predominant influence over the people, and whose unconquerable disposition, quickened and animated by faith, opposed a

of hope, but out of pure, free love, *the children of God*, the heirs of God and joint-heirs with Christ, whose intercessions with God are most prevailing, to whom, as to the satellites of a king, we apply for aid, begging them to lay before him the petitions, which we, in the consciousness of our sins, venture not to present in our own persons. Vid. Combefis manipulus, l. c. 171.

[1] Theodore was educated first as a monk, in the monastery of Saccudion, under his uncle, the venerated Platon. See above, Vol. III. p. 100, then in 794 he was forced by the latter, who, on account of his advanced age, was no longer able to discharge the duties of the office, to take his place as abbot. In the year 798, he became abbot of the monastery of Studion, which had been destroyed under that enemy of the monks, Constantine Copronymus. Under him it rose once more to eminence.

[2] When the young emperor Constantine, son of Irene, repudiated his spouse, compelling her to enter a convent, and insisted on marrying a lady of the court, Theodota, kinswoman of Theodore; when an eminent ecclesiastic, Joseph Oeconomus of the church at Constantinople, was prevailed on to bestow the Christian consecration on a connection formed in violation of the divine law: when Tarasius, patriarch of Constantinople, dared not say a word in opposition to this proceeding, it was the nonagenarian Platon, and his nephew Theodore, who spoke out in the name of the law, and labored to preserve alive the consciousness of it in the hearts of the people, for already had the emperor's example, sanctioned by the concurrence of the church, found numerous imitators. Neither marks of honor nor the flatteries of the emperor and of his new consort, nor threats, could move Theodore to yield. He was scourged and exiled; but he continued steadfast, fired the monks and ecclesiastics to resistance, and called to his assistance the more independent voice of the pope. He renounced church-fellowship with the emperor, and with all those who approved of this adulterous connection, as he termed it. He inveighed with pious indignation against the pretences, that such a compliance with the emperor's wishes was but an *οἰκονομία*, that the divine laws were not to be enforced on monarchs as on others. He pronounced such assertions to be heresies, doctrines of antichrist, and zealously contended for the truth, that there was but one gospel for all; monarchs, as well as subjects, must all in like manner bow before the laws of God, and no man had power to grant a dispensation from these. When, at a later period, the emperor Nicephorus forced the patriarch of that name to reinstate the oeconomus Joseph in his office, from which he had been deposed, Theodore stood forth against this measure, and involved himself in new persecutions. The letters of Theodore referring to these contests, are to be found in the first book of these letters

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firm bulwark of defence against the inroads of temporal power. Such a person was Theodore.

He ventured in this case to enter a protest against the very principle of Byzantine despotism. He told the emperor that it belonged to him to guide the affairs of state and of war, not the affairs of the church; for the administration of these church offices had been divinely instituted. St. Paul, in Ephesians iv., said that Christ had appointed apostles, prophets, and pastors; but not kings. Said the emperor, "Do not rulers, then, belong also to the church?" Instead of correcting this misapprehension, Theodore unfitly replied: "The emperor belongs to the church, if he does not wilfully exclude himself from it, if he does not company with heretics, on whom the anathema of the church has lighted." Upon this, the emperor indignantly dismissed them. Still it was by no means his intention to stand forth as an avowed opponent of images. In the presence of these ecclesiastics, he took out an image from his bosom and kissed it. He always assumed the air of one who only spoke in the name of that important party, the iconoclasts, a party which might any day occasion a disturbance of the public peace. He wished to be regarded as a neutral, a mediator (μεσίτης), as he styled himself, between the two parties, laboring to negotiate a reünion; but the image worshippers refused to enter into any conference with those whom they affected to consider as heretics, and excluded from the communion of the church. By the obstinacy and the violence of the leading men on the side of the image-worshippers, and by the impatience of the military who demanded the extirpation of idol-worship on the other, the emperor himself was constantly propelled forward from one step to another in the measures which he adopted.

After he had dismissed the ecclesiastics from his palace, the monks assembled in a body at the residence of the abbot Theodore, where the latter, by his authority and his words, enkindled their zeal in favor of the images. From such meetings, the most dangerous consequences were to be apprehended to the public tranquillity. When the monks had retired to their cloisters, command was given by the prefect of the residential city of Constantinople, in the emperor's name, to all abbots, that they should hold no meetings together, that they must abstain from all conversations on the disputed points of faith, and from all answers to questions relating thereto. All were required to bind themselves, by the signature of their names, to obey this edict. Many subscribed without hesitation; thinking that silence was no denial of the truth. But such was not the opinion of the abbot Theodore. He refused to subscribe, saying it was right to obey God rather than man. He issued a circular letter to the monks,[1] severely reflecting upon the conduct of those who subscribed the edict. He declared that they had betrayed the truth, and violated their duty as abbots. He opposed to them the example of the apostles, who would not be prevented by any human power from testifying of Christ. He con-

[1] L. II. ep. II.

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trasted their conduct with that of the ancient monks. Should the abbots say in justification of themselves, "*What are we?*" (What can we do against the command of the emperor?) — he had to reply: "In the first place, you are Christians, who in every way are bound to speak now; — then monks, who, loosed from the ties of the world, are not to suffer yourselves to be determined by any outward considerations; finally, abbots, whose vocation it is to see that every stone of stumbling be removed from the way of others, and are the more bound therefore to avoid being stones of stumbling yourselves. Christ declares, that he will refuse to receive no one who comes to him, John 6: 37. But should a monk or an abbot come to you, to inquire after the truth, must you withhold from them the instruction, because the emperor has commanded it? Then surely you have by your subscription pledged yourselves to obey the emperor rather than Christ."

At first, the bishops and abbots, by their resistance to the emperor's orders, exposed themselves to persecution, not as image-worshippers, but as rebels against the imperial authority. But as it was the time of a high festival, the emperor chose to do nothing then which might occasion a disturbance. On the festival of Christmas he attended the public services of the church; and as the emperor was allowed to enter the holy of holies, and there partake of the holy sacrament of the Supper, he made use of this privilege, and, as he entered, prostrated himself before the curtains of the sanctuary, on which was painted the story of Christ's nativity.[1] This occasioned great rejoicings among the image-worshippers. They looked upon it as a favorable omen, a token that the emperor meant to proceed no further in attacking the images. But their joy was soon at an end — for the emperor, to whom it was not agreeable, doubtless, that too much should be inferred from his conduct, omitted the ceremony of prostration at the next succeeding festival of Epiphany. The patriarch Nicephorus bid Theodore take courage; he wrote pressing letters to the empress, and to several of the more important men at court, calling upon them all to use their influence with the emperor, to dissuade him from undertaking to remove the images. This brought him into still greater disgrace with the emperor, who manifested his displeasure by depriving him of an office attached to the patriarchal dignity, the oversight of the church valuables, and by forbidding him publicly to preach, or celebrate the sacrament of the Supper.[2] It was with reluctance that the emperor resorted to force, with reluctance that he deposed the patriarch: but having once made his own subjective views a law for the church, no other course was left for him to take. The palace of the patriarch was attacked by the soldiers,[3] which shows how deeply he had incurred the hatred of the iconoclasts. The emperor meanwhile succeeded in inducing many bishops, even such as had previously united with the

[1] See the continuation of Theophanes, p. 348.

[2] See the Life of Nicephorus, § 60, and the above cited letters of Theodore, II. 2: Κρυπτῶς ἱερουργῶν Νικήφορος ἀναφέρει τὸ λάθρα.

[3] As the image-worshippers assert, at the instigation of the emperor; but here we have no good reason to believe them.

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patriarch in defending the images, to acquiesce in his measures. These bishops were invited to assemble in a synod (a so called *σύνοδος ἐνδημοῦσα*) at Constantinople, for the purpose of issuing the first ordinances against images. The patriarch Nicephorus steadfastly resisted their decrees, and refused to recognize the authority of the synod. Therefore, in the year 815, he was deposed and banished; and Theodotus Cassiteras, a layman of noble birth, belonging to an iconoclastic race, being a descendant of Constantine Copronymus, was appointed his successor. But the party of the image-worshippers, who persisted in recognizing Nicephorus as the only regular patriarch, renounced church fellowship with the man who had been put in his place. The abbot Theodore was the soul of this party. He declared the recognition of image-worship to be one of the essentials of faith; for, according to that connection of ideas which we have already explained, faith in the true incarnation of the Logos, and consequently in Jesus, as Redeemer, seemed to him inseparably connected with the recognition of the *true image* of Jesus, and the worship of Jesus *in* his image. Confess Christ, confess his image; deny Christ, deny his image.

In the controversy between the image-worshippers and the iconoclasts generally was exhibited, as we have already pointed out in the first section relating to these disputes,[1] the antagonism between two tendencies of the religious spirit; a tendency on the one side to *idealism*, and a tendency on the other to *realism;* though the tendency to idealism in the iconoclasts was still covered up under many foreign elements, derived from the tendency of the times to a sensuous realism, — was still a more or less unconscious, undeveloped thing. That element of sensuous realism in the Christian spirit, now found a powerful representative in Theodore, in whose character all was of a piece. The iconoclasts frequently insisted on the duty of worshipping God in spirit and in truth. They called it a humbling of Christ and of the Spirit, to represent them by images made of earthly materials. Let Christ remain, said they, for the contemplation of the spirit; it is only by the Holy Spirit we receive into the soul his true image, — a divine image of him by the work of sanctification. In opposition to this, says Theodore: "That which you consider humbling, is precisely what is exalting and worthy of God. Is it not the humiliation of self that glorifies the great? So His condescension to us, who is exalted above all, redounds to his glory. The Creator of all things became flesh, and did not disdain to be so called as he appeared. If the contemplation of the Spirit had sufficed, then he needed only to present himself to us in this;[2] and we should have to consider his human appearance and his human life as an empty show. But God forbid. He, being man, suffered as a man; he ate and drank, and was subject to all affections, like as we are, sin excepted. And thus what seems to be a humiliation, a debasement, redounded rather to the glory of the Eternal Word."[3] Again, the iconoclasts maintained, that by

[1] See Vol. III. p. 198.
[2] *Μεινάτω ἐν τῇ κατὰ νοῦν θεωρίᾳ.*
[3] Antirrhetic. I. f. 75.

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reason of the *anhypostasia* of the humanity in Christ, the Logos itself constituting his personality, only a universal human nature could be ascribed to him, and he could not be represented with the same particular and characteristic marks, as any other human individual.[1] On the other hand, Theodore says: "The universal subsists only in the individual. If we do not conceive human nature, as subsisting in the individual, we must wholly deny its reality, and fall into Docetism."[2] The iconoclasts condemned images formed of earthly matter, as a degradation of the holy, the divine, — as a work of pagan, juggling art; Theodore, on the contrary, sees something divine in art, that art which forms an image of man, just as he himself was created after the image of God, and became a copy of the divine in human form.[3] In his entire human appearance, Christ was the image of God; Christ, therefore, must also admit of being represented in the like manner.[4] Considering the subject from this point of view, it may be easily explained why Theodore should contend so zealously for images; for faith in the reality of Christ's human nature; faith in the fact, that through Christ the chasm before existing betwixt God and man was filled up; faith in the glorification of human nature by Christ, was identified by him with the recognition of religious images. This connected whole of religious intuition was his point of departure, in all he said, wrote, and did, in the present controversy.

He assured the deposed patriarch, Nicephorus, that he sympathized with him in his sufferings for the truth.[5] On Palm Sunday, 815, he directed his monks to bear images in solemn procession round the court of the monastery, chanting hymns in their praise. This excited the displeasure of the emperor. He directed that Theodore should be threatened with severe punishment; but such threats could make no impression on a man, who longed to suffer for what he believed to be the cause of Christ. The new patriarch, Theodotus, assembled, in the meantime, a council at Constantinople, which abolished the decrees of the second Nicene council, and again banished images from the churches. This council issued a circular letter, summoning all abbots to appear and assist in the common deliberations at Constantinople; but a large number of them declined to comply, on the ground that they did not recognize this as a regular assembly. The abbot Theodore, in the name of this opposition party, sent a letter to the synod, setting forth, that according to the ecclesiastical laws they could not put their hands to anything which related to the general concerns of the church without their bishop, Nicephorus, nor take part in the proceedings of any synod assembled without his concurrence; at the same time expressing themselves, in the strongest terms, in favor of image-worship. As to the abbots who complied with the

[1] Εἰ σάρκα παραδόξως ἀνέλαβεν ὁ Χριστὸς ἐν τῇ οἰκείᾳ ὑποστάσει, ἀχαρακτηριστὸν δὲ, ὡς τὸν τινα μὴ σημαίνουσαν, ἀλλὰ τὸν καθόλου ἄνθρωπον, πῶς ἄρα ἐφικτὸν ταύτην ψηλαφωμένην εὑρίσκεσθαι καὶ χρώμασι διαφόροις καταγράφεσθαι; Antirrhet. III. f. 108.

[2] Μὴ ὄντων τῶν καθ' ἕκαστα ἀνῄρηται ὁ καθόλου ἄνθρωπος.

[3] Τὸ κατ' εἰκόνα θεοῦ πεποιήσθαι τὸν ἄνθρωποι, δείκνυσι θεῖόν τι χρῆμα ὑπάρχειν τὸ τῆς εἰκονουργίας εἶδος

[4] Antirrhet. III. f. 123.

[5] Theodor. Studit. l. ii. ep. 18.

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invitation, the emperor endeavored to bring them over to his own views; first by friendly words, then by threats. If the latter had no effect, he caused them to be imprisoned, and then sent into exile. But after a short time he recalled them; and promised them security, provided only they would recognize Theodotus as patriarch, and maintain church-fellowship with him. Thus it should seem, it was the emperor's plan, when he found it impossible as yet to force these monks to submit to the decrees against images, to make them promise, at least, that though they worshipped images themselves, they would not stigmatize the other party as heretics, nor occasion any schism. A part of the monks agreed to this; many of them, however, as for instance the abbot Nicetas, afterwards repented that they had been induced to yield so far as this, retracted their promise, openly testified their zeal for image-worship, and thus exposed themselves to new persecutions.[1] The emperor met with the most violent resistance from the abbot Theodore. This abbot carried his fanatical zeal against the iconoclasts, whom he considered as heretics, to such a length, that he not only held it to be his duty to abstain from all church fellowship with them, but to avoid all intercourse with them, to refuse even to eat or drink with them.[2] Whoever consented to do *even this*, was to be excommunicated, and not restored without church-penance. If all intercourse with the iconoclasts was looked upon as defiling, much less could it be permitted to receive from them, or from those who stood in church-fellowship with them, any ecclesiastical act whatsoever, baptism, distribution of the eucharist, or the consecration of a marriage.[3] As, according to the emperor's plan, it was only required of the monks that they should not renounce the fellowship of the new patriarch, and of the bishops devoted to him, many, to escape persecution, without giving up their convictions, allowed themselves to resort to a certain mental reservation, — a so called *οἰκονομία*. They avowed, that they remained in the fellowship of the church; but by this they understood the church-fellowship with the orthodox; and thus they succeeded to overreach their examiners.[4] But Theodore declared, that this was not accommodation[5] (*οἰκονομία*), but

[1] Vid. vita Nicetae § 40.

[2] *Κἂν ἐν βρώματι καὶ πόματι καὶ φιλίᾳ συγκάτεισι τοῖς αἱρετικοῖς, ὑπεύθυνος.* Theodor. Studit. II. 32.

[3] When the iconoclasts ruled in the Greek church, and those ecclesiastics, who renounced fellowship with them, were regarded by the families devoted to image-worship as the only true Catholic clergy, the children from all quarters, city and country, were brought in great numbers to the latter, to receive from them the rite of baptism. See Nicetas' Life of Ignatius, Harduin. V. f. 951. And those who wished to be ordained as priests travelled for this purpose to Rome, to Lombardy, or to Naples. See Theodorus Studita, l. II. ep. 215. f. 583.

[4] Theodor. ep. II. 40.: *Εἂν ὀρθόδοξος διαβληθεὶς ὡς μὴ κοινωνῶ, ποιήσῃ σταυρόν,* (the cross affixed, according to the usual custom, to the signature), *ὅτι κοινωνῶ, μηδὲν ἕτερον πολυπραγμονηθεὶς παρὰ τῶν αἱρετικῶν, αὐτοῦ δὲ ἔχοντος κρύβδην τῷ λογισμῷ, ὅτιπερ ἐξ ὀρθοδόξου κοινωνῶν εἰμι.*

[5] In the Greek church, where the principle of *οἰκονομία* was often applied, in direct contradiction to truth, it must be regarded as a distinguished merit of Theodore Studita, that he followed Basil of Cæsarea, and upheld the law of veracity as one of unconditional validity, allowing no exception for necessary falsehood. He says, in general, that the divine laws require unconditional obedience, and allow of no exception, in reference to persons, times, or circumstances. Holding fast to

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treachery to the truth; and whoever allowed himself in such a trick, ought to be cut off, as a traitor to the truth, from the communion. The contest for images among such people, was a contest for life or death. When, through the influence of the monks, these principles were spread among the people, the iconoclasts would necessarily become objects of universal abhorrence, and the strife between the two fanatical parties lead to the most violent political disturbances. It mattered not that Theodore was banished from one place to another, placed under a stricter watch, kept under closer confinement. Wherever he went, he still labored to spread image-worship, and to foment the spirit of resistance against the imperial measures. Many who had acknowledged fellowship with the patriarch, were, by his influence, induced to withdraw it again. His friends contrived to bribe his keepers, or the latter, out of pity or respect to the venerable old man, connived at many things. Thus he ever found it in his power to maintain a correspondence with his friends; and by his words, while absent as a martyr, to accomplish so much the more for the good cause. In his cell, he employed himself in composing works in defence of image-worship. He told those, who were conveying him away to some remoter spot of confinement, they might oblige him to change his place, but he should consider every place as his own, for the whole earth was the Lord's, and they could not compel him to silence. Thus then the emperor, who was determined not to give up the project he had once conceived, of destroying image-worship again by the civil arm, found himself compelled, when all his commands fell powerless on the inflexible will of Theodore, to resort to those violent and cruel measures, which it was evidently his intention, in the first place, to avoid. His anger against the monks, who chiefly resisted his will, knew no bounds. Exile, close confinement in chains, hunger and thirst, and severe scourging, were the punishments employed to compel them to yield. For the most part, the persecution was directed exclusively against the monks. Here and there, however, laymen, who had been hurried away by the enthusiasm of the monks, also suffered.[1] The greatest martyr of all was Theodore, who was left half-dead under the lashes of the scourge. He had a faithful companion and sharer of his sufferings, in his scholar, Nicholas,[2] who forgot his own afflictions to administer to the wants of his spiritual father. A nun provided him with the means of sustenance, at the hazard of her life, and in despite of the insults to which she exposed

this principle, in respect to all those so called cases of collision which relate to the duties owed to one's self, he is still embarrassed by those cases of collision which relate to one's duties to others. In these cases, he would get along by resorting to sophistical interpretation, to a certain reservatio mentalis. Thus he thinks it would be unnecessary to admit that false hood is in any case allowable. Vid. l. II. ep. 39.

[1] Theodore writes (l. II. ep. 55) to a layman, who was chained and imprisoned for image-worship, that he was the only confessor among the laity. Yet in another letter (l. II. 71), he says: Women and maidens, laymen and senators, were to be found among the sufferers.

[2] His Life in Combefis Bibliothecae patrum novum auctarium. Paris, 1648, T. II. In the Latin translation, in the actis sanctor. Februar. T. I. f. 538.

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herself, in one prison where he suffered from want.[1] Once, after being severely scourged, he was cast into a dungeon, where, cut off from all intercourse with others, and from all hope that on the first failure of his store of food, some compassionate keeper would secretly share with him his allowance, death by starvation stared him in the face. He then wrote:[2] "God nourishes us, and we praise him. But if, by God's providence, the means of sustenance fails, my life will end, and in this also I will rejoice. This also is a great gift of God." He saw in all things the grace of God, freely bestowed without any merit of his own.[3]

If we may credit Theodore,[4] — whose story, we must admit, perfectly accords with the spirit of the Byzantine despotism, — a secret police was established, for the purpose of hunting out all the refuges of image-worship. Hired spies were scattered in every direction,[5] whose business it was to inform against every man, who spoke offensively of the emperor, who refused to have any fellowship with iconoclasts, every one who wrote a book in defence of images, every one who kept images or an image in his house, who harbored a person banished for image-worship, or who ministered to the necessities of a person imprisoned for that cause. Such were immediately seized, scourged, and banished. The influence of early impressions, and especially the influence of church psalmody, in propagating religious opinions, being well understood, since it was chiefly by these means that image-worship had taken so deep a hold on the minds of the people, the same means were employed to procure admission for the opposite principles. Great pains were taken, to have the books used in the schools so prepared, that an abhorrence of images might be infused at once into the minds of children and youth.[6] The old ecclesiastical hymns, relating to images, were expunged, and new ones introduced of an opposite tendency.[7]

The emperor Leo having been cut off by a conspiracy, his enemy, Michael II, the Stammerer, was, by the same party, taken from his prison and chains, and elevated to the imperial throne. Owing to the hostile relations which had subsisted between him and his predecessor, the image-worshippers might expect that he would be disposed to favor their cause. When he liberated those who had been imprisoned on account of their zeal for images, and recalled the exiles, their expectations were raised to a still higher pitch. The chiefs of the image-worshippers returned from exile, as well as the deposed patriarch Nicephorus; and the abbot Theodore Studita earnestly petitioned the

[1] Vid. l. II. ep. 94.

[2] L. II. ep. 34.

[3] *Διὰ σπλάγχνου οἰκτιρμῶν, οὐκ ἐξ ἔργων μού τινων· οὐ γὰρ ἐποίησά τι ἀγαθὸν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἀλλὰ τοὐναντίον.*

[4] L. II. ep. 14.

[5] *Μηνυταὶ καὶ πιττακοδοταὶ εἰς αὐτὸ τοῦτο παρὰ τοῦ κρατοῦντος μεμισθώμενοι.*

[6] Theodor. Studit. l. c. f. 318.: *Τὰ νήπια ἐν τοῖς τῆς ἀσεβείας δόγμασιν ἀνατρεφονται τῷ δοθέντι τόμῳ τοῖς διδασκάλοις.*

[7] Vid. lib. II. ep. 15, to the patriarch of Antioch, f. 320.: *Παραστέλλονται ψαλμῳδιαι ἀρχαιοπαράδοτοι, ἐν αἷς περὶ εἰκόνων ᾄδεταί τι, ἀντᾴδεται τὰ ἀσεβῆ νέα δόγματα εἰς προὔπτον κείμενα, ἀλλὰ τοῖς παισὶ πρὸς τῶν διδασκάλων παραδιδόμενα καὶ μεταστοιχείωσις τῷ ἁπάντων ἀθεωτάτῃ.*

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emperor, that he would take measures to complete the triumph of truth and piety in the church, and begin by restoring the bond of connection betwixt the three head churches. Theodore explained to him, at length, how essential image-worship was to orthodoxy. He also applied to the courtiers, men and women, who were most nearly attached to the emperor's person, and urged them to do their utmost in persuading him to take some decided course of action in favor of image-worship. Michael, in fact, had no particular hostility to *images*. He was not opposed to them in the same sense as the earlier emperors of this tendency; but he was opposed to the extravagant worship of images. He understood better than other Byzantine emperors how to distinguish and separate the whole sphere of his duty, as a civil ruler, from his own subjective opinions as a Christian. The restoration and preservation of tranquillity in the empire, which had been disturbed by these party disputes, was his first aim; and, to secure this, he deemed it best not to alter the existing ecclesiastical relations, but to leave every one at liberty to act, without molestation, according to his own religious convictions. Thus he expressed himself to the abbot Theodore; and all he required of the image-worshippers was that they should not stigmatize the other party as heretics, nor do anything whereby the public quiet might be disturbed. But of course these people would be quite as little satisfied with such a policy, as with an open attack on the images. At their own point of view, and with their impressions respecting the importance of the contested points, a tolerance of this kind appeared no better than indifference to the faith generally. It is no wonder, therefore, that so many injurious reports, in part self-contradictory, respecting the heretical or sceptical character of this emperor, should get abroad, and even be handed down to posterity, — the truth of which cannot, indeed, be either directly denied, or on these grounds positively affirmed; — as, for example, that he maintained Judas Iscariot was saved, that he doubted the doctrine of a future resurrection, and denied the doctrine of a Satan, because no such being is mentioned in the Pentateuch. What the emperor chiefly desired was, that a conference of the theologians of the different parties might be held in his own presence, and thus a compromise be effected. This he proposed to Nicephorus and to Theodore; but the latter repeated the same objections which he had made to a similar proposal under the preceding reign. He would enter into no sort of fellowship with men whom he regarded as heretics; he avowed once more the non-Byzantine principle — emperors and civil magistrates have nothing to do with ecclesiastical matters, the regulation of which belongs exclusively to those on whom Christ had conferred the power to bind and to loose. It belonged to monarchs to seal and ratify, and to assist in carrying into effect the decrees of spiritual authorities.[1] The emperor should in the first place restore Nicephorus to his office, and give over to him the direction of these matters; or if Nicephorus was suspected by him, he might have

[1] L. II. ep. 129. Βασιλέων τὸ συνεπικουρεῖν καὶ συνεπισφραγίζειν τὰ δεδογμένα

recourse to the Roman church; for a patriarch could only be judged by his equals. The bishop of Rome he regarded as the first among the patriarchs; and the whole five together were bound to maintain inviolate the organism of the church.[1]

Meanwhile, there was growing up an intermediate party,[2] between the zealous image-worshippers and the decided iconoclasts, — a direction which most fully accorded with the views of the emperor. This party distinguished two different stages in Christianity, the stage of the mature, those who feel no need of sensible means to excite their devotion, who are satisfied with the instruction given by the holy Scriptures, — and the stage of the weak, the immature, those who need a preparatory culture by these sensible means of devotion.[3] Theodore, however, would not allow that any such distinctions in the Christian church, between Bible-Christians and image-Christians, were valid; because it was contrary to the unity of the Christian platform, as laid down by St. Paul in Gal. 3: 28. Within the community of Christians, such a distinction betwixt minors and majors ought no longer to exist. He maintained, on the contrary, that as every one of the perfect, though clothed with the authority of an apostle, still needed the Scripture of the gospels, so he needed also the outward representation of images answering to that Scripture; and the same reverence was due to both.[4] But on the other hand, the worship of images was by many carried to such an excess, that even Theodore was constrained to combat these extravagancies as contrary to the essence of the Christian worship of God. There were those who maintained that the image of Christ must be adored in the same manner with Christ himself.[5] He described the bent of these enthusiasts, as an error on the opposite extreme to the error of the iconoclasts.[6] It was his doctrine, on the contrary, that the *λατρεία* could have reference only to God; but to Christ's image a relative worship, *προσκύνησις σχετική*, was due — relative to that which is represented in the image. Hence it might be said the image of Christ is worshipped, or Christ is worshipped in his image. It was not a double worship, but *one*, referring from the image to Him who is contemplated in the image.[7]

[1] *Τὸ πεντακόρυφον κράτος τῆς ἐκκλησίας.* The Roman bishop, *πρωτόθρονος, ᾧ τὸ κράτος ἀναφέρεται τῆς οἰκουμενικῆς συνόδου.*

[2] By this party it was affirmed that the controversy did not relate to any object of faith, that it was wrong to call the opponents of images heretics, *ἔνιοι δέ*—says Theosteric, in his Life of Nicetas, § 27 — *οὐδὲ αἵρεσιν ταύτην ἡγοῦνται, ἀλλὰ φιλονεικίαν.*

[3] So Theodore Studita describes their way of thinking: *Συγχωροῦμεν δὲ τοῖς ἁπλουστέροις, ἀτελεστέροις αὐτοῖς ὑπαρχοῦσιν ὑπὸ συμφυοῦς αὐτῶν ἐναγωγῆς καὶ ὄψει τῇ αὐτοῖς συμμέτρῳ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐν εἰσαγωγῆς τρόπῳ μανθάνειν.*

[4] Theodor. II. 171.

[5] *Λατρευτὴ ἡ Χριστοῦ εἰκών.*

[6] *Ἡ Τζυκαλικὴ ἢ Κεντουκλαδικὴ ἄιρεσις, ἥτις ἐκ διαμέτρου πρὸς τὴν εἰκονομαχικὴν ἀντιστρέφεται.* II. 151. With regard to these two obscure names of sects, we may observe that the root of the first is *Τζυκαλη, Τζουκαλι*, which in the medieval Greek denoted an earthern vessel, pottery: the root of the second is *Κεντουκλα, Κεντουκλον*,— Latin cento, centunculus, Greek *κεντειν*,— signification, *woven, knit;* see the Greek glossary of Dufresne, under the words cited. It is probable, therefore, that these names of sects came from images manufactured of clay, and others which were woven or knit. The latter were frequently to be met with among the later Greeks.

[7] *Προσκύνησις ὁμώνυμος*, not *συνώνυμος*. II. 87, 151, 161. He declared also against those who placed such inscriptions on images as designated attributes belonging only

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But now, inasmuch as the image-worshippers had, from the first breaking out of these controversies, found countenance and support from the Romish church, and inasmuch as they had spread within that church the most injurious reports respecting the erroneous doctrines prevailing in the Greek church, the emperor Michael, in the year 824, for the purpose of justifying his conduct, sent an embassy to Rome, to pope Paschalis I, with costly presents for the church of St. Peter. To insure the accomplishment of his purpose, he sent at the same time, and in the same company, an embassy to the emperor Lewis the Pious, with a letter, in which, to defend the reputation of his orthodoxy against the injurious reports then circulated, he laid down a confession of faith, and in which he solicited the good offices of the emperor to further his cause with the pope. In justification of the measures resorted to in the Greek church against images, he describes in this letter the extravagant pitch to which the superstition of the image-worshippers had gone. Crosses had been removed from the churches,[1] and images substituted in their place; lights were placed before these images, and incense burnt to them. The same honor was paid to images as to the sign of the cross on which Christ had suffered for the salvation of mankind. Before the images hymns were chanted, and help was invoked from them; some took them for god-fathers in the baptism of their children; others had employed them in preference to pious and living men to witness their consecration to the monastic life.[2] Many of the clergy had mixed the paint from these images with the sacramental wine; and after the celebration of the eucharist, given of it to those whom they chose to honor with such a privilege. Others had placed the Lord's body in the hand of an image, thus making it a communicant. The measures which he had adopted against images, he represents as designed merely to suppress such superstitions; — hence the images had been removed from the inferior places, but allowed to remain in the higher, where they might serve as a pictorial substitute for the Scriptures.[3]

The emperor Theophilus, who succeeded his father Michael in the year 830, was animated by a warm sympathy for the affairs of the church, and his piety manifested itself also in those forms in which alone it could at that time be acknowledged in the Greek church, in the zealous worship of Mary and the saints. He was the author of several church hymns, which were publicly used. Since his piety exhibited itself in the common church forms, the image-worshippers confidently expected, that by his means the images would be restored to their ancient honor; for they could conceive of true piety only in connection with image-worship — but they were doomed to disappointment. The vital interest he felt in religion was the very cause which determined the emperor to resort to more violent measures against im-

to God, *θειότης, κυριότης, βασίλεια.* II. 57.

[1] Which the emperor — whether the fact was so or not — carefully noticed, in order to represent his opponents as dishonoring the holy symbol, thus placing them in an odious light.

[2] Adhibitis imaginibus quasi in sinum earum decidere capillos (in the tonsure) sinebant.

[3] Mansi Concil. T. XIV. f. 419

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ages; for in image-worship he saw a renewal of idolatry, which he believed himself called upon in every way to destroy. His teacher, John the Grammarian, that violent enemy of images, had deeply imbued him with his own principles. John was his principal adviser in all these measures; and when the patriarchate of Constantinople fell vacant, John was elevated by his grateful pupil to this highest spiritual dignity. To the emperor Theophilus it appeared, for so he expressed it, a thing unworthy of man's spirit, which should rise to the pure contemplation of divine things, to undertake to move it by such low, sensual impressions, thus drawing it down to sense. But he was bent on making his own subjective views a law to others. When therefore he experienced from the monks (among whom were several skilful painters, men who united the religious interest with the artistic) the most determined opposition, he yielded to the dictates of passion. The monks, who as teachers and artists, labored for the promotion of image-worship, were banished, scourged, and subjected to various cruel and ignominious punishments.[1] A monk, Lazarus, who after suffering severe bodily castigation, was set at liberty, fled to a church in Constantinople, dedicated to John the Baptist, and forgetting his pain in the enthusiasm for religious art, painted on the spot a picture of John the Baptist, which long continued to be held in the highest veneration in the Greek church, and even enjoyed the reputation of performing miraculous cures.[2]

But while Theophilus was directing all the energies of the imperial government to the extirpation of image-worship, the way was preparing for a new reäction within his own domestic circle, in favor of that worship, and once more from a woman. The empress Theodora came from a family devoted to image-worship, and she had been educated in it. Her mother, Theoctista, who resided in Constantinople, sedulously cherished this religious tendency in her and in her children. Once when the daughters of the empress were on a visit to her, she took some images from a chest, in which she kept them concealed, and showing them to the children, exhorted them to hold such objects sacred, and to worship them. She made the young princesses kiss them, applied the images to their faces, to their brows, that they might be sanctified by the holy touch. The emperor was informed of all this by his youngest daughter, who, with the ingenuousness of a child, answered all his questions. He found out also that his wife kept images by her, and worshipped them. Yet he took no active measures to guard against a future movement in favor of image-worship; though he is said to have drawn a promise from Theodora, that after his death the arrangements he had established should not be altered.[3] He died early, leaving behind him Theodora, with a minor son, Michael. The guardianship of the young prince was entrusted to his uncle Manuel, and to Theoctistus. Both were image-worshippers; but Theoctist

[1] Two well known sufferers under this reign, were the monks and brothers, Theodore (surnamed ὁ γραπτός, from certain letters branded on his face, as it is said, by the emperor's command,) and Theophanes the singer.

[2] See, besides others, Constantin. Porphyrogenet. Continuat. — reign of this emperor, § 13.

[3] Genes. l. III. ed. Lachmann, p. 71

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was the most zealous of the two, and was in favor of restoring image-worship at once. But the more prudent Manuel, dreading the resistance they would have to encounter from the party of the iconoclasts, which during the last reign had been raised again to importance, held him back. Besides, Theodora was afraid to do anything against the will of her beloved husband, to whom she had made so sacred a promise. Meantime, a preparatory measure of some importance towards the wished-for change, was the recalling of the monks from their different places of exile, who now exerted their whole influence to bring about once more the triumph of image-worship in the popular mind. An unexpected circumstance favored their designs. Manuel was attacked with a dangerous sickness. Several monks visited him, and, standing around his sick bed, soothed his departing moments with their prayers and spiritual songs. They told him that God would spare his life, if he would pledge himself to devote it to the work of restoring the images. He promised; and having recovered, felt himself bound to make every effort to redeem his vow. Theoctist entered fully and heartily into all his plans. The empress Theodora showed at first more hesitation; the memory of her husband was still dear to her. But being herself devoted to image-worship in its most superstitious form, her feelings on this point were easily wrought upon, when Manuel hinted at the danger of exciting the divine displeasure. So it was resolved that the usual measures should be taken for the restoration of image-worship. The patriarch John, of Constantinople, who adhered steadfastly to his principles, was compelled to resign his office and retire to a monastery. The monk Methodius, a zealot for image-worship, who had suffered much for the cause during the preceding reign, was appointed to take his place. But Theodora still cherished too sacred a regard for the memory of her husband, to be willing to acquiesce in another measure, by which it was proposed to anathematize him as a promoter of heresy. She informed the new patriarch and the other assembled bishops, that there was but one condition on which she could consent to the restoration of image-worship, which was that they should pledge themselves to obtain from God the pardon of her husband. The patriarch Methodius explained to her, that the power of the keys which they possessed reached only to the living; that they could do nothing for the souls of the departed, except in a few cases of minor transgression, but which had evidently been followed by repentance.[1] The case was entirely different with those who had manifestly passed from this life to perdition, as in their opinion must be the certain fate of all promoters of erroneous doctrines and persecutors of the orthodox. The empress, bent on obtaining at any rate from the clergy the wish of her heart, now resorted to a fiction[2] — whether it came up in her own mind, or was suggested to her by another — whereby she hoped that her request might be granted without any violation of the doctrine of the church. She de-

[1] The procuring of a speedier deliverance from purgatory.

[2] For had there been any truth in it, she would doubtless have mentioned it before, since it would have so well answered her purpose.

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clared that her husband had certainly been induced before his death, by her own representations of the dreadful curse of the church impending over him, to repent of, and to renounce his heresy. Thereupon the bishops assured her, that the case being so, they could promise that he should be forgiven of God; and they gave her a written declaration to this effect. Thus her remaining scruples were removed, and she consented to all that was proposed to be done for the restoration of image-worship.[1]

It was now determined that the images should be again triumphantly introduced into the head church of Constantinople. The 19th of February, the first Sunday of Lent in the year 842, was the day appointed for this celebration. Ecclesiastics and monks from far and near flocked together on this occasion and with solemn pomp, attended by nobles and dignitaries of church and state, conveyed the images to the church to which they were to be restored. This day was ever after observed in the Greek church as a high festival, called the feast of Orthodoxy (*πανήγυρις τῆς ὀρθοδοξίας*); but the allusion was soon made more general, and the feast referred to the triumph and maintenance of pure doctrine.

The new patriarch Methodius did not proceed with the same forbearance which had been shown by the patriarch Tarasius[2] at the former restoration of image-worship and in the second Nicene council. Profiting by the experience that the very individuals who by a hypocritical recantation before that council had managed to retain their spiritual dignities came out under Leo the Armenian as the most violent opponents of images, he resolved that the same thing should not occur again. All who had taken an active part against images, or who after previous recantation had once more joined the inconoclasts, were deposed, and the places vacated by them filled with staunch and trust-worthy image-worshippers.[3] But the party of the iconoclasts, which had now propagated itself for an entire century, and which had been again in possession of the power for twenty years, could not thus be crushed at a blow. It maintained a lingering existence for a while longer, numbering among its adherents persons belonging to different ranks of society, the deposed clergy serving as its teachers. It was a faction, anxiously waiting for some favorable political change again to lift up its head. When the empress Theodora, that zealous friend of image-worship, lost her influence, and her son Michael took the reins of government into his own hands; when Ignatius, the successor of Methodius, and a no less devoted image-worshipper than the latter, was compelled to resign his office;[4] these changes served, no doubt, to revive the hopes of the Iconoclastic faction. But their expectations were doomed to disappointment. Photius, the new patriarch, was also zealously devoted to image-worship, and the two contending parties, the friends of Ignatius and those of Photius, were of precisely the same mind on *this one point*. But the correspondence of the latter furnishes evidence of the influence

[1] Constantin. Porphyrogenet. continuator. l. IV. c. 4. f. 95. ed. Paris.
[2] See Vol. III. p. 231.
[3] Life of the Patriarch Ignatius by Nicetas. Harduin's Concil. T. V. f. 953.
[4] See further on.

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still possessed by the remaining iconoclasts; for we find letters addressed to ecclesiastics, to courtiers, and to monks, filled with the refutation of iconoclastic arguments.[1] And when recourse[2] was had by the Greek church to the see of Rome amid the disputes between the parties of Ignatius and of Photius, though the new movements of the iconoclasts was rather the pretext than the real occasion of this step, yet undoubtedly some foundation of truth lay at the bottom of this pretext.[3] And this view of the matter is confirmed by the next succeeding events; for even at the ecumenical council held at Constantinople in the year 869, of which we shall speak hereafter, the controversy with the iconoclasts was again brought forward. Theodore, surnamed *Κρίθινος*, appeared here at the eighth sitting, as the head of this party; — with him came three other members of it, Nicetas an ecclesiastic, Theophanes a jurist, and another layman Theophilus. This Theodore, being called upon in the name of the council to renounce his erroneous doctrine, was at first silent. Upon this, one of the imperial commissioners handing him a coin stamped with the image of the emperor, said, "Dost thou adopt this coin?" Theodore answered, "I adopt it, and honor it, as one should honor an imperial coin." Then said the commissioner, "If thou despisest not the image of a mortal emperor, how darest thou despise the divinely human image of our Lord, the image of his holy mother, and the images of all the saints?" Theodore replied, "Of the image which thou showest me, I am certain it is the likeness of the emperor. Thou requirest of me that I should receive also an image of Christ; but I know not that this is the command of Christ or that it is well-pleasing to him." The commissioner then said they had not assembled there to dispute with him, but to admonish him. He adhered steadfastly to his convictions and the anathema was

[1] Among which arguments was a singular and novel one, and an equally singular refutation of it by Photius. Said the Iconoclasts: "Different races of people, Greeks, Romans, Egyptians, Ethiopians, Indians, had each their several image of Christ. No one of these images resembled any other. But as there is no good reason for supposing that one only among all these different types is genuine, and for declaring all the others to be false, it follows that we must absolutely deny that any true image of Christ exists." To this Photius replies: "the reasoning is the same as if it should be argued from the diversity of the translations of the gospels into different languages, that there was no true gospel." Strictly taken, this comparison, we must admit, would not do, and an iconoclast would have found no difficulty in refuting it. At the same time, the illustration may hold good, perhaps, in one respect, viz. the several national images of Christ might be considered as so many particular national versions, so to speak, of the one Christ belonging to humanity. Accordingly he proceeds to say: "we might, by the same reasoning, deny in general the reality of Christ's human appearance; for the people of each several nation represent to themselves the form of Christ as one similar to their own." *Λεγετῶσαν, ὡς ἐπειδὴ Ἕλληνες μὲν αὐτοῖς ὅμοιον ἐπὶ γῆς φανῆναι τόν Χριστὸν νομίζουσι, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ μᾶλλον ἑαυτοῖς εοικότα, Ἰνδοὶ δὲ πάλιν μορφῇ τῇ αὐτῶν, καὶ Αἰθίοπες δῆλον ὡς ἑαυτοῖς, ἐπεὶ ταῦτα, τίς ἐστιν ὁ ἀληθὴς Χριστός*; Vid. ep. 64. It deserves notice, too, that Photius appeals here not to the existence of a genuine image of Christ handed down by tradition, but only to the higher, ideal unity lying at the ground of the whole diversity of types.

[2] See below, the history of these controversies.

[3] Though pope Nicholas was well aware that the image-controversies were, in this case, only a pretext, yet he was not ignorant of the fact, that the iconoclasts in the Greek church were still active; for in intimating his knowledge of the former, he at the same time says, in his letter to the emperor Michael: Super hac causa strepitus et blasphemiae non cessarunt et nunc ibidem profana praedicantur et hucusque sacrilega pronuntiantur. Harduin. Concil. T. V. f. 160.

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pronounced by the synod on him and on all opposers of image-worship. His three companions, however, declared that they were induced by the perfect unanimity which they observed in the synod, to renounce their erroneous doctrine, and they pronounced the anathema on those whom they had hitherto acknowledged as their teachers. They were rewarded with *an embrace* by the emperor, who was present at the proceedings.[1]

APPENDIX.

Participation of the Western Church in these Controversies.

The popes, it is true, adhered to the principles followed by their predecessors, ever since the breaking out of these controversies; and they furnished the most powerful support to the persecuted image-worshippers among the Greeks. But the Frank church, which occupied a middle position between the two parties, availed itself of an opportunity presented by the Greek church itself, to express once more, on the renewal of these image-controversies, its own peculiar principles with remarkable freedom. This opportunity was presented, when the emperor Michael,[2] as above related, applied by his ambassadors to Lewis the Pious, for his mediation. In complying with this request of the Greek emperor, Lewis resolved, by the advice of his wiser and less bigoted bishops, to make it an occasion of presenting to the pope himself, in a kind and considerate manner, and without any appearance of contradiction to the Romish church, a fair statement of the truth, in opposition to image-worship, with a view, if possible, to obtain his sanction to it. For this reason, he begged leave of pope Eugenius II. to have a collection of remarks by the older fathers. on the subject of image-worship, drawn up by a synod of his bishops, for the instruction of the Greeks; the design at bottom being, undoubtedly, to operate afterwards, by means of these authorities, upon the mind of the pope himself. The pope could not but feel himself flattered by such a proposal, and, with his approbation, a synod for deliberating on this matter was held at Paris, in the year 825. This synod drew up a collection of sayings by the ancient fathers, on the right use of images, as well in opposition to image-worship, as to the total rejection of images. Entering fully into the crafty plan devised by the emperor Lewis, for laying a train of negotiations with the pope, they drew up a writing, which the emperor, in the name of the synod, was to address to the pope, laying before him the collected testimonies of the church fathers, and besides — a circumstance which characterizes their relation to the pope — they appointed a committee from their own number, to draw up a letter in the name of the latter, which he might send, if he thought proper, to the Greek emperor. The synod, in their letter to the emperor Lewis, openly and decidedly avowed their opposition to the reigning superstition in the Romish

[1] Harduin. Concil. T. V. f. 1089. [2] See p. 546.

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church, with regard to image-worship; a superstition of which many among the assembled bishops had been eye-witnesses.[1] They pointedly animadverted upon the style in which pope Hadrian I. had undertaken to refute the Carolinian Books.[2] In opposing that work, he had stated things which were at variance with the truth, and with the authority of the ancient church doctrine;[3] and they knew of no other excuse which could be offered for him, than that he had erred through ignorance rather than advisedly;[4] as might be inferred from the fact, that Hadrian ultimately appealed to his agreement with Gregory the Great, though that pope was really opposed to image-worship.[5] They expressed their joy to the emperor, that he had been enabled to set on foot such an investigation for the advancement of the truth, under the very authority of one who took the opposite side, which authority would now be under the necessity, even in spite of itself, to yield to the truth.[6] They confirmed the emperor in his intention of so expressing everything that deserved to be censured in the two opposite tendencies of the image-worshippers and of the iconoclasts,[7] as if it were directed solely against the Greeks, who might be corrected with freedom, and with regard to whom less fear might be entertained of giving offence.[8] The emperor Lewis appointed archbishop Jeremiah of Sens, and bishop Jonas of Orleans, his envoys to the pope; he gave them express instructions to lay only that part of the collection formed by the synod before the pope, to which the pope and his advisers could have nothing to object.[9] He dreaded the Roman obstinacy and the Roman arrogance; and for this reason he particularly enjoined it upon his envoys to use great prudence and caution in their treatment of the pope, lest perchance the evil might only be made worse. They were not openly to contradict him, but to take pains, by entering into his own views, to manage the matter in such a way, as that he might discover himself the right mean

[1] Illorum, (qui in sacra sede Petri apostoli resident) erga imagines superstitiosam venerationem quidam visu, omnes vero aliorum relatu cognoscimus. Mansi Concil. T. XIV. f. 424.

[2] See Vol. III. p. 241.

[3] Talia quaedam sunt, quae in illorum objectionem opposuit, quae et veritati et auctoritati refregantur; and then afterwards: aliquando absona, aliquando inconvenientia, aliquando etiam reprehensione digna.

[4] Quod non tantum scienter, quantum ignoranter in eodem facto a recto tramite deviaverit.

[5] See Vol. III. p. 199.

[6] Ut ejus auctoritate quaerereretis veritatem, cujus auctoritas deviare videbatur ab ipsa, quatenus veritas patefacta, dum se in medium ostenderet, etiam ipsa auctoritas volens nolensque veritati cederet atque succumberet.

[7] Walch, in his History of Heresies and Schisms (Vol. XI. p. 122), is not quite correct in saying, it was believed in the Frankish church, that only these two opposite tendencies existed in the Greek church, and that nothing was known there of a moderate and a middle tendency. This latter tendency could hardly fail to be noticed in the letter of the emperor Michael. There was but one respect in which this emperor seemed to the Frankish bishops to go too far, namely in not tolerating images in low places: "Quanquam caetera alia secundum auctoritatem veritatis, sicut in suis scriptis continetur, idem imperator fecerit, propter hoc tamen factum quosdam illarum partium infirmos scandalisasse nec non quosdam nostrae urbis Romanae perturbasse.

[8] Qui libere admoneri possunt et quorum scandalum, si pro veritate ortum fuerit, facilius tolerari potest.

[9] Quod ipse vel sui rejicere minime valeant. See the instruction of the emperor to his envoys, in Mansi Concil. T. XV. f. 436.

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to be observed in relation to this subject.[1] The letter which he wrote to the pope[2] was also conceived with reference to the same object. He proposed to the pope, that when the latter sent envoys to the Greek emperor, the two embassies, the pope's and his own, should go together. Respecting the issue of these negotiations of the emperor Lewis with the pope, history is silent. As the Roman church, however, ever held fast to its traditional mode of thinking on this subject, and was not fond of being instructed, it is probable that the experiment failed, having made shipwreck, as the emperor feared it would, on the pertinacia Romana. But with the moderate opponents of image-worship among the Greeks, to whom the emperor Michael belonged, it would be easier to come to an understanding.[3]

III. Relation of the Greek and Latin Churches to each other, and Controversies between them.

As to the relation of the Latin church to the Greek, the way had long since been prepared for a schism between the two, by their different characters and different courses of development; though these differences, with a few transient exceptions, had as yet passed unnoticed in the consciousness of Christian fellowship. The difference between the Greek and the Roman mind produced, as we have already had occasion to remark, from the very beginning, a difference of character in the two churches: — the lively and active intellectual bent of the Greek mind produced the more speculative character of the one, and the stiff and rigid bent of the Roman mind, which clung to the traditions of the past, the more practical character of the other. *This* relation, it is true, had now altered: The spiritual life of the Greek church had become stiffened into formalism; while the Western church had received into its bosom new races in the fresh vigor of youth, which gave birth to a new intellectual movement. But the peculiar character of the systems of faith, which had been formed in each of the two churches, continued still to operate, even under this change of relations. Many differences, arising out of the development of the systems of faith peculiar to the two churches, which became prominent in the doctrinal controversies, were but transitory appearances, and were obliterated by the results to which they led; but there were other differences, which had more lasting consequences. By means of Augustin, whose influence did not extend to the Eastern church, the general system of doctrine took its shape

[1] Vos ipsi tam patienter ac modeste cum eo de hac causa disputationem habeatis, ut summopere caveatis, ne nimis ei resistendo eum in aliquam irrevocabilem pertinaciam incidere compellatis, sed paullatim verbis ejus quasi obsequendo magis quam aperte resistendo, ad mensuram, quae in habendis imaginibus retinenda est, eum deducere valeatis.

[2] Mansi l. c. f. 437.

[3] Halitgar archbishop of Cambray, and Ansfrid, abbot of Nonantula, were sent on this business by the emperor to Constantinople, where they met with a friendly reception. See the anonymous Life of Lewis the Pious, year 828, in Pertz monumenta Germ. T. II. f. 631.

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and direction more decidedly from the doctrine of redemption, as a centre, and from the anthropology connected therewith. But among the Greeks the case was otherwise. While in the Western church the Augustinian scheme of doctrine had become dominant, in the Greek church the older and more indefinite mode of apprehending the doctrines of grace, of free-will, and of providence, a theory bordering on Pelagianism, had been preserved. *This* dogmatical difference constitutes, it is true, the most important one; but it remained, for the most part, an unconscious difference. It was not brought prominently to view by any public determinations of faith, and hence, on a superficial contemplation of the relation of the two churches to each other, was less apt to strike the eye. Far more importance was attached to another point of difference, which in itself was of inferior moment, but which became of more moment because the difference was made prominent in a public symbol.

We observed in the second period, how the two churches came to differ in their mode of apprehending the doctrine concerning the Holy Spirit, while neither church seemed to be distinctly conscious of any opposition in which it stood to the other, and how from this arose an additional article to the old Nicene-Constantinopolitan creed. It is true, the great dogmatist of the Greek church, John of Damascus,[1] laid down this doctrine in his doctrinal system, according to its peculiar form in the Greek church; yet he did it in such a way as to leave room for a middle course. He restored unity to the Triad, by following the ancient theory of the Greek church; representing God the Father as the ἀρχή; and in this view, the being of the Holy Spirit, no less than the being of the Son, as grounded in and derived from the Father. The Holy Spirit is from the Father, and the Spirit of the Father; not from the Son, but still the Spirit of the Son. He proceeds from the Father, the one ἀρχή of all being, and he is communicated through the Son; through the Son the whole creation shares in the Spirit's work; by himself he creates, moulds, sanctifies all, and binds all together. John of Damascus makes use of the following illustration: "As the ray of light, and the illumination it sheds, both proceed from the sun,[2] but the illumination is communicated to us through the ray, so the being of the Holy Spirit, no less than that of the Son, is grounded in the Father, but the communication of the Holy Spirit, his influence diffused over the whole creation, is through the mediation of the Son."[3] This statement, namely, that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father, through the Son, was the point of mediation by which the two churches might come together on this doctrine.[4]

By occasion of the negotiations between the two churches of which we spoke in the history of the preceding period,[5] this disputed point

[1] See Vol. III. p. 197.

[2] Ἡ ἀκτὶς ἡ ἔλλαμψις.

[3] See l. I. c. VII. et VIII.

[4] Υἱοῦ δὲ πνεῦμα, οὐχ' ὡς ἐξ αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ' ὡς δι' αὐτοῦ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον· μόνος γὰρ αἴτιος ὁ πατήρ. This conciliatory representation, so expressed, is to be found, however, only in the section at the twelfth chapter, which in the oldest manuscripts is wanting.

[5] See Vol. III. p. 234.

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was brought up in a synod at Gentilly, A. D. 767, and the Western form of the doctrine held fast. The intercourse between the two churches in the time of Charlemagne led to new discussions of the subject at various synods; at Forum Julium (Friuli), in the year 791, at Aix la Chapelle, in the year 809, where also the point was decided in opposition to the Greek church. The emperor Charles took a lively interest in these controversies, and induced Alcuin and Theodulf of Orleans to defend the doctrine of the Western church, by collections of excerpts from the ancient fathers. Since now that addition to the ancient creed, which had been imported from the Spanish church into the churches of France, had not as yet been received in the church of Rome, the emperor wished to obtain a confirmation of it by pope Leo III, from which quarter, perhaps, a disposition had already been shown to contradict the formulary. He communicated, by an embassy, to the pope, the decisions of the assembly held at Aix, and wrote him a letter proving the doctrine of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father and Son, by quotations from the ancient fathers. The negotiations which took place on this occasion between the emperor's envoys (two bishops and an abbot) and the pope, who at that time dared not address the emperor's messengers in the imperative tone assumed at a later period, are well worthy of notice.[1] Three subjects were here presented for discussion; respecting the contested doctrine in itself; respecting the custom not existing in the Roman church, but which had been received in the Frankish, of *chanting* the symbol in divine service, instead of *reciting* it; and respecting the chanting it with the additional clause. With the doctrine, the pope expressed his agreement; the deviation from the use of the Roman church, in reference to the chanting of the symbol, he let pass; but he did not think he could approve of *the addition* to the symbol. The imperial envoys stood upon the principle, that what came by tradition might be reformed and improved — the principle of progress in the church. "If this doctrine, that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and Son, contains a weighty truth, then — as they supposed — no means should be left untried to make it more widely known; and to this end, the public chanting of it in the symbol particularly contributed. In this way many, who otherwise would have had known nothing about it, were instructed in the doctrine."[2] But the pope proceeded at this time on the same principle with that followed in the Greek church, which would allow no alteration to be made in the symbol; — the principle that nothing ought to be altered in the decisions of a general council illuminated by the Holy Ghost. The fathers of that council had been guided by the Holy Ghost, as in all other respects so also in this, that they had *not* introduced this further exposition of the doctrine into the symbol, and therefore there must have been good reasons for omitting it. In-

[1] The protocol drawn up by the abbot Smaragd in Baronius, year 809, N. 54, and Harduin. Concil. T. IV. f. 970.

[2] Si enim sciret paternitas tua — say the envoys — quanta sunt hodie millie id scientium, quia cantatur, qui nunquam sciturí essent, nisi cantaretur, fortasse nobiscum teneret.

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deed there were important determinations of the truths of faith, which had never been adopted into any symbol. And this article in particular, on the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, seemed to him to belong among the number of those truths of faith, which all would by no means be competent to understand, and which are necessary only to the salvation of those who are capable of understanding them.[1] So far was the Roman church at that time from wishing to make this determination a public matter of dispute.

John Scotus, who, as we have observed, had been greatly influenced by the study of the teachers of the Eastern church, approximated in his views on this point also more closely to the Greeks, or rather he adopted the formulary which was intended to reconcile the opposite positions. It appears to him unreasonable to suppose, that One cause should proceed from two, especially in the case of a nature the most simple of all.[2] To illustrate the case, he makes use of the same comparison with John of Damascus; but he prosecutes it further, and handles it with more acuteness and ingenuity. "Though the light from a fire proceeds through the medium of the ray, yet we cannot say that the light proceeds from two causes; but the fire is the cause which produces the light as well as the ray. The ray produces the light, not as a ray, not as an independent cause by itself; but it is the ever present power of the fire which causes ray and light to proceed from itself, as the efficient cause in both.[3] So the Father is the generating cause of his only begotten Son, and the Son is the cause of all archetypal causes which were created in him by the Father;[4] and the same Father is the cause of the Holy Spirit proceeding from him, which Spirit is the cause of the distribution of all the causes created by the Father in the Son, in their general and special operations throughout the kingdoms of nature and of grace." Moreover, the comparison with the internal structure of the human mind, which Augustine had employed to illustrate the procession of the Holy Spirit from Father and Son,[5] was made use of by John Scotus to illustrate his own view of the doctrine. "Although the soul's love for itself, which answers to the Holy Spirit, proceeds from the soul through the medium of self-consciousness, yet self-consciousness is not the cause of the love, but it is the soul in itself, from which

[1] Sunt enim multa, e quibus istud unum est, sacrae fidei altiora mysteria, subtilioraque sacramenta, ad quorum indagationem pertingere multi valent, multi vero aut aetatis quantitate aut intelligentiae qualitate praediti non valent. Et ideo, qui potuerit et noluerit, salvus esse non poterit.

[2] Ex duabus namque causis unam causam confluere, rationi non facile occurrit, praesertim in simplici natura et plusquam simplici et, ut verius dicatur, in ipsa simplicitate, omni divisione et numerositate carente. De divisione Naturae. l. II. c. 31.

[3] Radius ipse ex igne nascens, non ita nascitur, ut gignentem se ignem deserat, sed ita gignitur, ut virtus ignea, quae eum gignit, semper et ubique inseparabiliter et immutabiliter in eo permaneat, tota in toto, et totus in tota, et unum duo et duo unum, et quamvis videatur splendor de radio exire, non tamen ex ipso radio, in quantum radius est, sed ex ipsa virtute procedit, ex qua radius nascitur, et quae tota et totum radium et totum splendorem penetrat atque implet. L. II. c. 32.

[4] The causae prototypae, primordiales, in the Logos, the archetypes of all existence.

[5] See Vol. II. p. 422.

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the germ of love proceeds, even before it has attained to complete self-consciousness."[1]

Besides these dogmatical differences between the two churches there were several others, relating to the church-constitution and to church life, — differences, respecting the origin of which we have spoken in the preceding period. These points of difference were more especially expressed, on the part of the Greek church as opposed to the Latin, by the second Trullan council in the year 691 or 692. Thus, in the 36th canon of this council, the determination of the first general council of Constantinople and of the Chalcedonian council was confirmed, that the Constantinopolitan patriarch should possess the same rights with the Roman, and have the first rank after the latter.[2] In the 13th canon, it was established, that married persons might be ordained as priests, deacons, and subdeacons; and that at their ordination they should not be obligated to separate from their wives. The council, by passing this decree in express opposition to the Roman church, more than hinted that by the latter, the state of wedlock, instituted by the divine law, and sanctioned by Christ's presence at a wedding, was dishonored;[3] and they cite on the other side the passages of Scripture, Matt. 19: 6. Heb. 13: 4. 1 Cor. 7: 27. Sentence of deposition was pronounced on those, who acted in contradiction to this ordinance. In the 2nd canon, the number of apostolical canons held to be good and valid is fixed at eighty-five, while the Roman church adopted but fifty of them. Connected with this was the fact that many things ordered in those later canons were settled as law, which possessed no such validity in the Roman church. Thus, this council condemned, in conformity with the 66th apostolical canon,[4] the prevailing custom in the Roman church, whereby fasting in the season of fast before Easter was extended also to the Sabbath (Saturday).[5] To this we may add, that to the decrees of the apostolical convention at Jerusalem (Acts c. xv.) which had been long considered in the Western church as possessing validity only for a determinate period of time,[6] was ascribed a perpetual validity; and that eating of blood, and of things strangled, was forbidden on pain of exclusion from the church-communion.[7] Finally, that those figures of Christ by which he was represented in the form of a lamb,[8] in allusion to the words of John the Baptist, were forbidden as belonging to the stage of the Old Testament.

The change which ensued in the constitution of the Western church

[1] Mens et notitiam sui gignit et a se ipsa amor sui et notitiae sui procedit, quo et ipsa et notitia sui conjunguntur, et quamvis ipse amor ex mente per notitiam sui procedat, non tamen ipsa notitia causa amoris est, sed ipsa mens, ex qua amor inchoat esse, et antequam ad perfectam notitiam sui mens ipsa perveniat. p. 91.

[2] See the controversy on this subject, Vol. II. p. 164.

[3] Ἵνα μὴ ἐντεῦθεν τὸν ἐκ θεοῦ νομοθετηθέντα καὶ εὐλογηθέντα τῇ αὐτοῦ παρουσίᾳ γάμον καθυβρίζειν ἐκβιασθῶμεν.

[4] In the 55th canon.

[5] See on the origin of this difference, Vol. I. p. 295 and Vol. II. p. 298.

[6] See History of the planting and guidance of the Christian church by the Apostles, p. 148 and 275 — though this was forgotten again during the times of ignorance and barbarism in the Western church. See Vol. III. p. 234.

[7] By the 67th canon.

[8] By the 82nd canon.

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in consequence of the complete elaboration of the papacy, might also contribute towards producing a wall of separation between the two churches. Thus by a combination of different causes, the way was prepared for a schism between the two churches; but such a schism would not as yet have actually taken place had it not been for an im pulse from without. The occasion of this impulse was as follows.

Nicetas was the youngest son of that emperor Michael I. (Rhangabe) who by giving place in the year 813 to Leo the Armenian, exchanged the imperial throne for a monastery. Nicetas also, at the age of fourteen, became a monk, and assumed on entering upon the monastic life, the name Ignatius, under which he appears in history. His family furnished a place of refuge for the persecuted image-worshippers in the time of Leo the Armenian. His own services as a priest, were claimed on all hands by those, who denied the validity of any religious act performed by ecclesiastics attached to the party of the iconoclasts; and he distinguished himself by the earnest activity of a life the animating spirit of which was love. Recommended by his own merits as well as by his illustrious descent, he was elevated by the empress Theodora, in 846, to the patriarchate of Constantinople. He administered the office under circumstances calculated to involve a man of his worthy character in many a conflict in that bad time, when the court of the young emperor Michael, ruled by the influence of his unprincipled uncle Bardas, was the seat of every corruption. As Ignatius would not consent to serve as the tool of wickedness, but felt himself bound to oppose it with the whole force of his patriarchal authority, he would naturally fall out with the ambitious and quarrelsome Bardas. Declining to give his assent to a measure whereby the empress Theodora, whom Bardas wished to remove from her son in order that he might rule alone, was to be consecrated as a nun, and declaring on the contrary his firm opposition to such a proceeding, he drew down upon himself even by this step the hatred of that powerful man. But in addition to this, Ignatius had endeavored to awaken his conscience to the sense of a crime charged against him by public report, and after finding that his representations and threats availed nothing, had refused on the feast of Epiphany of the year 857 to admit him to the Holy Supper. Bardas now resolved to get rid of the troublesome patriarch, and for this purpose fabricated against him various charges designed to prove him guilty of high treason, and attached himself to a party which from the first had declared itself opposed to the appointment of Ignatius to the patriarchal dignity, and of which Gregory of Syracuse, a deposed archbishop, was the leader. As the result of these machinations, Ignatius, without a judicial trial, was banished to the island Terebinthus.[1]

To give this arbitrary act a more favorable coloring, Bardas resolved to nominate to the patriarchal dignity a man who had acted indeed hitherto only in civil employments, but whose learning and talents com-

[1] See Life of Ignatius by his enthusiastic admirer, Nicetas David of Pophlagaria, a book written with great heat, and hence liable to be suspected of exaggeration. Harduin. Concil. T. V. f. 955. Genes. hist regg. l. IV. ed. Lachmann, p. 99

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manded universal respect, while he was descended from a family distinguished for their zeal in favor of image-worship;[1] a man who had already drawn down upon himself the anathema of the iconoclasts;[2] and one whose orthodoxy was beyond question.[3] The learned Photius, who was then prime secretary to the emperor, and captain of his body-guard,[4] was speedily carried through the different clerical grades, and then elevated to the patriarchal dignity. In apologizing to pope Nicholas, for the informality of this proceeding, Photius declares that the patriarchal dignity was forced upon him against his own wishes, and in his letters to Bardas himself, he assumes it as a fact of which Bardas was well aware, that he had sought in every possible way to decline the appointment, but had been compelled to accept it.[5] This is repeated by him on a great variety of occasions; and later, during his exile and after his restoration to the office, he asserts the same thing. The fact, therefore, that he struggled against accepting the patriarchal dignity, cannot be denied. But in this age of prevailing insincerity, among a people accustomed in the public life of church and state to sport with the forms of language, these repeated asseverations of Photius by no means make it clear that the first ecclesiastical dignity of the Greek empire, the place of greatest power, next to the imperial throne, presented nothing attractive to his ambition or his vanity. The mask of humility was often worn by the Greeks of that period as a cover to ambition; and the grossly informal manner, in which he had become possessed of the office, might be an additional inducement to him to put on this mask so as to have it in his power on any future occasion to plead that the office was forced upon him. But however attractive to him might be the splendor of the patriarchal dignity, there were also many things on the other hand which rendered his prospects far from inviting, and which must have filled him with boding anxiety. This, indeed, he confesses in his letter to Bardas. It could not be pleasant to think of the doubtful relations, in which he must place him-

[1] Photius in his 113th letter, ed. Montacut., says that his father and his uncle (θεῖος) had been condemned by a whole synod of the εἰκονομάχοι, and calls them ὁμολογητᾶς Χριστοῦ καὶ ἀρχιερέων σεμνολόγημα; they must have been bishops therefore. It was the glory of his father and of his mother, to have died in contending for the cause of piety, i. e. image-worship. See Harduin. Concil. VI. I. f. 286. By his uncle we are probably to understand his great uncle, for this was the patriarch Tarasius of Constantiple, whom Photius in his letter to pope Nicholas designates as his proavunculus, Baron. Annal. year 861. § 47.

[2] He says, ep. 113: ἀναθεμάτισαν ἡμᾶς χρόνοις μακρῆς πᾶσα σύνοδος αἱρετικὴ καὶ πᾶν εἰκονομάχων συνέδριον.

[3] At one time, it is true, the opinion expressed by Photius, and more frequently to be found in church teachers of the earlier ages, that man possesses two souls, a ψυχὴ λογικὴ, the πνεῦμα or νοῦς, and a ψυχὴ ἄλογος, had given offence; see the statement of Anastasius in his preface to the transactions of the eighth ecumenical council. Harduin. V. p. 752. But surely this insignificant dispute had long since been forgotten, and the party of Ignatius afterwards looked it up only for the purpose of making Photius suspected of heresy. Accordingly the synod at Constantinople in 869, in their 10th canon pronounced the anathema on all those, who, contrary to Holy Scripture, supposed human nature possessed of another soul besides the one ψυχὴ λογικὴ καὶ νοερὰ. Harduin. V. f. 1101.

[4] Protospatharius.

[5] He writes afterwards to Bardas in reference to this election: ἔκλαιον, ἐδυσώπουν, πάντα μᾶλλον ἐποίουν, ἢ τοῖς ψηφιζομένοις καὶ βιαζομένοις συγκατένευον. ep. VI. f. 70. ed. Montacut.

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self, if under these circumstances, he assumed a dignity which rightfully belonged to another, nor of the necessity of espousing the cause of the all-powerful, vicious Bardas, whose character must have been thoroughly known to him.[1] Hence it may well be, that he assumed the elevated post with a heavy heart. When he resolved to do so, he probably hoped that Ignatius might be persuaded to abdicate voluntarily, in which case he may have intended to keep his oath to the Metropolitans, who had made him swear, as the only condition on which they would recognize him as patriarch, that he would honor Ignatius like a father.[2] But by none of the entreaties, arguments, threats, insults or abuse which the cruel Bardas employed, could Ignatius be induced to sign the abdication. Unwavering in faith, conscious of innocence, certain of his rights, he would surrender nothing to force. Bardas next sought to compel the adherents of Ignatius to recognize Photius by resorting to the ordinary measures of Byzantine despotism. They were imprisoned, deprived of their goods, scourged; their tongues were cut out. The odium of all these cruel measures lighted upon Photius; and upon him they are charged by Nicetas the biographer of Ignatius. Yet it is evident from letters of Photius to Bardas and to other nobles, which are still extant, that he was sorely vexed and troubled by the whole of these proceedings and took unwearied pains to shield the unfortunate victims; but that his efforts availed nothing in opposition to the arbitrary will of Bardas.[3] He declared that it was his intention to retire to the solitary life, if the priestly office must be insulted in the persons of the adherents of Ignatius, and he could do nothing to assist the unfortunate men.[4] But the ambition, or the weakness of character by which Photius was led, though not without a struggle, to accept of an office conferred on him in so informal a manner and with such accompaniments, was here suffering its natural punishment. He must allow things to be done, which he could not prevent indeed, but which a Chrysostom would never have suffered to go unpunished. The worthless Michael, released from all restraints and abandoned to the wantonness of his self-will, made sport of everything serious. His favorites, those who consented to descend to his buffooneries, were made to play the parts of priests and bishops in the clerical attire. He made a mock-patriarch of his Protospatharius, Theophilus. Theophilus — he said — was his patriarch; Ignatius the patriarch of the devout ones; and Photius the patriarch of Bardas. By his direc-

[1] Photius says in a letter already cited, that the prospect of the evils, which had now actually befallen him, filled him with distress and anxiety: Ἡ ἐλπὶς καί ἡ προσδοκία (τοσούτων καὶ τηλικούτων κακῶν) συνετάρασσέ με τότε καὶ σύνεσχεν.

[2] See the life of Ignatius, fol. 962; though the statement that he also pledged himself, to act in all respects according to the will of Ignatius, was probably an exaggeration.

[3] So he writes in the above mentioned letter to Bardas: ὅτε γὰρ ἱερεῖς, ὁποῖοι ἂν καὶ εἶεν, ὁμοῦ πάντας ἐπὶ ἑνὶ πταίσματι (without doubt their attachment to Ignatius) πάσχοντας ὁρῶ, τυπτομένους, δημιευομένους, τὴν γλῶσσαν ἐκτεμνομένους, πῶς οὐ μακαρίσω τοὺς τετελευτηκότας ὑπὲρ ἐμέ:

[4] See l. c. He complains (ep. III. ad Bardem) very bitterly, that shame and execration had fallen upon him on account of what the clergy were obliged to suffer under him and for his sake. He vehemently declaims against cruel punishments generally in ep. 22 to a protospatharius.

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tion, all the sacred rites of worship were profanely celebrated with much pomp and at great expense, by these people.[1]

When it was found that Ignatius could neither be persuaded nor forced to sign his abdication, one act of injustice led on to another. With a view to maintain his position under some show of right, Photius assembled a synod at Constantinople in the year 859,[2] which pronounced sentence of deposition and condemnation on the absent Ignatius. Still as the party of Ignatius did not acknowlege this synod to be a legitimate tribunal, he could not materially better his situation in this way; while the resistance of the clergy to the decrees of this synod furnished an occasion for Bardas to renew his despotic measures. Photius determined, therefore, to resort to another expedient. He endeavored to gain a party to his cause, which would be respected even by his opponents, and which, unless gained by himself, might easily be won over to the other side. He endeavored to secure the suffrage of the pope, and of a synod assembled with his concurrence and that of the other patriarchs. If he was not beforehand with his opponents in doing this, he had reason to fear that these, following the example of persecuted parties in the Greek church, would find sympathy and a place of refuge in Rome. The emperor Michael and Photius applied at once by letters to pope Nicholas I. Touching the true state of affairs, nothing was said to him; but the after-effects of the image-controversies were held forth as a pretext for seeking aid and coöperation from the church of Rome.[3] It was barely mentioned, that Ignatius had retired from his office, and that thereby a new appointment to the patriarchate had become necessary. Photius described with fulsome exaggeration, in language that betrayed its own insincerity, how he had from the first looked upon the episcopal dignity as one too arduous and responsible for him to assume, and how he had been forced to undertake the weighty charge in spite of himself;—how the emperor, who was otherwise so kind, just, and indulgent to his subjects, surpassing in these respects all his ancestors, had been hard-hearted and vio-

[1] See the Life of Ignatius. Harduin. V. f. 974, and Constantin. Porphyrogenet. Continuat. l. IV. c. 38. At the council held by the party opposed to Photius at Constantinople in the year 869, the Roman legates declared, they had heard that senators at Constantinople had profanely clad themselves in spiritual vestments and played the part of bishops. The *ἄνδρες ἀξιωματικοί*, who had taken these liberties were introduced, and being called to account, said they had done it at the command of the emperor whom they were bound to obey—an excuse which evidenced their own meanness, and the vile corruption which followed in the train of despotism. *Μιχαὴλ ὁ βασιλεὺς παιγνίδια ἐποίει, ἐπιθεὶς ἡμῖν ἀρχιερατικὴν στολὴν καὶ μὴ βουλόμενοι ἐποιοῦμεν τὰ προστεταγμένα.* Harduin. V. f. 1095. Now Nicetas reproaches Photius with having suffered all this to be done under his own eyes, and without saying a word against it. Yet how did he know this? His saying so certainly cannot be considered sufficient evidence. At that council Photius' enemies eagerly raked up everything they could find against him. Those noble buffoons were asked whether Photius had seen this; they dared not say that he had; but they only observed that the thing was generally known.

[2] Its transactions have not come down to us, for they were burnt at the fourth general council of Constantinople, in 869, hereafter to be noticed. Vide Harduin. V. fol. 875.

[3] In the false and bombastic letter of Photius, of which Baronius, at year 859, N. 61, has published a Latin translation, nothing is said about this; but it is clear from the Life of Ignatius by Nicetas, and from the pope's letter to the emperor Michael, that this was made use of as a pretext.

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lent towards him alone! Such language was by no means calculated to inspire confidence in the more simple heart of Nicholas; perhaps too he may have been informed by friends of Ignatius, who had come from the East, as to the true state of affairs. He acted in this case according to the same principles, and in the same character which we have seen him exhibit in other relations. He did not mean to be used as an instrument for promoting the ends of other men. He was solicitous only for the triumph of right; and to secure this, he was ever ready to employ the power of church government, which he was convinced that he had received from God. He was not satisfied with expressions of honor and respect; but he required a full recognition of the ecclesiastical authority belonging to him, as the successor of St. Peter, according to the laws of the church, that is, the Pseudo-Isidorian decretals, to which indeed he here appeals, — an authority which, in cases of this sort, he supposed he might exercise in the East. In the year 860, he sent Rhodoald, bishop of Porto, and Zacharias, bishop of Anagni, as his legates to Constantinople, with letters in reply to those of the emperor and of the patriarch. To Photius he wrote briefly, expressing himself satisfied with the manner in which he had expressed his orthodoxy in his letter, but expressing at the same time the most decided disapprobration of the informal manner in which he, a layman, had been so suddenly transferred from secular employments to the highest spiritual dignity; and declaring, that he could not recognize him in that office, till the matter had been more carefully investigated by his legates. To the emperor he wrote more at length, censuring the course of proceeding whereby, contrary to the ecclesiastical laws,[1] it had been presumed without the concurrence of the pope, to hold a council at Constantinople, and depose Ignatius; expressing the same scruples as he had done in the letter to Photius himself, respecting the legality of his election, and reserving his own decision on the whole matter until after the investigation of it by his legates.

At Constantinople, however, but little concern was felt about what the pope had written; men imagined they could still outwit him, and make good use of his name in furthering the designs of the court. Indeed, it not seldom happened — a proof of the corruption which even then prevailed among the higher orders of the Roman clergy — that the pope was deceived in his legates; they abused his confidence and consented to be bribed. So it happened in the present case. The legates were gained over by gifts. They were prevented also for a long time from holding intercourse with others, and so made dependent on the influence of one party.[2] True, they at first held fast to their instructions, in opposition to the arbitrary procedure of the court party; but very soon they began to yield a little.[3] In the year 861,

[1] The same principles of the Pseudo-Isidorian decretals, which he had introduced into the Western church.

[2] The pope says this in his letter to Photius. Touching his legates, he says: Qui cum iis per centum dierum spatia omnium nisi suorum alloquendi facultas fuisset denegata, ut apostolicae sedis missi non digne suscepti sunt. Harduin. Concil. T. V. f. 136.

[3] This is the very thing which the pope reproached them with: Quid enim proderit

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a numerous synod was held in presence of the emperor, under the direction of Photius, and with the concurrence of the papal legates. The letter of the pope to the emperor Michael was here read in a Greek translation, in which, however, liberty had been taken to alter its contents so as make them harmonize with the interest of the Greek church, which could not acknowledge the spiritual power assumed by Nicholas in that letter, and with the interest of the party of Photius.[1] Ignatius was summoned to appear before this council. He sent to ask, in what character he should appear: whether in his episcopal dignity, as a person on whom sentence was to be passed, or in the monkish garb, as one already condemned.[2] They answered him: "Appear as you deserve to appear."[3] Interpreting this by the verdict of his own conscience, Ignatius appeared in full episcopal robes. But the emperor ordered that before he entered the hall of the assembly, he should be compelled to divest himself of the episcopal attire. He was obliged to leave behind the numerous train of friends who escorted him, and to appear alone. He was received by the emperor with abusive language. To this he calmly replied: Abuse can be borne still more easily than torture. This silenced the emperor, who pointed him to a wooden bench where he might be permitted to sit. Ignatius then turned to the papal legates, being willing to acknowledge the pope as his judge: but they neglected to act according to their instructions. Ignatius demanded of them, that they should direct the man to be withdrawn from the council who had unlawfully put himself at the head of his church. The legates replied, that they had no power to do this; and pointing to the emperor, said: It was the will of the sovereign. He insisted then that under these circumstances he could not recognize the legates as his judges. He said to their face, that before they had reached Constantinople, Photius had sent out presents to meet them.[4] They might take him with them to the pope; for he would gladly acknowledge the latter as his judge. In vain was it attempted once and again to induce this inflexible man, whose spirit no misfortunes could subdue, and who by his calm and steadfast self-possession, put to shame the ruling authorities, who were unable by force or craft to conquer his will; in vain was it attempted to induce him to make a voluntary abdication. To prepare the way for passing on him the sentence of deposition, they now made use of the argument, that he had been unlawfully placed in that office by the secular power; and this was confirmed on oath, not only by nobles of the

alicui pro veritate primum quidem impetum dare et post paululum aut suasionibus aut terroribus aut alio quolibet vitio a veritatis tramite declinare? Harduin. Concil. T. V. f. 179.

[1] The pope, in his letters written to Constantinople, points out these falsifications of his letter to the emperor; and in reference to this fashion of falsifying, he remarks: Quoniam apud Graecos, sicut nonnullae diversae temporis scripturae testantur, familiaris est ista temeritas; l. c. f. 180, and appealing to an older letter of pope Hadrian, which ought to be found in the public archives at Constantinople, he adds: Si tamen non falsata Graecorum more. l. c. f. 147.

[2] See the report of Ignatius himself, l. c. f. 1014. The biography of Nicetas, f. 966.

[3] Ὅτι ὡς ἔστε ἄξιοι.

[4] His words: Τὰ δῶρα αὐτοῦ μακρόθεν ἐδέξασθε· κατὰ γὰρ τὴν Ῥαίδεστον (the ancient Bisanthe in Thrace, on the Propontis, Rodosto) ὑμῖν, αὐτὰ ἀπηντήκασιν, ἱμάτιά τε καὶ φελώνια καὶ ἐγκόλπια. Harduin. Concil. T. V. f. 1015.

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spiritual and secular order, but also by a crowd of other people — fishmongers, farriers, shoemakers, and tailors — accompanied by the signature of their names. These all acknowledged Photius to be their patriarch.[1] Ignatius, however, could appeal to the fact that he had administered the office for twelve years in perfect harmony with the bishops and the flock, and without a single complaint having ever been brought against him. Threats, rigorous imprisonment, hunger and blows, ill-treatment of every kind, were employed against him in vain, to force him to subscribe the sentence of deposition.[2] If the account given by Nicetas is correct, they finally seized his hand, and compelled him to sign, with the affixture of a cross, the sentence pronounced upon him. It was then published abroad, that Ignatius had, by a general church assembly held with the concurrence of pope Nicholas, been regularly deposed from his office, and Photius acknowledged as lawful patriarch. The acts of this council were speedily transmitted to the pope by an imperial embassy, which bore a letter from the emperor, and another from the patriarch Photius.

As to the latter, he replied to the before mentioned short letter of the pope, a letter certainly composed in a tone with which as patriarch of Constantinople he had every reason to be dissatisfied, in so mild and courteous a manner, that it is easy to discern from it the strong interest he felt to obtain from the pope his approbation of what had been done, and how, with a conscience ill at ease, he was driven to attempt by crooked measures to secure an object which he could not reach by a straight-forward course. He excused himself in reference to his assumption of the patriarchal dignity by pleading compulsion; he portrayed the contrast between the harassing and anxious situation, in which he found himself placed as patriarch; and the peaceful, quiet, and happy situation, in literary leisure and the enjoyment of universal esteem which had been his lot before, as evidence beyond question that it could not have been his own wish or voluntary choice to exchange these situations. He defended himself from the reproaches thrown upon him by the pope, by pleading that the transgression of ecclesiastical laws, not known in Constantinople (by which doubtless he meant, in part, the Pseudo-Isidorian decretals cited by the pope in his letter to the emperor) could not properly be charged as a crime against him. And he showed that it could not be referred to the diversity of ecclesiastical laws and ecclesiastical usages which prevailed in different countries; among these he reckoned many differences existing betwixt the Greek and the Latin church, to which, therefore, he seems as yet to have attached no very great importance. But finally, he demanded of the pope, that he also should observe the ecclesiastical law in one respect, and not receive into the Romish church without further examination, those who came thither without the customary credentials[3] from their ecclesiastical superiors, inasmuch as by such people calumnious

[1] See Harduin. Concil. T. V. f. 1086, and f. 1096.

[2] Ignatius himself relates: Ὅσας μοι τότε πληγὰς ἐπέθεντο, τί χρὴ λέγειν; ἐν ἕπτα γὰρ οὕτω κολασθέντα ἡμέραις ἄσιτον, ἄϋπνον, ἀκάθιστον διαμεῖναι ἐβίασαν.

[3] Γράμματα συστατικά.

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reports were circulated, and schisms occasioned. There can be no doubt that Photius here had in his mind the friends of Ignatius, whose reports at Rome he would naturally dread. But at the same time, he could assign as a better reason for this warning an abuse, which could justly be complained of, namely, the fact that many, who had reason to apprehend civil and ecclesiastical punishments on account of their crimes at home, took refuge in Rome under the pretence of devotion,[1] and in the character of pilgrims.[2] The party of Ignatius had also sent delegates to Rome; others came there as fugitives, to escape the ill treatment with which they were threatened, and it was precisely the influence of these men which Photius dreaded. Theognist, an abbot, brought an appeal, drawn up in the name of Ignatius and of the bishops and monks united with him, and preceded by a report of everything that had transpired.[3] Nicholas, therefore, could not be deceived by the imperial embassy and the reports which they brought with them; and besides he was observant and politic enough to see through the fraudulent and violent proceedings of that council at Constantinople. Even in his first letters to Photius and to the emperor, he professed himself dissatisfied with those proceedings; even then he complained of the manner, in which his legates had conducted, and in which his letters had been falsified; even then he expressed himself strongly in favor of Ignatius. He repeated those doubts which he had previously expressed respecting the election of Photius, and endeavored to refute what the latter had said in justification of the irregularity.[4] But after he had entered into a more strict examination of the matter, and found that his legates had been guilty of bribery and of violating his instructions, he pronounced on the latter at a Roman synod, held in 863, the sentence of deposition.[5] At the same assembly, he declared that Photius had forfeited every spiritual dignity, pronounced against him the anathema, in case he should hold the patriarchal office any longer, and recognized Ignatius as the lawful patriarch of Constantinople. After the pope had sent these decrees to Constantinople, there arose from them in the first

[1] See above, page 452.

[2] The remarkable words are: Alii aliena conjugia perfoderunt, alii furti damnati sunt, aut vinolentia se propinarunt, aut lasciviae, libidini et intemperantiae servierunt, alii vero tenuiorum hominum percussores, et homicidae deprehensi sunt, qui cum in se ipsos jus emitti persentiscunt, simul omnia miscentes ac conturbantes, flagitiorum ac facinorum suorum poenas fuga amoliuntur, nec objurgationibus castigati nec suppliciis curati nec se a lapsu erigentes, sed sibi atque aliis usque perniciosi. Habent poenae effugium, Romam sub orationis obtentu proficisci. The letter translated into Latin has been published by Baronius, at the year 861, N. 34.

[3] The libellus, which Harduin has published T. V. f. 1013.

[4] Nicholas assumed that the Pseudo-Isidorian decretals actually proceeded from the first Roman bishops, and therefore ought to be known and to be held valid throughout the whole church; hence he made it a crime in Photius not to be acquainted with them. Decretalia autem, quae a sanctis pontificibus primae sedis Romanae ecclesiae sunt instituta, cujus auctoritate atque sanctione omnes synodi et sancta concilia roborantur et stabilitatem sumunt, cur vos non habere vel observare dicitis? Nisi quia vestrae ordinationi contradicunt. And next: Quodsi ea non habetis, de neglectu atque incuria estis arguendi. Si habetis et non observatis, de temeritate estis corripiendi et increpandi. Harduin. V. f. 135.

[5] At first, only on the bishop Zacharias. The examination into the charges against bishop Rodoald was adjourned on account of his absence.

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place a fierce correspondence by letters between him and the emperor Michael. The latter sent the pope a letter filled with the most violent abuse.[1] He wrote him, that he might look upon it as an honor, that after the lapse of so many years recourse had finally been had once more from Constantinople to Rome on a matter of business; this had been done, however, by no means under the understanding that the pope was to be recognized as a judge. Photius would retain his office and remain in the fellowship of the church even without the concurrence of the pope; and the pope's interference would not help Ignatius. He called the Latins, barbarians,[2] Scythians; Rome an antiquated city. Nicholas, in the feeling of his superiority, replied to this letter with dignity and forbearance.[3] He reproached the emperor with having taken part himself in the deliberations of the bishops at the council, and with having made use of the latter as his instruments. When had emperors ever before assisted at synods, unless it may have been, perhaps, when matters of faith were in discussion, matters which to be sure concerned not merely ecclesiastics, but also laymen, nay, all Christians?[4] Before Christ's appearance, many kings had, in typical allusion to the future, been at the same time priests, as for example Melchizedek; — and as Satan is ever wont to counterfeit the divine, he had led the pagan emperors, with their usurping spirit to call themselves pontifices maximos. But after the appearance of Christ, who is at once king and priest, the two dignities were absolutely separated in human relations. The emperor wrote that he had *commanded* the pope to send delegates to Constantinople. Nicholas reminds him that such was not the tone in which it became him to write to the pope.[5] In allusion to what the emperor had said respecting the barbarism of the Latin tongue, the pope replied: Your abuse of the Latin tongue falls on Him from whom all languages have sprung; for this language was one of those which acknowledged, that Jesus is Lord to the glory of God the Father,— which was distinguished along with the Hebrew and the Greek above all others by being used in the inscription on the cross, proclaiming to

[1] The letter itself has not come down to us; but from the pope's answers, especially ep. VII. Harduin. V. f. 145, we may infer what were its contents.

[2] Photius was an enemy to the Occidentals. In his ep. 84, which certainly cannot be considered as referring to Sicily alone, he loads them with undeserved reproaches. In the condition of paganism, they had already evidenced their rudeness by the fact that they had no Ἡφαιστος κλυτοτέχνης, no λόγιος Ἑρμῆς, none of the deities, who were conceived as patrons of the arts and virtues. Accordingly he writes to a monk who had come from the West: οὐδὲν θαυμαστὸν εἰ καὶ συ τὸ γένος ἕλκων ἐξ ἑσπέρας, οὐδὲν οὔτι σώφρον λέγειν ἔχεις, οὔτι διαπράττεσθαι.

[3] The letters of this eminent man on weighty affairs, all possess the same common character, not merely in relation to the principles expressed, but also in turn of thought, tone, and style. Perhaps the spirit of Nicholas himself is more clearly discernable in them, than the pen of his secretary. The scrinarii Romanae ecclesiae had only the mechanical work of writing the letters, either after a draft or by dictation, as we may learn from ep. III. Harduin. V. f. 164.

[4] De fide quae universalis est, quae omnium communis est, quae non solum ad clericos, verum etiam ad laicos, et ad omnes omnino pertinet Christianos.

[5] Illi (priores imperatores) petimus, invitamus ac rogamus, ecce sparsim ad sedis apostolicae praesules, sed pari pietate clamant. Vos autem quasi non mansuetudinis et reverentiae, sed solius imperii eorum haeredes effectu praecepisse, jussisse ac imperasse vos, ut quosdam subjectorum nostrorum ad vos mitteremus asseritis.

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all nations Jesus of Nazareth, the king of the Jews. As the Latin language worshipped the true God, it was clear, he said, that it could not be termed a barbarian language. Or if he called the Latin tongue barbarian, merely because he did not understand it; he should consider how ridiculous it was for a man to style himself Imperator Romanorum, and yet know nothing about the language of the people.[1] The pope indignantly repels the unreasonable demand of the emperor, that he should send back Theognist and other monks, who had taken refuge in Rome, to Constantinople, in order, as he expresses it, that they might there be made the victims of imperial vengeance. By so doing, he would put himself on a level with the traitor Judas, would violate those sacred laws, which were held in respect even among pagans. And he speaks here, as ever, in the consciousness of the high destination of the new Christian capital of the world, where thousands daily congregated from all nations, seeking protection and quiet for the last days of life.[2]

Photius attempted to pay the pope measure for measure. He pronounced, at a pretended general assembly held at Constantinople, in 867, sentence of deposition and the anathema on his opponent. Such a step, to be sure, on the part of Photius, could not by any means occasion the same injury to Nicholas, which a similar sentence on the part of the pope must cause to Photius, especially in the fluctuating, uncertain situation in which the latter found himself placed in the East. But of far greater importance was another step of Photius, immediately connected with the first. In a circular letter, addressed to all the more eminent bishops of the East,[3] inviting them to take part in this council, he made an attack, which was aimed at the entire Latin church. He accused the Romish church of having propagated among the new Christians of Bulgaria erroneous doctrines. He referred particularly to the doctrine concerning the Holy Spirit, to the principle of the celibacy of priests, to fasting on the Sabbath, and to the number of fasting weeks. Diversities, on which he had before expressed himself with so much moderation, now acquired for him, when they could be seized upon as an occasion for charging his opponent with heresy, the greatest importance. Thus the quarrel was turned from a personal one into a controversy betwixt the two churches.

This was the view taken of it by Nicholas; and he recommended to the eminent bishops the defence of the Roman church against these charges. The monk Ratramnus of Corbie, and the bishop Aeneas of Paris, obeyed this invitation, and wrote in defence of the Latin church.[4] The writing of Ratramnus is the most impor-

[1] Quiescite vos nuncupare Romanos imperatores, quoniam secundum vestram sententiam barbari sunt, quorum vos imperatores asseritis.

[2] Tanta millia hominum protectioni ac intercessioni beati apostolorum principis Petri ex omnibus finibus terrae properantium sesse quotidie conferunt et usque in finem vitae suae apud ejus limina semet mansura proponunt.

[3] Ep. II.

[4] Both works published by D'Achery, in the first volume of his Spicilegia.

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tant.[1] He distinguished himself particularly by the Christian moderation and liberality of spirit, which he shows in judging of the importance of the differences which related merely to church customs. He declared that it was only important to hold fast the unity of the faith. To the unity of the faith belonged simply what the apostle Paul indicates in 1 Corinth. 1: 10; and to this unity he reckoned faith in the Trinity, in the birth of Christ from a virgin, in his sufferings, his resurrection, his ascension to heaven, his exaltation to the right hand of God, his coming to judge the living and the dead, and baptism into the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. By no means requisite to this unity was uniformity in church usages, and other external things; and hence, in the first chapters of his fourth book, he endeavors to show that from the first origin of the church downward, diversity of usage, in regard to such matters, had been found perfectly consistent with unity in the faith. He censures the Greeks in this regard only, because instead of being satisfied to observe their own peculiar usages themselves, they would prescribe the observance of them also on others.[2]

Soon after the first outbreak of this open schism between the two churches, a political change took place, by which, for the present, a reconciliation was effected. First Bardas, and then Michael, met the punishment which their crimes deserved; and Michael's co-regent, Basilius the Macedonian, who had contrived his destruction, attained, in the year 867, to the sole sovereignty of the Greek empire. He had political reasons for becoming reconciled again with the party of Ignatius and with the popes;[3] and Ignatius was restored to the pa-

[1] Contra Graecorum opposita Romanam ecclesiam informantium, libri IV.

[2] Cum nihil de dogmate fidei contineant, in quo Christianitatis plenitudo consistit, verum consuetudinem suae ecclesiae enarrent, nihil isthinc vel approbandum vel refutandum nostrae restabat ecclesiae.

[3] We would gladly believe, for the honor of Photius, what not only Zonaras reports in his Annals, but the earlier writers, Leo Grammaticus and Simeon Magister, relate, that he was deposed by Basilius, on account of his refusal to admit him, on a certain festival, to the communion, because he was a murderer. This account may, perhaps, be entitled to more faith, because it is given by persons who show an unfavorable disposition towards Photius. It was, of course, against the party interest of the passionate Nicetas, to record a fact which redounded to the honor of Photius; it was more in accordance with his interest, to represent the matter, as if Basilius had been induced, by the justice of the case, to depose Photius the very next day after he assumed the reins of government. Nor could Constantine Porphyrogenita, who would be unwilling to represent his grandfather as a murderer, mention this in his account of his Life. The express testimony of Nicetas, that Basilius, the very next day after he assumed the reins of government deposed Photius, cannot prevent us from considering the above story to be true; for this chronological date, the origin of which admits of being so easily explained, from the party interest of Nicetas, is at variance not only with the date which may be inferred from the narrative of Anastasius, but also with the testimony of Simeon Magister, that Basilius had his son Stephen baptized by the patriarch Photius on Christmas-day; therefore some months after he had attained to the sole dominion. The bitterness with which Basilius persecuted Photius, with whom he had before been on very amicable terms, strongly favors the supposition, that besides those general reasons which the party of Ignatius supplied to his hands, he had other and more special causes for his enmity against the patriarch. At the same time, the question comes up, whether we might expect from the character of Photius, and from his conduct on other occasions, — a man who, as his letters show, flattered the worthless Michael in the midst of his vices, who had already good occasion for proceeding in the same way towards Michael and Bardas, and had not

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triarchal dignity. It was now necessary that a new council should be held at Constantinople, with the concurrence of the other patriarchs, and especially of the pope, in order to annul the decrees of the earlier council, and to crush the party devoted to Photius. The new emperor, and the reïnstated patriarch, applied for this purpose to pope Nicholas; and Ignatius, in his letter, recognized the supreme judicial authority of the cathedra Petri, in terms never used by Constantinopolitan patriarchs, except on rare occasions and under particular circumstances, like the present. Pope Nicholas, meantime, had died; his successor, Hadrian, held, in 868, a council at Rome, where sentence of deposition and the anathema were pronounced anew on Photius, and Ignatius was recognized as patriarch. After these preliminary steps, a council was held in the following year, 869, at Constantinople, in presence of the emperor, with the concurrence of the papal legates, which was to represent the eighth among the œcumenical councils, and, as such, to make known the decrees of the Roman assembly as legally valid for the Greek church. By this council, an inquiry was instituted into everything that had been done before. Rodoald and Zacharias,[1] who meantime had been restored to favor, were sent to Constantinople, for the express purpose of exposing the wicked arts, which had been resorted to in the earlier proceedings against Ignatius, and to be used as witnesses.[2] True, even this coun-

done so, — whether from the character and conduct of Photius on other occasions, we might expect from him any such step? Especially is it to be noticed, that the mode in which Photius states his complaints before this emperor, touching the persecutions of which he was the innocent victim, contains no hint of any such cause of them, but rather seems to suppose the contrary. He reminds the emperor (ep. 97) of their former friendship, of the many ties by which he was bound to him; and then also, that the emperor had received from his hands the holy eucharist, *ὅτι ταῖς ἡμετέραις χερσὶ προσιὼν τῶν φρικτῶν καὶ ἀχράντων μέτειχες μυστηρίων.* How, on the supposition of the truth of that story, could Photius have expressed himself in this manner, without immediately taking notice of the fact, and justifying himself *on the ground*, that it was just because he had excluded the emperor from the Holy Supper, that he had drawn down on himself the emperor's displeasure? In general he assumes, that the emperor had no cause whatever for being *personally* dissatisfied with him. M. Hanke, it is true, in his work De Byzantinarum rerum Scriptoribus Graecis, thinks he has discovered a secret intimation that such was the cause of the persecution against Photius, in a letter of his (ep. 118. f. 160. ed. Montacut.), where he gives the following as the reason of the imperial anger against the faithful, i. e. the adherents of Photius: *ἀνθ' ὧν αἱμάτων καθαρὰς καὶ γλώσσας καὶ γνώμας ἐφύλαξαν.* This, as Hanke supposes, refers to the fact and manner in which they had protested against that murder. But, in the swollen language of these times, we can hardly interpret "blood" as referring to a real murder, but must refer it to a spiritual one, viz. the anathema pronounced on Photius by the council. The meaning is: They are persecuted, because they did not, with heart and mouth, join in the anathema pronounced against him. This, too, is in better harmony with the context in which that passage occurs. We might, with more probability, discover a secret allusion of this kind in the words of the 98th letter to Basilius, a slight hint, that Photius had not suffered himself to be induced to present the eucharist to Basilius: *ἀλλ' ὅρα φίλε κἂν μὴ βούλει, Βασιλεῦ ὅτι τὸ πειρᾶσθαι πείθειν ἀνθρώπους οὐ μόνον οὐδὲν συντέλει πρὸς τὸ πείσαι θεὸν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τοὐναντίον περιτρέπεται.* (Though he succeeded in persuading a man to admit him to the communion, yet he could not thereby obtain the divine forgiveness, but the unworthy partaking of the sacrament would only redound to his greater guilt in the sight of God.) *καὶ τῶν ἀδεῶς ἐνταῦθα πραττομένων μᾶλλον ἐστὶν ἐκεῖθεν ἡ παντέφορος δίκη κριτής* But, according to the connection, these words, perhaps, refer rather to the emperor's persecutions of Photius himself.

[1] See above, p. 562.

[2] See Concil. VIII. act. Harduin. f 1095.

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cil was not exempt from the common faults of the Greek church assemblies; but at least matters were conducted after a more decent fashion than they seem to have been at the last council of Constantinople. Yet the same scenes were here in great part repeated over again, of faithless tergiversation, of disregard to sacred promises and oaths, in a word, all the superficial conversions of a political revolution. Many of the bishops and clergy, who, during the former reign, had attached themselves to Photius, appeared before the council, and, with abusive language towards Photius, declared that they had been compelled by fear to act contrary to their convictions. They testified their repentance, submitted to penance,[1] and then pardon was granted to them. The bishops who declared their repentance were permitted at once to resume their episcopal insignia,[2] and to take their seats in the assembly. The priests were to be suspended from their functions, until the term of their penance had expired.[3] Yet there were some few bishops of the number consecrated by Photius, not quite mean enough to abandon him in misfortune, who ventured to appear before the assembled council to defend his cause against the emperor and the Roman legates, and who chose rather to suffer themselves to be deposed and condemned, than to abandon their friend. Archbishop Zacharias of Chalcedon, who had been appointed to that station by Photius, declared in the name of his party, that even the decision of the patriarchs could avail nothing against the ecclesiastical laws. If the patriarchs decided contrary to the laws of the church, they ought not to be followed.[4] And he cited examples, remarking that he could cite still others, to show that decisions of the Roman bishops had been rejected, as contradictory to the ecclesiastical laws. He moreover defended the validity of Photius' election, when a layman, by older examples.[5] John, bishop of Heraclea,[6] when the question was put to the bishops of Photius' party, whether they condemned Photius, and acknowledged Ignatius as patriarch, exclaimed: "He himself is condemned, who condemns his patriarch." Photius behaved with dignity. Being called upon[7] to appear before the council, and answer for himself, he declared that he was resolved to be silent, quoting Ps. 39: 1, "I will keep my mouth with a bridle while the wicked is before me." He appeared finally in the fifth action of the council,

[1] Certain abstinences, prostrations, the recitation of a certain number of forms of prayer till the next Christmas, were imposed on them.

[2] An example of that mawkish play on sacred language, truly calculated to desecrate what is most holy, which the sanctimonious cant, growing out of the debasing spirit of insincerity in the Greek church, at that time indulged in, is furnished by the patriarch Ignatius, who, in restoring the *ὠμοφόριον* to Theodore of Caria, one of Photius' bishops, addressed him as follows: "Behold, thou art become sound; sin no more, lest a worse evil befal thee!"

[3] Harduin. V. f. 1035. Nicetas expresses himself dissatisfied with this — as it seemed to him — excessive gentleness of the council, and finds in it the ground of the renewed evils at a later period; for men who found repentance so easy, and still retained their offices, would be very sure, in a change of circumstances, to play their old tricks over again.

[4] *Οἱ κανόνες ἄρχουσι καὶ τῶν πατριαρχῶν, εἰ γοῦν ἔξω τῶν κανόνων ποίουσιν, οὐ στοιχοῦμεν αὐτοῖς.*

[5] Act VI. f. 1058.

[6] In the seventh action, VI. f. 1066.

[7] Not by ecclesiastics sent to him, but by laymen.

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declaring that he did it not voluntarily, but under constraint. But he persisted even then in his silence; and when called upon to say, what he had to offer in justification of himself, replied: "My justification is not in this world." It was in vain he was allowed a time for reflection; in vain he was again brought before the council in the seventh action; he remained firm to the end.

Moreover those of the higher and lower class, who at the last synod had appeared as witnesses against Ignatius, and affirmed on their oath, that he had attained to his office, not by regular election, but by means of the secular power, were heard again, and now declared their former testimony to be false. Theodore, the protospatharius,[1] said he was forced to swear by fear of the emperor; he could not do otherwise than as he was bidden; but he had confessed his sin to a monk (a Stylite) who had passed forty years on a pillar, and submitted to the penance prescribed by him, which he had been observing to the present time. A like declaration was made by the consul Leo, and he was ready to submit to all the decisions of the synod. Only in the anathema pronounced on Photius he thought he could not concur, because the anathema could only touch false teachers, and Photius was an orthodox man. But the representatives of the patriarchs said that no false doctrine could be worse than the actions of Photius; whereupon he submitted in this point also to the judgment of the synod.

But notwithstanding all the emphasis and solemnity[2] with which the anathema was pronounced by the whole assembly against Photius, he still felt strong enough to defy that terrible word — a word lightly used in the Greek church under every change of court parties, and which, within the course of a few years, had been applied in the most opposite cases. By the true account which Photius gives in his letters of the use made of the anathema in the Greek church,[3] he at the same time condemns himself. In his misfortunes, Photius evinces greater dignity, than in his prosperity. Separated from the society of his friends, no clergyman or monk being permitted to come near him, to pray or to sing with him, he saw no one but his keepers. He was

[1] See p. 559.

[2] If we may credit the report of Nicetas, the members of this council were so far carried away by their blind passions, that to give the more solemnity to the sentence of deposition and of condemnation pronounced on Photius, they dipped the pen with which they subscribed it, not only in ink, but in the wine of the eucharist; *οὐ ψίλῳ τῷ μέλανι τὰ χειρόγραφα ποιούμενοι, ἀλλὰ τὸ φρικωδέστατον ὡς τῷ εἰδότων ἀκήκοα διαβεβαιουμένον, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τοῦ σωτῆρος τῷ αἵματι βάπτοντες τὸν κάλαμον.* l. c. V. f. 987. But this, notwithstanding the evidence adduced by Nicetas, which we must say is very weak, may be a mere fable, dictated by the strong interest which was felt to make this sentence on Photius an irreversible one, and to deter all men forever after from espousing his party. "What can be more sacred — it was said — the sentence against him was subscribed with the very blood of Christ."

[3] He says, ep. 113, that though a long time before a synod had pronounced the anathema on him, on his father and on his uncle (see above p. 558) yet contrary to his own will he had been made patriarch; — and so now those who in like manner despised the commandments of the Lord, might anathematize him. And in ep. 115, he says concerning the manner in which the anathema was employed: *Τὸ φρικτὸν ἐκεῖνο εἰς μύθους καὶ παίγνια μεταπέπτωκε, μᾶλλον δὲ τοῖς εὐσεβέσι καὶ αἱρετὸν παρεσκεύασται.* An unjust anathema, he said, fell on the person who pronounced it, and honored him on whom it was wrongly pronounced.

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sick thirty days, without being allowed to see a physician; — and what to him was the most terrible punishment of all, he was deprived of his books.[1] Yet his constancy was not overcome; he contented himself with simply representing to those in power the injustice and unnecessary rigor of their proceedings.

Thus the first schism, the schism which had grown out of the quarrel between Photius and Nicholas, was healed; but the more inward antagonism between the two churches, which had once found vent by means of that schism excited from without, still endured, though for the present it did not openly break out. And another cause of the quarrel, a cause which had not been removed, threatened once more to destroy the fellowship between the two churches, which had but recently been restored, — the contested question, whether Bulgaria should belong to the province of the Latin or of the Greek church. As we have said on a former page, the Greek church, during the reign of the emperor Basilius the Macedonian, succeeded in reëstablishing their influence among the Bulgarians. The Bulgarian church obtained their bishops from Constantinople; and as Ignatius paid no regard to the representations of pope John VIII, the rupture threatened to become converted into a new and violent division. But just as the way was prepared for this, Ignatius died, A. D. 878; and the very thing which under other circumstances must have seemed most dangerous to the peace between the two churches — that the man by whom the schism was first occasioned, should prove to be his successor, served to bring about a reünion of the two parties.

The emperor Basilius, a patron of learning, ever entertained the highest respect for Photius, who was at that time the most learned man among the Greeks. In a very short time, therefore, he opened the way for a complete reconciliation, recalled the banished man to Constantinople, showed him special favor, and made him teacher of his son.[2] It may be said to the honor of both Ignatius and Photius,

[1] See ep. 85, 97, 114. Each of the ecclesiastical and political parties in Constantinople, was accustomed to interpret an earthquake, though no unfrequent occurrence there, as a sign of the divine anger on account of some particular thing, which they determined to be this or that, according to *their own* interests or passions, and the last was ever regarded as more terrible than any which had preceded. Now as an earthquake which followed the deposition of Ignatius (see Nicetas, f. 975, l. c.) had been interpreted by *his* party conformably to *their* interest, so now again an earthquake which occurred after the deposition of Photius, was interpreted by his party in their favor. See Phot. ep. 101. But he himself did not fall in with this — he did not attach so much importance to himself personally, nor did he wish to triumph where so many others suffered who were entitled to his sympathy.

[2] The remark of Constantine Porphyrogenita, in his account of the life of his grandfather Basilius (c. 44), that the latter, although he removed Photius from his station on just grounds, yet never ceased to show kindness to him, is certainly proved to be without foundation by the above cited passages from Photius' letters; but it would not be inconsistent with these passages to suppose, that Photius' relation to the emperor was at a later period such as that historian describes. And that this was really so, is corroborated by the testimony of Photius himself, where he gives his statement of the whole matter in the second action of the synod of Constantinople of the year 879. Harduin. VI. P. I. f. 255. He here calls the council to witness, that he submitted to his fate — and it is evident that he did so from his letters — that he showed no solicitude to recover the patriarchal dignity, resorted to no machinations with a view to repossess himself of what he had lost, but that the emperor, of his own good pleasure, had recalled him from banishment: *καὶ μεγάλῃ δεξιώσει εἰσ-*

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that they were not carried away with the passions of their respective partizans, but became heartily reconciled to each other. Photius repelled every proposition by which he was invited to put himself at the head of a party against Ignatius, and Ignatius was a stranger to all suspicion against Photius. They lived together on the most friendly terms, and Photius manifested an amiable sympathy for Ignatius in his last sickness.[1] Ignatius, when dying, commended his rival to the favor of his friends.

Under these circumstances, it might naturally occur to the emperor, that it would be good policy to restore Photius to the office he had once held. The peaceably disposed man who had maintained such friendly relations with his rival might prove the fittest instrument for effecting a radical healing of the division, and a perfect reconciliation between the two parties. But a difficulty stood in the way; for it was to the emperor's interest, that no new schism should be suffered to spring up betwixt the Latin and the Greek church; nor was it possible indeed without the concurrence of the pope to restore peace within the Greek church itself with a sure prospect of permanent success. For though the tone of the court at Constantinople always had an influence on the ecclesiastical parties, and though by the preceding reconciliation between the two heads of the parties and by the death of Ignatius the most important cause of the division had been removed, yet there still remained in the party of Ignatius a number of fanatical zealots, who clung to the decisions of the late general council, to subscriptions with which they could not so easily trifle as others, and to the authority of the cathedra Petri.[2] For the purpose of removing out of the way, therefore, every obstacle to the peace of the church, and of depriving those who were opposed to it of every subterfuge, the emperor and the patriarch applied to pope John VIII, and endeavored to procure his coöperation for the assembling of a council at Constantinople, by which the decrees of the former council might be annulled. Now the pope would readily foresee, that in case he refused his consent, the emperor would effect his purpose *without* him, and *his own* voice would appear to be powerless. If on the other hand, he expressed himself in accordance with the wishes of the emperor, he might hope, that inasmuch as

ενέγκειν εἰς τὴν πόλιν. The agreement between Photius and Constantine Porphyrogenita sufficiently refutes the partial and fabulous report of the passionate Nicetas, and serves also to corroborate the genuineness of the transactions of this council, disputed by Leo Allatius.

[1] We here follow the above mentioned statement of Photius himself, which in its whole tone bears the marks of credibility. This statement was given before the council, where the presence of so many witnesses would prevent him from saying anything in reference to the point in question, contrary to the truth. He observes with regard to the friendship subsisting between him and Ignatius: *Μακαρίζομεν αἰτὸν, ὅτι φιλίαν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔτι περιόντα τῷ βίῳ ἐσπεισάμεθα καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἐξαρνηθείημεν ταύτην ποτέ.*

[2] One of the friends of Photius, Zacharias archbishop of Chalcedon, said before the synod at Constantinople presently to be mentioned, that the motto of the promoters of the schism was: *ὅτι ἡ τῶν Ρωμαίων ἐκκλησία οὕτως βούλεται.* Harduin. VI. P. I. f. 224. Another said, that had it not been for the subscription, the *χειρογραφά*, by which they believed themselves bound, Photius would no longer have a single opponent. *Ἀλλ' οὕτω παρεσκεύασεν ὁ πόνηρος, ἵνα τὸ τῆς εἰρήνης σύμβολον ὁ σταυρὸς νῦν τοῖς ἀφρονεστέροις σκανδάλου πρόφασις γένηται.* The cross appended to the signatures of the bishops. l. c. f. 244.

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the *material* interest was the chief thing regarded by the Greeks, there would not be so much quarreling about the *form*, which in this affair was the most important thing for the interests of the Romish church; and there would be no thought of protesting against his action, when he insisted that his sentences which in this case would turn out as men would have it, was a decision of the controversy; — a thing which on other occasions men were the least inclined to concede at Constantinople. And he might also hope to advance in no slight measure the material interests of the Roman church, especially touching the ecclesiastical jurisdiction over Bulgaria, by claiming it as a reward for his co-operation in furthering the emperor's designs; — a thing which would never have been conceded to him under other circumstances.

After these views the pope acted. He insisted upon the binding force of his judicial decision, and would abate nothing from the authority of his predecessor. He assumes it as an established point in his letter to the emperor, that Photius had attained to his office in an informal manner; but he attributed to *himself*, as the successor of St. Peter, a plenary power, which, from a regard to the force of circumstances, on account of the general longing after Photius, and for the promotion of the peace of the church, he would now exert, to adjust the informality by his supreme decision, and accord a dispensation from the rule of ecclesiastical law. By virtue of the power belonging to him of binding and loosing, he pronounced Photius and his friends discharged from all the ecclesiastical penalties, to which they were liable by the former decisions. But he assumes in so doing, that Photius will acknowledge it as a deed of grace, and beg for mercy before the assembled synod.[1] At the same time, he established it as a fixed rule, that for the future no layman, no person in a secular office, but only members of the Constantinopolitan clerus, should be elevated to the patriarchal dignity. He furthermore made it an express condition of his recognition of Photius as patriarch, that he should renounce all claims to the ecclesiastical province of Bulgaria.[2] In the official instructions, which the pope drew up for the use of his legates, and which were designed to preserve them from such false steps, as the earlier legates of pope Nicholas had been guilty of,[3] he made the same points valid. He laid it down as a principle on no account to be given up, that Photius should be indebted solely to the pope's decision for the validity of his election to the patriarchal dignity. And in the same manner as the popes sent the pall to all archbishops of the Western church, so his legates should in the presence of the council give to Photius the insignia of his episcopal dignity, and thus invest him with his office.[4]

[1] He says expressly: Eundem Photium satisfaciendo, misericordiam coram synodo quaerendo consacerdotem recipimus.

[2] The letter in its genuine, original form is published by Baronius, at the year 879, N. 7. Harduin. V. f. 1165.

[3] Which commonitorium has been published by Baronius, at the year 879, N. 47. Harduin. Concil. VI. I. f. 208.

[4] The first of the legates presented to him, before the assembled council, in the name of the pope, and as a sign that the latter acknowledged him as patriarch, a *στολὴ ἀρχιερατική*, a *ὠμοφόριον*, a *στιχαρίς*, a *φεβώνιον*, and sandals. Harduin. VI. I. f. 228. That such a transaction of the papal legates should be represented as having taken place at the council, along with seve-

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To constitute an ecumenical council according to the principles of the Greek church, it was necessary that not only the Roman bishop, but also the two or three other patriarchs should be represented.[1] But a council of this sort could not easily be convened under the existing circumstances, because the three other patriarchs lived under the dominion of the Saracens, and any intercourse of their envoys with the Greek empire, would inevitably expose the persons who might consent to undertake such a business as well as all the Christians of those districts to great peril.[2] As an expedient to supply this deficiency, it had been contrived, even as early as the second Nicene council, that certain persons should be appointed to play the part of envoys from the other patriarchs; and it almost seems as if this sham had among the Greeks become one of the customary forms to be observed in the convention of all general councils. In the general council held by Photius at Constantinople in 867, there were persons present who played the part of plenipotentiaries and representatives of the three other patriarchs. But at the church assembly held by Ignatius in 869 at Constantinople, it came out that the whole embassy had been a fraudulent trick; that the pretended envoys were perhaps foreign merchants, who brought and presented forged credentials.[3] But this new council of 869 represented itself as one which, being held with the concurrence of the collective patriarchs, fully came up to the requisitions of an ecumenical council; the ecclesiastics Elias and Thomas appeared as plenipotentiaries of those patriarchs and presented their letters. But a very short time after the breaking up of this council, the deposed Photius in one of his letters declared that an unheard of and unprecedented thing had happened — not unprecedented among the Greeks if the above remarks are true — that Ishmaelite agents and servants should be set up as plenipotentiaries of the patriarchs.[4] And there actually appeared at the church assembly held at Constantinople in 879, delegates with letters from the patriarchs, which unhesitatingly pronounced everything that had been before transacted under their name to be a base fiction, and it was discovered that the pretended plenipotentiaries of the patriarchs were nothing more nor less than agents from the Saracens of those districts, sent on the business of redeeming captives.[5]

If such base cheats were tolerated at these councils for the purpose of obtaining some object which was thought desirable, we shall not be surprised to learn that advantage was taken of the slight knowledge

ral other things, which could not have been invented by persons devoted to the interest of the Greek church, is surely an evidence in favor of the genuineness of the acts of this council, while, at the same time, it may be remarked in general, that those acts contain a great deal drawn immediately from the Byzantine life and manners, and this too characteristically marked, to be possibly conceived as being mere fiction. The correspondence of these acts with the pope's letters serves also to confirm their genuineness.

[1] See Vol. III. p. 228.

[2] See Vol. III. p. 228.

[3] The earlier *τοποτηρηταὶ* are now mentioned as *ψευδοτοποτηρηταὶ*. See Harduin. Concil. T. V. f. 1036, particularly act. VII. f. 876 and 1087. The imperial commissary expresses here the result of the investigation: *ὁ Φώτιος ἀνέπλασεν, ὡς ἠθελε, καὶ τοὺς λόγους καὶ τὰ πρόσωπα.* The question arises, to be sure, whether Photius was really the guilty person?

[4] See ep. 118.

[5] Harduin. VI. I. f. 290.

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possessed by the Latins of the Greek language,[1] and that such a turn was given to the pope's letter in the Greek translation as to make it seem more favorable to the interests of Photius, and to the independence of the Greek church.[2]

The council which met at Constantinople in 879 certainly did not proceed according to the principles expressed by the pope in his letter. It paid him much honor and respect; and a great deal was allowed to pass, which he had said respecting the authority of the Roman church, these things not being taken in so literal a sense; but in essentials they did not yield him an inch. Photius was not going to wait to be placed in the patriarchal office by the papal legates; he considered himself from the first the lawful patriarch. The papal legates who on this point stuck closely to their instructions, continually reiterated, that Photius *had been made lawful patriarch by the decision of the pope;* and they called him to account for having assumed the patriarchal office before their arrival. But it was replied to them, that Photius was already recognized as lawful patriarch long before the papal decision, that he had been called to this office by the will of the emperor, the unanimous choice of the community, and the consent of the three patriarchs; that the bishops of the East, being eye-witnesses of the whole transaction, were better able to judge, than the pope who was so distant.[3] They were told, that their embassy, instead of being intended to restore Photius to his patriarchal dignity, was rather designed to retrieve the honor of the Roman church herself, and to clear her from the suspicion of having promoted a schism of the church.[4] The pope, it is true, had by virtue of his plenary authority taken away from the decrees of the synods held at Rome and Constantinople their binding power for the future, but by this process the authority of these synods in itself considered, was by no means impaired. But it was contrary surely to the intention of the pope, as well as irreconcilable with the papal authority, that the anathema should be pronounced on those two synods.[5]

[1] A protospatharius performed the part of interpreter. It was said by the first of the Roman legates: *διὰ Λέοντος βασιλικοῦ πρωτοσπαθαρίου καὶ ἑρμήνεως διελάλησεν οὕτως.* Harduin. VI. I. f. 231.

[2] This is plain from comparing the letter in the form in which it was read before the council (see Harduin. V. f. 1171) with the original form, in which it has been published by Baronius from a codex Vaticanus. At the same time, we should not, with Baronius, rate this fraud too highly. Had the letter been altered so as entirely to meet the interest of the Greek church, much more must have been wholly omitted, or altered. But the fact is, that all the requisitions of the pope with regard to Photius occur in the Greek translation, though in a milder form. On the other hand, the Greek translation alone contains all that is said in praise of Photius, while whatever had before been done against him is represented as the work of odious intrigues, in which the church of Rome had no share; and everything done at the earlier synods is condemned.

[3] See Harduin. VI. f. 224, 242 and 254. Bishop Procopius of Caesarea in Cappadocia says, f. 243: *οἱ ἐγγίζοντες τοῖς πράγμασι τῶν πορρωτέρω μᾶλλον αὐτῶν τὴν ἀκρίβειαν ἐπίστανται,* and then with a disgusting application of the words of St. John: *καὶ ὧν αἱ χεῖρες ἐψηλάφησαν καὶ οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ ἑωράκασιν τῶν ἐξ ἀκοῆς τὴν γνῶσιν παραλαμβανόντων.*

[4] See fol. 223.

[5] It is true, the allegation, that this whole commonitorium of the papal legates, as found in the acts of the council (Harduin. VI. I. f. 294) is interpolated or corrupted, is unfounded; for it is impossible to see in what way its introduction could promote the interest of the Greek church, while many things occur in it, which stand in di-

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The legates acted up to their instructions also in another respect. They repeatedly brought forward the demand of the pope in regard to the ecclesiastical province of Bulgaria; but repellent, or in the milder phraseology of the Greeks, evasive answers were always given by the bishops of the council. "This affair — said they — does not pertain to us — to determine the boundaries of dioceses is a matter which belongs to the emperor. When the provinces of the several patriarchs should be reünited under the dominion of the emperor, then mutual concessions could be made touching the boundaries of these provinces, so far as the ecclesiastical laws permitted." Photius himself gave fair words to the pope. He said if it depended on him, he would willingly give up even more than the pope required; for charity seeketh not her own. In truth, what was there to be gained by the enlargement of one's diocese, except new cares and labors![1] Again, the pope's demand, that a law should be passed, forbidding any layman, after the death of Photius, to be elevated to the patriarchal dignity, was not complied with. The older examples were once more appealed to — it was said that every church, as the Roman, so also the church of Constantinople, has its own peculiar and traditional customs, by which the letter of the law must be interpreted.[2] On this occasion many of the bishops declared in a noticeable manner against the idea of a separate and fixed caste of priests, and against the too sharply marked distinction between the clergy and the laity. "Of what advantage is it — said Procopius, archbishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia — for a person to be a clergyman or a monk who leads a life inconsistent with his calling? And if on the other hand, a layman faithfully follows the doctrines of the gospel, and by his works shows himself worthy of the priestly or episcopal office, with what propriety can the natural form and cut of his hair (the absence of the tonsure) be considered a hindrance to his engaging in it?"[3] — and the delegates of the other patriarchs declared, "that Christ had not come down to earth merely for the clergy's sake; nor had he set before that order alone the rewards of virtue, but before the collective body of Christians."[4] In the sixth session of this council, the old Nicene-Constantinopolitan creed was, according to the usual practice at general church assemblies, republished as the common witness of the faith, with express rejection of every change of the symbol whereby anything was taken from it or added to it, — in allusion doubtless to the additional clause defining the doctrine concerning the Holy Spirit.

It is evident from all this, that this council had made use of the pope as their instrument, and acted in an entirely different sense from

rect contradiction with the interests and principles of the Greek church. But the passage in the tenth chapter, which treats of the overthrowing of the decrees of those two synods, may doubtless have been more strongly expressed in the Greek version, than the sense contained in the original draft required or permitted.

[1] See l. c. f. 251, 283, 310, etc.

[2] Τό ἔθος αὐτὸ ἱκανόν ἐστι νικᾶν τὸν κανόνα, on which principle, indeed, every abuse might be defended.

[3] F. 283: τί δέ ἐστιν ἐμποδὼν ἡ τῶν τριχῶν φυσικὴ περιβολή, ἐὰν ἐν τῷ τάγματι τῶν λαικῶν ἐξεταζόμενος κατὰ τὰς εὐαγγελικὰς διατάξεις πολιτεύηται.

[4] Fol. 311.

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what he intended. Yet it cannot be said that Photius deceived the pope, for even in his letter to him he protested against the position assumed by the latter, that Photius was to be indebted solely to the mercy of the church for the recognition of the validity of his election as patriarch. He maintained, on the contrary, and the council acted on the same principle, that the patriarchal dignity belonged to him of right, and that as he was not conscious of having done wrong, so he stood in need of no mercy.[1]

The pope, as soon as he received the letter of the patriarch, together with the acts of this council, at once expressed his surprise at finding that the council had, in various particulars, departed from his directions, and even taken the liberty to alter them.[2] He blamed in Photius his want of humility; and gave him to understand that he could recognize him as a brother, only in case he shaped his conduct for the future in the way of submission to the Romish church. In this letter to Photius, as in his letter to the emperor, he declared, it is true, that he compassionately (misericorditer) adopted what had been done by that council of Constantinople, in reference to the restoration of the patriarch to his office; yet he immediately adds, that if his legates should perchance be found to have acted in that synod in a way contrary to the instructions they had received, he adopted no such decrees, and must declare them null and void.[3] He thanked the emperor,[4] that he had given up to the apostle Peter, as was right, the ecclesiastical province of Bulgaria. We may conjecture that the pope had here attached to the fine phrases, which the Greeks were so fond of employing without much regard to their import, a great deal more than the emperor had in his mind. The pope, expressing himself in the manner described, had even at this time sufficiently intimated his dissatisfaction with the conduct of Photius, and of the church assembly at Constantinople. His only reason for delaying, at present, to make use of stronger language, was, as he had explained, that he wished to wait and see how Photius would act, and especially, as we may believe, to see whether he would yield or not in the affair of Bulgaria. But as nothing of this sort was done, he pronounced on him for the second time, probably in the year 881, the sentence of condemnation,[5] and the schism was renewed.

Yet in the year 886, when Photius was, in consequence of political charges, again deposed and banished by Basilius' son and successor, the emperor Leo the Philosopher, and the Ignatian party once more became dominant, the latter restored the old connection with the

[1] That he had written to the pope in this strain, may be gathered from what the latter says, in his answer to Photius, ep. 108. Harduin. VI. I. f. 87: Subintulisti, quod non nisi ab iniqua gerentibus misericordia sit quaerenda.

[2] Ep. 108: Mirandum valde est, cur multa, quae nos statueramus, aut aliter habita, aut mutata esse noscantur, et nesimus, cujus studio vel neglectu variata monstrentur.

[3] Si fortasse nostri legati in eadem synodo contra apostolicam praeceptionem egerint, nos nec recipimus nec judicamus alicujus existere firmitatis.

[4] Ep. 109.

[5] See Mansi Concil. T. XVII. f. 537.

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popes, — an event, however, which was followed by only transitory effects.

In all cases alike, the genuine Christian spirit is found, wherever it prevails, to remove the barriers of separating human ordinances, and unite men on the one common foundation of the Christian life. We see this finely illustrated in the case of the Greek abbot Nilus, of whose life and labors we have spoken in a former part of this volume. His character, viewed on this particular side, shows us that he was a true organ of this spirit; and how much he contributed to promote it, is evident from the fact, that he was respected and loved by the members of the Latin, no less than by those of the Greek church. In Italy, he was received with reverence by the abbot and monks of the abbey of Monte Cassino,[1] who requested him to celebrate mass in their church in the Greek tongue, that God might be all in all (that God might be worshipped and glorified in different forms, that these separating diversities of form might be swallowed up and lost in the spirit of devotion). At first he declined accepting of this testimony of respect, saying: "How shall we, who at present are everywhere humbled on account of our sins, sing the Lord's song in a strange land?" However, he yielded to their importunity, and sung a song composed by himself, in praise of St. Benedict. The conversation of the monks afterwards turned upon the existing difference between the two churches, in reference to fasting on the Sabbath. When asked his own opinion on this matter, Nilus replied, in the words of the apostle Paul: "Let not him that eateth, despise him that eateth not; and let not him which eateth not judge him that eateth, for God hath received both. But why dost thou judge thy brother? Whether *we* therefore eat, or whether ye fast, let us do all to the glory of the Lord." He then referred to the examples of the older church-teachers, which seemed to be in favor of the Greek custom; but added: "We will not contend, however, about this; for fasting cannot injure us; let us rather say with the apostle: Meat commendeth us not to God, 1 Corinth. 8: 8. If the Jews would but honor Christ crucified as their Lord, I should take no offence even though they fasted on Sunday." Upon this, the monks asked him: "If he did not think it a sin, then, to fast on the holy Sunday?" He replied: "Were it a sin, how could St. Benedict fast on Sunday, and on festival days, — and even forget the festival of Easter? Hence we may learn, that whatever is done for the sake of God is good, and not to be rejected; no, not even the slaying of a man — as the example of Phineas teaches. In truth, everything depends on the temper in which a thing is done. And so — he added — *we* do right not to fast on the Sabbath, in opposition to the Manichæans, who reject the Old Testament; and *you are bound to act as you do*, at your particular point of view, — to fast on this day, in order to purify your souls for the celebration of the next following day, consecrated to our Lord's resurrection."

[1] See the above mentioned account of the life of Nilus, c. XI.

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In the year 1024, under the reign of the Greek emperor Basilius II, negotiations passed between the Greek and the Romish church, the object of which was, to induce the pope to renounce the primacy over the whole church, and to consent that the patriarch of Constantinople should be considered on a level with himself; that, as head over the Greek church, a church following her own laws, he should be so far considered an *ἐπίσκοπος οἰκουμενικὸς*. This proposition stood in contradiction with the principles of the Romish church, as handed down from the time of Leo the Great, and with the idea of the church theocracy then prevailing in the Western church. Nothing but the power of a bribe in the then corrupt state of the papacy, where everything was venial, and to a pope like John XIX, who was a stranger to the church interest, could cause such a proposition to be entertained for a moment. But the business, which was meant to be kept a profound secret, soon got wind in Italy, and excited universal indignation. The pious abbot, William of Dijon, who was in the habit of lecturing popes, attacked this pope in the most violent manner, for daring to surrender one iota of the power conferred on St. Peter by Christ himself, and which extended over the whole church.[1] Thus the whole project was frustrated; though there can be no doubt that, even if it had been carried through, the later popes would have refused to be bound by it.

By degrees, however, the consequences of the first schism between the two churches, disappeared; although the churches themselves came into no closer connection with each other. In Italy and in Rome, there were abbots belonging to the Greek church, who followed her particular rites, without being molested on that account; and the same quiet and freedom were enjoyed by abbots and churches of the Latin order in Constantinople. But after the middle of the eleventh century, the schism broke out anew, and was made irreconcilable, by the zeal, no less passionate than bigoted, of Michael Cerularius, patriarch of Constantinople. This person could not bear the sight of churches and monasteries at Constantinople, in which the Latin rites prevailed. In 1053, he caused all churches in which worship was held according to the rites of the Romish church, to be closed; and the abbots, who would not conform to the rites of the Greek church, were confined to their cloisters.[2] In conjunction with Leo, bishop of Achris (Achrida), the metropolitan of Bulgaria, he violently attacked, in a letter addressed to John, bishop of Trani in Apulia, the whole Latin church. This letter was to be directed, at the same time, to all priests and monks of the Franks, and to the pope himself. He here gave prominence to *one* contested point, which had never before come into public discussion.

[1] Glaber Rudolph, l. IV. c. I. He writes: Est fama rei, quae nuper erga nos accidit, de qua quis audiens non scandalizatur, noverit, se longe ab amore superno disparari, quoniam, licet potestas Romani imperii quae olim in orbe terrarum viguit nunc, per diversa terrarum innumeris regatur sceptris, ligandi solvendique in terra ac in coelo potestas dono inviolabili incumbit magisterio Petri.

[2] This pope Leo IX, reports, in his letter to these patriarchs, which we shall cite, c. 29. Harduin. Concil. VI. I. fol. 943.

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It had certainly been the general practice in the churches, at least till into the eighth century,[1] to make use of common bread in the celebration of the Lord's Supper.[2] But as the prevailing theory concerning the nature of this ordinance naturally created an anxiety to distinguish it outwardly also from a common transaction, and as the spiritual tendency of these times, scarcely able to discriminate between things essential and things accidental, aimed more at a material, than a formal agreement of the celebration of the Lord's Supper with its institution, so in the ninth century, the use of unleavened bread[3] in the celebration of the Supper was introduced into the Western church, which was held to be necessary on the assumption, that the last Supper of Christ with his disciples was a proper passover meal, and that he therefore used unleavened bread. Afterwards a peculiar mystical meaning was supposed to be connected with this usage. In the Greek church, on the contrary, the ancient practice was retained; but it belonged to the bigoted, fleshly zeal of such a man as the abovementioned patriarch of Constantinople, to attach importance to so insignificant a matter. In the use of unleavened bread he detected an inclination to Judaism. Fasting on the Sabbath in Lent he also without any good reason called a Jewish custom.[4] On the other hand, forgetting the very principle on which these accusations were based, he made the non-observance of the apostolic prohibition, forbidding the eating of things strangled, a matter of special complaint. This letter happened to fall into the hands of cardinal Humbert, respecting whose zeal as a polemic we have already spoken. He translated it into Latin, and laid it before pope Leo IX. The latter published a

[1] That in the seventh century, it was not the practice to use unleavened bread in celebrating the Lord's Supper, may be gathered from a church ordinance made near the close of this century, which has been incorrectly adduced as an evidence on the other side, — the sixth canon of the 16th council of Toledo, of the year 693. It is directed against an abuse practised by many of the Spanish priests, who used fragments of their ordinary household bread in celebrating the Lord's Supper (passim, quomodo unumquemque aut necessitas impulerit aut voluntas coëgerit, de panibus suis usibus praeparatis crustulam in rotunditatem auferant). Now if it had been customary at that time to make use of unleavened bread, those priests would have been censured for making use of other bread than unleavened, and ordered to use the latter alone. This however was not done; but it was only established as a fixed rule: Ut non aliter panis in altari proponatur, nisi integer et nitidus, qui ex studio fuerit praeparatus. We shall be more likely to find in a passage in Alcuin some indication of the use of unleavened bread in the celebration of the eucharist, ep. 75, ed. Froben. T. I. f. 106: Panis, qui in corpus Christi consecratur absque fermento ullius alterius inefectionis debet esse mundissimus. Yet even here we may understand the sense to be, that nothing but what was usually employed in the making of bread, no foreign material, should be introduced, just as no other foreign element was to be mixed with the water and the wine.

[2] See Vol. I. p. 331.

[3] Rabanus Maurus, l. I. De ecclesiasticis officiis, c. 31, requires that panis infermentatus should be used in the eucharist; and in the vision of the Spanish bishop Ildefonsus, A. D. 845, which Mabillon published with his Dissertatio de akzymo et fermentato, in his ouvrages posthumes, T. I. p. 189, it is spoken of as customary to use unleavened bread in the Lord's Supper.

[4] Sabbata quomodo in quadragesima Judaice observatis? See the letter in Canisii Lectiones antiquae, ed. Basnage, T. III. P. I. f. 282. To this cardinal Humbert could rightly reply, that the reproach of Judaizing applied more properly to the Greeks. Vos si non Judaisatis, dicite cur Judaeis in simili observantia sabbati communicatis? Sabbatum certe ipsi celebrant et vos celebratis, epulantur ipsi et solvunt semper in sabbato jejunium. L. c. f. 285.

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long letter in reply,[1] in which he passed lightly over the material part of the charge, but took special notice of the formal, contrasting the indisputable and decisive authority of the church of the apostle Peter, an apostle who must beyond all doubt have committed to her the tradition of the truth on all important points, with the church of Constantinople always troubled by false doctrines and by schisms. With still greater justice might he contrast the spirit of tolerance and charity, which, in respect to these merely external differences, still prevailed in the Romish church, with the bigoted zeal of the patriarch.[2] A lengthened refutation of the particular charges against the church of Rome was afterwards composed by cardinal Humbert himself, in a writing in which the complaints of the Constantinopolitan are introduced along with the replies of the Roman.[3] He here shows himself to be a man decidedly superior to his opponent in intellectual power, and insight into the essence of Christianity. He expresses himself on many points with more liberality than was to be expected from him, after having given such other proofs of his spirit. He points out the contradiction in which his opponent involved himself by accusing the Latins of a Judaizing tendency, and still reproaching them with the non-observance of a law about eating borrowed from the Old Testament.[4] But if the authority of those ordinances should be held valid as apostolical, then he maintained on the contrary, that they originated in a time when Christianity had not as yet come to its wholly independent development; that the gospel shone first with a dawning light, gradually dispelling the shades of Judaism, during which the apostles themselves wavered in a certain sense between Christianity and Judaism. Hence these ordinances, belonging as they did to a stage of transition, could possess only a transient validity.[5] He charges the Greeks with attending to these outward things, to the neglect of faith and love, which constitute the essence of Christianity.[6]

[1] Harduin. Concil. VI. I. f. 927.

[2] Vid. c. 29: Cum intra et extra Romam plurima Graecorum reperiantur monasteria sive ecclesiae, nullum eorum adhuc perturbatur vel prohibetur a paterna traditione sive sua consuetudine, quin potius suadetur et admonetur, eam observare. Scit namque, quia nihil obsunt saluti credentium diversae pro loco et tempore consuetudines, quando una fides per dilectionem operans bona quae potest, uni Deo commendat omnes.

[3] In the above cited Collection of Canisius, ed. Basnage, III. I. f. 283.

[4] Numquid vobis solis licet, quidquid libet, ut modo ad legis patrocinium humiliter recurratis et modo ab ea superbe resiliatis?

[5] Pro loco et tempore nonnulla carnalia veteris legis mandata apostolos observasse scimus, quando adhuc quasi in matutino crepusculo tenebrae et lux confulgebant et intuentium oculos nunc huc, nunc illuc reducebant, sic apostoli in Judaea commorati aliquando claritate evangelii expergefacti ab umbra legis recedebant, aliquando necessitate vel consuetudine torpentes in eam recidebant. f. 304. The opinion here expressed, that the apostles came gradually to a clearer and fuller knowledge of Christianity, is remarkable in an author of this period.

[6] Considerate, ad quantam stultitiam devoluta sit vestra scriptura et sapientia, quae eum ab hominibus exquirere deberet finem praeceptorum Dei, id est caritatem de corde puro et conscientia bona et fide non ficta, hoc solum exquirendum putat, an aliquando comederint carnem ursinam. He admits that the Latins also considered themselves bound to abstain from eating things strangled in their blood, — but this only in reference to animals found dead, in opposition to the practice of barbarians: Sanguine quocunque morticinio aut aquis seu quacunque negligentia humana praefocato apud nos aliquando vescentibus absque extremo periculo vitae hujus poenitentia gravis imponitur, nam de caeteris, quae aucupio aut canibus seu laqueo venantium moriuntur-apostoli praeceptum, 1 Cor. 10 sequimur.

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But the renewal of this schism was, on account of the great influence of the pope among the Occidentals, altogether opposed to the political interests of the Greek emperor Constantine Monomachus, who therefore took every pains to make up the difficulty. By personal application, and through the medium of the patriarch Michael, he entered into negotiations of peace with the pope. The latter met his advances, and shortly before his death in 1054, sent an embassy consisting of three persons to Constantinople to settle the terms of agreement. Cardinal Frederic, archdeacon of the church of Rome, stood at the head of this embassy; cardinal Humbert, and Peter, archbishop of Amalfi, were his coadjutors. The lofty tone in which, as papal legates, they thought themselves entitled to speak, had a direct tendency to excite against them the prejudices of a patriarch, who had ever been accustomed to slavish submissiveness in the clergy.[1] Humbert composed here the work we have just mentioned in refutation of the charges of the patriarch Michael, and also another, against a second violent attack, made in the like spirit, on the Latin church by the priest Nicetas Pectoratus, of the monastery of Studion. The patriarch, after a first visit from the legates, avoided all further intercourse with them; being determined to make no concessions, and to suffer no humiliation.[2] He persisted in declaring, that on so weighty a matter, touching the interests of the whole Greek church, nothing could be done except with the concurrence of the other patriarchs, and that the emperor could not force the patriarch of Constantinople. But the more feeble minded Nicetas was obliged to accommodate himself to the emperor's will, who was determined to obtain peace with the pope at any price, and retracted in presence of the emperor and of the legates, what he had said in his book against the Romish church, pronouncing sentence of condemnation on all those, who did not acknowledge the Romish church as first in rank and orthodox in faith. His work was committed to the flames. And the legates finding they could obtain no interview with the patriarch himself, repaired to the church of St. Sophia, where they publicly condemned him and all who thought like him, depositing on the altar a fiercely written document, in which this condemnation was embodied. By this step, all the negotiations were broken up. The patriarch did, indeed, summon the legates to appear before a council; but the emperor caused them to be secretly warned against obeying this summons; for the fury of the multitude excited against the defamers of the Greek church might easily expose them to danger. It was no longer safe for them to remain in Constantinople.[3] The emperor himself, to avoid the

[1] The patriarch Michael, in his letter to Peter, patriarch of Antioch, giving a report of this embassy, complains of the *ὑπερηφανεία, ἀλαζονεία* and *αὐθάδεια* of the envoys. But it was surely absurd in him to expect from the papal legates the *συνήθης προσκύνησις* of the Greek clergy, or to hint to those who represented the person of the pope that they ought to take their place behind the metropolitans. Vid. Ecclesiae Graecae monumenta ed. Coteler. T. II. pag. 139.

[2] As he says himself in his second letter Coteler. monumenta II. p. 164: *ἡμεῖς τὴν αὐτῶν συντυχίαν παρητησάμεθα καὶ τὴν ἔντευξιν.*

[3] There are two reports of these occurrences, one drawn up by the cardinal Humbert in the before mentioned Collection of Canisius, l. c. fol. 325; another in the

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appearance of being an enemy to the Greek church, was obliged to yield on every point to the exasperated patriarch, what he demanded for the maintenance of his honor: — the punishments which could not light on the legates, fell on the Greek interpreters, who had translated Humbert's condemnatory document into the Greek language. The innocent had to suffer for the guilty. Thus this pretended mission of peace only served to provoke a still more hostile spirit in the Greek church towards Rome than had existed before, which expresses itself in two letters, addressed soon after these events by the patriarch Michael to Peter, patriarch of Antioch. In these letters, he sums up against the church of Rome a far greater number of accusations true and false, than was contained in his former one.[1]

From this time the two parties called each other by the heretical names, Azymites and Prozymites or Fermentarians. For the rest, this controversy led to interesting inquiries respecting the use of leavened or unleavened bread in the celebration of the eucharist among the Greeks, who felt themselves called upon to refute the charge that they had departed from the institution of Christ himself. Peter, the patriarch of Antioch, attempted to prove that Christ, who foresaw that his passion would occur on the very day appointed for holding the passover, inasmuch as his passion corresponded to the offering of the paschal lamb, anticipated the passover-meal one day in his supper with the disciples, holding it on the thirteenth of the month Nisan, so that he could not therefore as yet have used unleavened bread;[2] and he succeeded very well in making out this point from the gospel of John, though not so well in bringing the account contained in the other gospels into harmony with this. But he assumed that John, who wrote last, was the most accurate; that he intended more exactly to define what the others had stated inexactly, and that the others should therefore be interpreted in accordance with him. To another polemic, who wrote on this subject towards the close of the eleventh century, Theophylact, archbishop of Achrida, this hypothesis seemed offensive; and he therefore believed it

Greek language by Michael Cerularius in his work De libris et rebus ecclesiasticis Graecis, Paris, 1646, p. 161. These two reports, though they agree in all essential points, yet sometimes contradict each other. The contradictions, however, are doubtless owing in part to the circumstance that in the Greek official report it was deemed necessary to conceal everything, which might seem to reflect on the Greek church, and especially to the equivocal part played by the Greek emperor, who represented the matter in one way to the legates, to whom he wished to appear desirous of maintaining peace with the Romish church, and in another to the patriarch, whom he wished to conciliate. He prevaricated, after the regular Byzantine fashion; hence, as a matter of course, the conduct of the emperor is represented in two opposite ways in the two reports.

[1] Among these, we may be surprised to find it asserted that the Latins did not worship relics, nor many among them, images. Monumenta eccles. Graec. l. c. p. 144. The patriarch Peter himself saw how destitute of foundation this charge was, and defended the Roman church against it. l. c. p. 158. The more just and moderate Theophylact, in his tract περὶ ὧν ἐγκαλοῦνται Λατῖνοι, (which has been published by Mingarelli in his Anecdotorum fasciculus, Romae, 1756, pag. 287) calls this accusation a σατανικὴ συκοφαντία. But the Greek zealots were glad to see the Latins placed in the same category with the odious εἰκονομάχοις. Perhaps what had been heard concerning the principles of the older Frankish church, furnished the occasion for this accusation.

[2] See the analysis of the patriarch Peter in the above cited Collection of Cotelerius, T. II. pag. 123, etc.

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necessary to admit that Christ, who held with his disciples a proper feast of the passover, used unleavened bread. But he maintained, that it by no means followed from this that the church must necessarily use unleavened bread, in all succeeding celebrations of the Lord's Supper; for a *material* uniformity with the manner in which Christ then performed this transaction was by no means requisite, nor indeed practicable. For, on this supposition, it would be necessary to use precisely the same kind of bread and wine which Christ then used; on the presumption that he used common barley loaves,[1] as when he fed the five thousand, men would be bound to use barley bread in the Lord's Supper, and not wheat bread; and to use the wine of Palestine. It would be necessary that the sacred act should follow after a meal, and be performed in a recumbent posture; and that a hall or chamber should be used for its observance. But, by virtue of their Christian liberty, men were freed from the obligation of observing uniformity in these matters; and hence they should no longer consider themselves bound to use unleavened bread.[2]

Apart from the fierce zealots, who, agitated by their heated passions, attached the same importance to all the points in dispute, seeking only to multiply them, stood at the beginning of the new controversy Peter, the patriarch of Antioch; and, at a later period, archbishop Theophylact, one of his followers, who had been very active in renewing the dispute. Both distinguished themselves by the superior coolness, the spirit of Christian love and moderation, which they manifested in controversy, and which enabled them to separate, in the different usages, essentials from non-essentials. Both agreed in this respect, that they defended the Latin church against things unjustly laid to her charge; and that they regarded the dogmatical difference, touching the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, as the only important one. "We are bound — writes the patriarch Peter of Antioch[3] — to have some respect, at all times, to the good intentions of men; and more particularly are we bound, where it can be done without danger to the cause of God or of the faith, to be always inclined to the side of peace and brotherly love. Even the Latins, we are bound to recognize as brethren, though, from want of culture, or through ignorance, they often lean to their own understandings, and turn aside from the right path; and from a rude people we should not require the same accuracy as we do from the cultivated Greeks."[4] As to Theophylact, he also declares the doctrine concerning the Holy Spirit to be the only important point of controversy between the Greeks and the Latins. On this point nothing should be conceded by the Greeks, however loftily the Latins might appeal to the lofty episcopal see,[5] and to the confession of St. Peter, and bluster about the keys of the kingdom of heaven. Here even he must contend, who on other

[1] By virtue of the *εὐτέλεια τοῦ βίου.*

[2] See the above cited tract of Theophylact, c. 9. l. c. pag. 273.

[3] L. c. Coteler. p. 155.

[4] *Μὴ τοσαύτην ἀκρίβειαν ἐπιζητεῖν ἐν βαρβάροις ἔθνεσιν, ἣν αὐτοὶ περὶ λόγους ἀναστρεφόμενοι ἀπαιτούμεθα.*

[5] *Κἂν ἀπὸ τοῦ θρόνου τοὺς λόγους ποιῶνται, ὃν ὑψηλὸν ὑψηλοὶ προςτιθέασι.*

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points might choose to be mild.[1] But even here he insisted that men ought not to strive about words, but should endeavor to come to an understanding with each other about conceptions. Perhaps the Latins had erred simply on account of the poverty of their language, inasmuch as they employ the same term to denote the causality of the *communication* of the Holy Spirit, and the causality of his being; and in this case, the poverty of their language should excuse the imperfection of their creed. Having come to an agreement in their conceptions, men should praise God in the *unity of spirit*.[2] The Latins, he observed, moreover, might retain the less accurate forms of expression in their homiletic discourses, if they only guarded against misconception, by carefully explaining their meaning. It was only in the confession of faith in the symbol, that perfect clearness was requisite. On all the other contested points, the principle should be followed, of tolerating the lesser evil, for the sake of guarding against a greater. Many things, which it would be difficult to alter, must be tolerated, for the sake of maintaining Christian fellowship. After the example of the apostles, to the weak we must become weak; and imitate Christ, who was numbered with the transgressors, and gave up his life, that he might bring together the dispersed children of God, and unite them all in one fold, under one shepherd. He denounced the selfish, pharisaical zeal, that found pleasure in reviving long forgotten heretical names, and applying them where there was not the least reason for it. "Let us beware of such conduct — so he concludes his discourse — servants of Christ, friends, brothers, lest we become estranged from God, who draws all men to him by his forbearance, while we, I was about to say, repel all men from us, by our pride of opinion."[3]

IV. Reaction of the Sects upon the Dominant Church, and its System of Doctrine.

It still remains for us to trace, in the history of the sects of this period, the indications of a reäction, extending through the whole middle ages, — the reäction of a spirit striving after a greater freedom of development. This, however, did not always proceed from the same main tendency of the religious consciousness, in opposition to the church-theocratical system, or in opposition to the mixture of Jewish and Christian elements in the dominant church system. And here it will be necessary, in the first place, to point out the connection of the events now to be noticed, with the history of the Paulicians in the preceding period. The earlier persecutions of the Paulician sect had promoted its spread; had tended, in particular, to further its extension beyond the then limits of the East Roman empire, into dis-

[1] Vid. § 14.
[2] Vid. § 5 et 6.
[3] Μὴ οὕτως ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀλλοτριῶμεν θεοῦ, τοῦ πάντας διὰ τῆς Χρηστότητος ἑλκοντος, αὐτοὶ διὰ τὴν ὑπερηφανίαν πάντας σ εδὸν ἀπωθούμενοι.

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tricts where it met with a favorable reception from the most formidable enemies of that empire, the Saracens; and the same was the result, when these persecutions were revived and pushed to a more violent extreme, by the fanatical zeal of the empress Theodora, in propagating the doctrines of the church. Military officers were sent to the districts of Armenia, to extirpate the Paulicians; and multitudes were hung, beheaded, drowned, and their property confiscated. The number of the victims to this outrage is reckoned at not less than a hundred thousand.[1] The consequence was, that a man attached to the imperial army itself, Carbeas, first adjutant[2] to the commander-in-chief of the imperial troops in the eastern part of the empire, exasperated by the execution of his father, and, being a Paulician himself, fearing for his own safety, fled, with five thousand members of the sect, to the province of Melitene, a part of Armenia subject to the dominion of the Saracens, where Paulicians had already established themselves at some earlier period.[3] The number of the Paulicians was here so great, that, besides the city of Argeum, mentioned in the preceding period, they were now able to found two others, Amara and Tephrica. In conjunction with the Saracens, they often committed serious depredations upon the Greek empire. About the year 969, the emperor John Tzimesces, at the request of Theodore, patriarch of Antioch,[4] transported many of this sect, which it was thought desirable to remove from the eastern districts, to Philippopolis, in Thrace,[5] where they were established as a watch over the boundaries of the empire; and as they had already, in the ninth century,[6] sought to effect an entrance into the new church of Bulgaria,[7] so they now availed themselves of this opportunity to make still further progress in that country, and to extend themselves into other parts of Europe.

But it was in Asia, and particularly in Armenia and the adjacent countries, the original birth-place of this sect, where it was still found to flourish in perpetual vigor, deriving fresh nourishment and impulse from new mixtures of Christian elements with the old Oriental religions. In Armenia, a sect had maintained itself from the older times, sprung from the mixture of the Zoroastrian worship of Ormuzd with a few elements of Christianity. The members of this sect were called Arevurdis, or children of the sun, on account of their worship of that luminary.[8] The Paulicians differed from *this sect*, in that they adopted more elements from Christianity; yet, even among the

[1] Constantin. Porphyrogenet. continuat. l. IV. c. 16. fol. 103. ed. Paris.

[2] Πρωτομανδάτωρ.

[3] See Vol. III. p. 507.

[4] Vid. Zonarae Annales l. 17.

[5] Where their descendants still continue to live, as appears from the ἐγχειρίδιον περὶ τῆς ἐπαρχίας Φιλιππουπόλεως, pag. 27 et 28, published by the priest and oeconomus of the Greek church in this town, named Constantine. Vienna, 1819.

[6] According to the testimony of Peter of Sicily. See Vol. III. p. 251.

[7] Comp. also above, p. 309.

[8] For this, as also for the following accounts, I am indebted to the kindness of my worthy friend and colleague, the learned promoter of Armenian literature among us, Dr. Petermann, who has furnished me with passages translated from Tschamtschean's History of Armenia. P. I. p. 765 etc. which contain excerpts from earlier records.

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different parties of the Paulicians, there seem to have existed certain gradations, according to their different relations to Parsism and to Christianity, and their inclination, on the whole, to the one or to the other. Between the years 833 and 854, the sect in Armenia took a new form and a new impulse, from a person named Sembat, who sprung up in the province of Ararat, and, although by birth and education a Paulician, yet, having entered into some connection with a certain Medschusic, a Persian physician and astronomer,[1] was led, under his influence, to attempt a new combination of Parsism and Christianity. He established himself in the village Thondrac, from which circumstance his sect obtained the name of Thondracians.[2] This sect, though it met with no mercy from the bishops, at whose instigation it was fiercely persecuted, continually revived, and spread widely in Armenia.[3] At one time, in particular, about the year 1002, it made the most alarming progress; when, as we are told, it was joined by bishop Jacob, spiritual head of the province of Harkh. But since Christianity in Armenia was extremely corrupted by superstition, and a host of ceremonial observances, growing out of the mixture of Christian and Jewish elements, which latter abounded to a still greater extent here than in other countries, the question naturally arises, whether everything which was opposed to these foreign elements, and which, in this opposition, united its strength with that of the Paulicians, though proceeding, in other respects, from entirely different principles, was not wrongly attributed by the defenders of the then dominant church-system, to the influence of the Paulician sect. Supposing the case to have been so, it may be conjectured that bishop Jacob was one of those men, who, by the study of the sacred Scriptures, and of the older church teachers, had caught the spirit of reform, — a conjecture which is certainly corroborated by the fact, that two synods were unable to convict him of any heresy. If, how-

[1] Hence, probably, a man who, after the oriental fashion, busied himself with astrology and necromancy, which called in the aid of those other sciences. Michael Psellus says the same thing of the Euchites, respecting whom we shall presently speak.

[2] According to the Armenian accounts, which we follow, in the above mentioned History of Armenia, Tom. II. p. 884—895, we might suppose that this sect took a pantheistic, antinomian direction, favoring every species of immorality, such as we find in the case of many of the older Gnostic sects, and such as Michael Psellus ascribes to a portion of the Euchites; for it is said of them, that they rejected the doctrine of a providence, of a life after death, of the grace of the Holy Spirit, all morality, all the sacraments of the church, that they acknowledged no law and no restraints, and asserted that there was no sin, and no punishment. But the bitterness of polemical passion, the prevalent credulity and superstition among the Armenians, who were prepared to say the worst things of these heretics, and who wanted sense and capacity to enter candidly into the connection and coherence of the opinions of their opponents, render their accounts extremely liable to suspicion; and their own remark, that these people endeavored to entice the simple, by the show of a pious and strict life, which was only hypocrisy, betrays evidence that they indulged in malicious interpretation. As the members of these sects kept their doctrines secret, and accommodated themselves, in various ways, to reigning opinions, so there is the less reason to expect that those who took no especial pains for it, would learn anything certain about their doctrines.

[3] Those who were treated in the mildest way, were, for the terror of others, branded in the forehead with the image of a fox, as a sign of the heretic, who creeps slyly into the Lord's vineyard, seeking to destroy it.

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ever, he was actually connected with the Paulicians, it was, assuredly, with those of the better stamp, with those who, in their efforts to bring about a restoration of apostolic simplicity, and in their opposition to the intermixture of Judaism with Christianity, represented the spirit of Marcion. His fierce opponents themselves acknowledge, that he was distinguished for the austerity of his life; and his priests, who travelled through the land as preachers of repentance, were men of the same simple and abstemious habits. He and his followers denounced the false confidence which was placed in masses, oblations, alms, church-prayers, as if it were possible, by these means, to obtain the forgiveness of sins. His own act alone, said they, can help the individual who has sinned; a sentiment which could easily be misrepresented, and made to signify that they pronounced all other means to be worthless. He declared himself opposed to the animal sacrifices practised in the Armenian church.[1] Once, some of his followers happened to be present, when animals were offered as an oblation for the dead. "Thou poor beast, — said one of them — the man sinned through his whole life, and then died; but what sin hast thou done, that thou must die with him?" This bishop met with great success among the clergy, the people, and the nobles, until finally the Catholicus, or spiritual chief of the Armenian church, craftily succeeded in getting possession of his person. He first caused him to be branded with the heretical mark, and then to be carried from place to place, attended by a common crier, to proclaim him a heretic, and expose him to the public scorn. After this he was thrown into a dungeon, from which he managed to effect his escape, but was finally killed by his enemies.

Thus the Paulicians and other kindred sects though occasionally suppressed continually sprung up anew in Armenia till the middle of the eleventh century; and from this point they spread abroad into other regions, particularly the adjacent provinces of the Roman empire, partly from compulsion and to escape the violence of persecution and partly from the desire of multiplying converts to their own doctrines.

In the Greek church, there appeared in the eleventh century a sect already numerous and which perhaps had long been spreading in secret, under the name of the Euchites,[2] or Enthusiasts, as they were

[1] Offerings, at the celebration of festivals in memory of the dead, as oblations, in the name of the latter. The meat-offering was sprinkled with consecrated salt, then distributed among the poor; sacrificial feasts were held as agapae, to which the poor were invited. The Armenian church teachers derived these customs from an accommodation to the weaknesses of the converted pagans, of which we have similar examples in the older church. See Vol. II. p. 335. The prevailing superstition of fire-worship in Armenia, would, however, furnish less occasion for such customs, which, perhaps, may with more propriety be traced to an intermixture of Judaism and Christianity, which intermixture it was afterwards sought to defend. Vid. Nersetis Clajensis opera. Venet. 1833. Vol. I. pag. 40. The Armenian canons, in the Work of Joannes Ozniensis. Venet. 1834, p. 61. Conciliationis ecclesiae Armeniae cum Romana auctore Clemente Galano. Romae. 1661. P. II. pag. 405.

[2] The learned Constantinopolitan, Michael Psellus the younger, who flourished after the middle of the eleventh century, composed a dialogue, in which a certain Timotheus and a Thracian are the interlocutors, which treats concerning the doc-

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called by the people. They were denominated Euchites from their mode of praying, which they represented as the height of Christian perfection, and exalted above every other religious act, and enthusiasts from their boasted ecstasies (ἐνθουσιασμοί) in which they pretended to receive special revelations, and to enjoy immediate intercourse with the spiritual world. This sectarian name recals the Euchites, or as they were denominated after a Slavonian rendering of the same word, the Bogomiles, of the twelfth century, and also the older Euchites[1]; for the same mystical, theosophic bent, and the similar circumstance which in the earlier times gave origin to the name of the sect, constitute a relationship between the older and the more recent Euchites; also the dualistic element would easily find in their doctrines, as we have explained on a former page, a convenient foothold, and in the East such sects might be secretly propagated, with slight changes, from age to age. These new Euchites appeared also in Mesopotamia, and in the character of monks, like the older sect.[2] The Greek monks in the tenth century often boasted of having received special revelations, of possessing the gift of prophecy,[3] and these Euchites might propagate themselves without being detected under the assumed character of monks, or their common sympathy with the monks on these points might easily gain for them an admission into some monastic order.

Respecting the doctrines of these Euchites the information we derive from Michael Psellus, the only writer, who can be relied upon as good authority, is very scanty and inexact; it is sufficient however, to show that they had some connection with sects originating in Armenia, and with the Bogomiles and Catharians of after times. Agreeing with the doctrine of Zoroaster, they believed in one perfect original being, from whom they derived two sons, the good and the evil principle. Their doctrine touching the relation of these two principles to each other, seems to have constituted according as it inclined one way or the other either to an *absolute* or to a *relative* Dualism, a main difference, and indeed the ground of two several parties, in this sect. And to this same distinction it may be remarked is to be referred also the main difference between the Bogomiles and the Catharians, and among the Catharians themselves of after times. They differed, that is, either as they supposed that the evil principle was a spirit originally evil, or a spirit originally good, but who by

trines of these sects, but especially concerning the appearances of demons, with whose help many extraordinary things were said to be done among them. His διάλογος περὶ ἐνεργείας δαιμόνων, ed. Gaulmin. Paris 1615. Here it is said of them (p. 5): τινάς θεομάχους ἄνδρας ἐν μέσῳ στρέφεσθαι τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἱεροῦ κόμματος, whether by the holy stamp here we are to understand the stamp of the catholic church, to which these Euchites had attached themselves assuming the appearance of catholic Christians, or whether we are to understand by it monks and ecclesiastics as distinguished from other Christians, since the Euchites had found their way even among these.

[1] See Vol. II. p. 241.

[2] See the tract of Michael Psellus already cited, p. 37.

[3] See in particular Leo Diaconus Hist. IV. 7 ed. Hase, in the new collection pag. 64, where in citing a prophecy, it is added: εἴτε πρός τῶν τὰ μετέωρα περισκοπούντων τινὸς, εἴτε καὶ τῶν μονάδα βίον ἐπανῃρημένων and V. 5.

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virtue of his free-will had apostatized from God, though he would finally be recovered again to goodness. According to the doctrine of this latter class, the spirit, clothed at the beginning with the supreme power, the elder of the two sons of the Supreme God, revolted against the Father, and produced the visible world with the intention of founding in it an independent kingdom. The younger spirit, Christ, remained loyal to God, and took the other's place. Christ will destroy the kingdom of the evil one, and prosecute his redeeming work until the general restitution.[1] If we might credit the report of Michael Psellus, one party of the Euchites made the evil spirit himself an object of worship; but this is altogether unlikely.[2] The character of such a party we might safely presume, would be thoroughly immoral as the natural result of their principle; and it would be exclusively to this party we should have to refer what Michael Psellus relates concerning the immoral excesses, nightly committed after the extinguishing of the lights, in the secret assemblies of these sects.[3] But as the same stories are to be met with in every age, concerning the secret meetings of sects stigmatized as heretical, they must ever be considered as extremely liable to suspicion. It is possible, that the Euchites by their knowledge of some of the hidden powers of nature, particularly of magnetism, may have been able to produce effects which excited the wonder of beholders.[4] The sect seems to have had a regular constitution; their presiding officers were called apostles.[5] Even at this early period, the sect was threatened with a persecution from Constantinople, and an imperial commissioner was appointed and despatched to carry it into effect.[6]

[1] Something akin to the doctrine of these Euchites is to be found in the apocryphal gospel by John, which sprung up among the Bogomiles and was brought by the Catharists of Bulgaria into France, published last by Thilo in the first volume of his valuable work, the Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti. We shall have more to say on this subject in the history of the following periods, when we more carefully explain the doctrine of the Bogomiles and of the different parties of the Catharists.

[2] A transition point to the formation of such a party, if such a party ever existed, or an occasion for the report that such a party actually existed, is to be found in what Michael Psellus cites as a principle entertained by the better class of Euchites: *τὸν πρεςβύτερον* (the Satanael) *οὐκ ἀτιμάζοντες* (perhaps we should read: *οὐ τιμῶντες*) *μὲν, φυλαττόμενοι δὲ αὐτὸν, ὡς κακοποιεῖν δυνάμενον*, see pag. 9. This agrees with what, according to the report of Euthymius Zigabenus, Basilius, the teacher of the Bogomiles, in the twelfth century, cited from an apocryphal gospel, as the words of Christ: *τιμᾶτε τὰ δαιμόνια οὐχ' ἵνα ὠφελήθητε παρ' αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴ βλάψωσιν ὑμᾶς*. Satanael and his angels have the dominion of the world; whoever therefore would acquire earthly goods and avert earthly calamities, needed their assistance.

[3] L. c. pag. 21.

[4] P. 69, cites the example of a woman, who in a paroxysm, in which she was set by a wizard from Armenia, made use of the Armenian language before unknown to her, then fell asleep, and afterwards had no further consciousness of what befel her. We leave it for others, who have more carefully examined the phenomena of magnetism and somnambulism to judge of this story. We mention it only on account of its analogy with phenomena of both older and later times (comp. e. g. a similar story in the book of Pomponatius de naturalium effectuum admirandorum causis, p. 142 et seq. and comp. also Vol. I. p. 514,) and as hinting at the means which such sects may have employed.

[5] P. 18: *τοῖς προέστωσι τοῦ δόγματος, εἰς οὓς καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀποστόλων καταῤῥάπτουσι προςηγορίαν*. In this there lies a resemblance to the Manichaeans. See Vol. I. p. 504, and to the Paulicians, in asmuch as the latter were fond of giving apostolic names to the leaders and teachers of their sect, see Vol. III. p. 264.

[6] If Michael Psellus represents himself under the name of "the Thracian," then

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In *this* period, we obtain also more exact information respecting the sect of Athinganians; and we find the remarks already made in the third volume (p. 269) concerning the derivation and meaning of this name confirmed; but we must modify the remarks then made touching the relationship of this sect with the Paulicians. It is clear that this sect, which had its principal seat in the city of Amorion, in Upper Phrygia, where many Jews resided, sprung out of a mixture of Judaism and Christianity. They united baptism with the observance of all the rites of Judaism, circumcision excepted. We may perhaps recognize in them a branch of the older Judaizing sects; and it is possible that the sect, against which Paul contends in the epistle to the Colossians,[1] had been able to maintain itself until this time in Phrygia.[2]

Such sects, springing up in the East, extended themselves, amid the confusions of the tenth century, into the West.[3] Many indications denote a diffusion of them from Italy; nor indeed can there be any doubt that the seeds of such sects had found their way into Italy from Greece and the adjacent districts. The corruption of the clergy furnished the heretics a most important vantage-ground from which to attack the dominant church, and its sacraments. The ignorance of the people on religious subjects exposed them to be continually deceived by those who were seeking on whatever side to work upon the minds of the multitude. The fickle populace were excited sometimes by the fiery appeals of the heretics, whose rigid, abstemious lives had won their respect, to abhorrence of their corrupt clergy, and to enthusiasm for their new teachers; and sometimes, by the influence of the clergy, to fanatical fury against the heretics, who were represented as utterly irreligious and godless men. The awakened spirit of inquiry among the clergy of France in the eleventh century, procured ready admittance also among them for attacks upon the church doctrine. Amid the confusions of this century, such heretics — merely from the admiration they inspired by their strict, unmarried life, their abstinence from all animal food and intoxicating drinks — might become objects of veneration, while, by reason of their outward compliance with the observances of the church, they could propagate themselves without being known or disturbed. Thus we find them emerging at once in the eleventh century, in countries the most diverse, and the most remote from each other, in Italy, France, and even to the Harz districts in Germany.[4] Some resemblance which was observed between these

he is himself the person who was charged to look after the Euchites, and he thence obtained his knowledge of the sect. See p. 61. He states here, that in a paroxysm of "enthusiasm" the leader of the sect predicted that a certain person whom he described as Michael Psellus then unknown to him, would be sent to persecute them.

[1] Col. 2: 21 et seq.

[2] The passage we here avail ourselves of is in Constant. Porphyrogenet. Continuat. l. II. c. III. f. 27. ed. Paris.

[3] Certainly not less evident than the oneness of the Euchites of the eleventh, and the Bogomiles of the twelfth century, is the derivation from these of the sects that emerged in the Western church during the eleventh century.

[4] For in the Chronicle of Hermannus Contractus it is stated, at year 1052, that when the emperor Henry III. was celebrating Christmas in Goslar, quosdam ibi haereticos Manichaeos, omnis esum animalis execrantes, consensu omnium, ne haeretica scabies serperet in plures, in patibulo suspendi fecit. Canisii lectiones antiquae, ed. Basnage, T. III. f. 272. The aversion to

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heretics and the Manichæans, so far as the latter were known from the reports of the older church fathers, was sufficient to cause them all to be branded with the name of Manichæans. To form any correct notion of the doctrines of a sect at war with the church, according as those doctrines were really connected together in the system of such a sect, to make any just discrimination between doctrines which were kindred and doctrines which were foreign to the system, was a thing utterly beyond the reach of the best capacities of those times. Hence we can expect no more than meagre notices touching the sects of this period.

In the eleventh century, connected with the church at Orleans, stood a flourishing institution for theological education, which threatened to become a seminary for the spread of false doctrines, the ecclesiastics who presided over it having become tinctured with them. For a long time already, the heretical tendency had been acquiring strength among them, without any notice being taken of it, as the clergy, who were seeking to bring their doctrines into general circulation, used great caution, and imparted them to those only whom, after suitable preparation, they found capable of receiving them. Thus it came about, that one of the canonical priests of the church at Orleans, the precentor Adeodat (Dieudonné), a member of this sect, died in the communion of the church; and not till three years after his death, (when by circumstances presently to be mentioned, the heretical tendency which here prevailed was discovered),this person was found to have been a promoter of it; when his bones were commanded to be dug up and removed, as those of a heretic, from consecrated ground.[1] While *other* ecclesiastics, awakened by the influence of Augustin, and more especially of St. Paul, placed the doctrines of grace and of redemption, and of the sanctification of human nature grounded therein, in opposition to the superstitious reliance on sacraments and the worship of saints, on holiness of works, and whatever else furnished a prop to security in sin; *these* ecclesiastics likewise joined indeed in the same opposition, but the opposition in their case possessed the character of a *rationalizing*, *mystical tendency*; and it is easy to see, how a tendency of this sort might spontaneously manifest itself, especially among ecclesiastics of a certain culture, without any need of supposing that they had received an impulse from sects which had sprung up in the Oriental church. Hence we should be authorized to regard that report of the trial held upon the members of this sect, which is the fullest in its details, and which makes no mention at all of its Manichæanism,[2] as the most correct account; and the other accounts of contemporaries,[3] by whom this sect is described as Manichæan, might be attribu-

eating flesh, as well as their opinion that it was sinful to destroy animal life, sufficiently proves their oriental origin. When a bishop required them to slaughter a cock, they refused. See the Acta episcoporum Leodiensium in Martene et Durand collectio amplissima, T. IV. f. 902.

[1] This is related by a contemporary, monk Ademar of Angoulême, in his Chronicle, year 1025, in Labbe Nova bibliotheca manuscriptorum, T. II.

[2] The gesta Synodi Aurelianensis in D'Achery Spicilegia. T. I. f. 604, also another contemporary, Glaber Rudolph, III. 8, say not a word of their Manichæanism.

[3] As in the above cited Chronicle of

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ted to a misconception, arising from the fact that men were accustomed to consider the peculiarities which, in many appearances of the sectarian history of these times, were found to be held in common, to be common to *them all*, — a mistake not unfrequently committed in attempting to grasp together the several phenomena of a particular period. Yet, at the same time, since even in the above mentioned report of the trial held upon these ecclesiastics, which says not a word of their Manichæanism, some of their opinions are noticed, which admit of being most easily referred to a Gnostic or Manichæan mode of thinking, and since the origin of the sect is traced to Italy,[1] which would confirm the supposition of its external connection with the sects of the Greek church, and since a mystical, rationalizing tendency of the same sort was a feature by no means uncommon in those Gnostic and Manichæan sects, it still remains the most probable conjecture, that it was through the immediate influence of some such sect, that opposition to the church doctrine was first excited among the canonical clergy at Orleans.

The sect at Orleans attacked the doctrine of Christ's supernatural birth, as a thing contrary to the laws of nature. That which contradicts the laws of nature, they asserted, can find no existence in creation.[2] This, however, is not so to be understood, as if they admitted the reality of the birth of Jesus, but denied the supernatural circumstances attending it; but they denied the reality of the birth of Jesus in the same sense as they denied the reality of his passion and of his resurrection. As an argument in favor of their opinion, they adduced what was assumed by their opponents, namely, that Christ was born of a virgin; for as this would be impossible, the reality of the birth was disproved by its character. Their doctrine of Christ's humanity bordered, therefore, without any doubt, upon Docetism, or was *altogether* docetical.[3] If we find the doctrine ascribed to them by Glaberius Rudolphus, that heaven and earth had always existed, as they now are, yet we should remember that the report of a writer, who did not understand their system, and who presents everything in the worst colors, must fall very short of establishing the fact, that they took an altogether pantheistic view of the world; on the contrary, we have more reason to believe that their opposition to the church doctrine of the creation from nothing, an opposition which proceeded from some oriental doctrine of emanation combined with Dualism, that this opposition, wrongly understood and perverted, gave occasion to this charge. In consistency with their docetic views of the human nature of Jesus, they could not of course believe in any communication of the body and blood of Christ in the eucharist; and their opposition to the

Ademar, and in the fragment published by Du Chesne in the 6th vol. of his Scriptores rerum Francar. Historia Aquitanica, f. 81.

[1] Glaber Rudolph names an Italian woman as the person who imported the seeds of these doctrines to France, and during a long residence in Orleans spread them abroad, particularly among the ecclesiastics of that city.

[2] So they said at their trial, according to the above mentioned report in D'Achery: Quod natura denegat, semper a creatione discrepat.

[3] Comp. Vol. III. p. 261, the doctrine of the Paulicians on this point. We shall have no more to say on this subject till we come to the doctrine of the Bogomiles and the Catharists in the following periods.

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church doctrine being based on mysticism would necessarily affect, in a particular manner, the doctrine concerning mass. They rejected also the sacrament of baptism with water, probably explaining it as the baptism of John, a teacher who was ignorant of the perfect, supreme God, and of his kingdom:[1] but they substituted in its place a baptism of the Spirit, which was to be connected with the imposition of hands, as the symbol of initiation into their sect; and this again evidences their relationship to oriental sects and to the later Catharians. This rite was certainly the same thing with what was designated among these sects by the term consolamentum (form of communication of the *Comforter*, the Paraclete). By virtue of this imposition of hands, whoever submitted to it in a suitable frame of mind, would be filled with the gifts of the Holy Spirit, and purified from all sin; he would be made capable thereby for the first time of rightly understanding the deep things of Scripture. With a spiritual baptism, they held also to a spiritual eucharist, by which those who had received this baptism, would be refreshed, and find all their spiritual needs completely satisfied.[2] Whoever had once tasted of this heavenly food, said they, would abide steadfastly in the truth, and resist all temptations to apostasy.[3] Whoever received this baptism and this eucharist, would enjoy the sight of angels, and partake of high revelations;[4] nothing would be wanting to him, for God, in whom are hidden all the treasures of wisdom, would be with him.

Two ecclesiastics, Lisoi (Lisieux) and Stephen, who by their piety, their active benevolence, and their knowledge, had attained to high eminence and consideration both among the people and the great nobles, stood at the head of this sect. Stephen had been confessor to queen Constantia. Already had they made considerable progress in extending the sect from the school existing at Orleans, into the neighboring towns, when, by a singular circumstance, the whole thing was discovered.[5] Heribert, a young ecclesiastic from the castle of a certain nobleman of Normandy, named Arefast, had been won over to the doctrines of the sect while pursuing his studies at the school in

[1] See e. g. the Apocryphal gospel of John in Thilo's Apocryphen. T. I. p. 893.

[2] Coelesti cibo pastus, interna satietate recreatus. Comp. the doctrine of the Paulicians, Vol. III. p. 263, and the apocryphal gospel of John, p. 893.

[3] The high virtues which they ascribed to this heavenly food, joined to the rumors, ever afloat respecting the assemblies of heretical sects, gave origin to the story that the ashes of a child murdered and burnt constituted this wonderful food, of which every member of the sect partook, and which was possessed of such magical virtue, that a person who had once partaken of it, never became an apostate. When they spoke of an intercourse with higher spirits, which those enjoyed who had received their baptism and their eucharist, all they said about such apparitions, was taken as literally true; and so it came about here as it did in Michael Psellus' account of the Euchites, — evil spirits were substituted for good ones, and the story arose that evil spirits appeared in their assemblies, and that the murdered child was born from intercourse with them.

[4] Just as the Euchites taught.

[5] According to the report of Glaber Rudolph, an attempt of theirs to win over a priest of Rouen, who resisted their efforts and betrayed them, led to the detection of the sect. This may have been so: but at all events, the report of the Gesta, published by D'Achery, which we follow, is the most exact one; and the deviations from it in the story of Glaber Rudolph may be easily explained as having arisen from the want of a better knowledge of the particular circumstances.

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Orleans, and through him they came to the knowledge of his liege-lord Arefast. The latter took measures to make king Robert of France aware of the danger that threatened the Catholic faith. For the purpose of tracing out the sect, and securing the means of convicting the guilty, Arefast was now directed to repair to Orleans, and to represent himself to the leaders as one who was desirous of being initiated into their mysteries. They fell into the snare, and deceived by the assurances of Arefast, gradually divulged all their doctrines to the man who was abusing their confidence for the purpose of plunging them in ruin. He immediately made his report to the king. In the year 1022 the king himself came to Orleans, where a numerous synod had assembled to try and pass sentence on the sect. Fallen upon during one of its secret meetings, of which information had been given by Arefast, all who were found present were arrested, together with Arefast himself, and conveyed in chains before the spiritual tribunal, where also the king and the queen assisted. The leaders of the sect endeavored at first to evade the questions proposed to them; but Arefast, who continued to play his assumed part, was employed to draw them out. When the latter presented before them the doctrines they had taught him, they no longer hesitated to avow openly their adherence to them; but declared, "Think not that this sect, because ye have so lately come to the knowledge of it, has sprung up within a short period. For a long time we have professed these doctrines, and we expected that these doctrines would one day be admitted by you and by all others, — this we believe still."[1] When it was attempted to convince them of their errors, and in particular to state before them the doctrine of the creation from nothing, they replied: "Present such doctrines to men of earthly minds, to such as believe the ordinances of your dead Scripture learning. We have a higher law, one written by the Holy Spirit in the inner man; we can believe nothing but that which God, the Creator of all things, has revealed to us. Do with us as you please; already we behold our king reigning in heaven, whose right hand shall exalt us to an eternal triumph, and crown us with celestial joys." Except in the case of one ecclesiastic and one nun, all the pains which were taken to reclaim them from their errors, in other words to induce them to recant, were to no purpose. The others, thirteen in number, were condemned to the stake, and died there.

Yet surely these doctrines were already too widely disseminated, to leave any reasonable ground for the expectation that a tendency of this sort would be suppressed by the death of a few individuals. It is very probable that we may perceive the influence of this sect among the ecclesiastics and monks in certain hints contained in a letter of Fulbert, bishop of Chartres to the abbot Adeodat, where he inveighs against the corrupt tendency of those carnally minded men, who represented the sacraments as toys, holding it to be impossible that outward and

[1] Hoc diu est ,quod sectam, quam vos jam tarde agnoscitis amplectimur, sed tam vos quam caeteros cujus cunque legis vel ordines in eam cadere expectavimus, quod etiam adhuc fore credimus, according to the citation of Glaber Rudolph.

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earthly ordinances could produce any such effects as were ascribed to these forms.[1]

Some years later, a sect was discovered in the districts of Arras and Liege, which, as well by its origin, having been traced to people who came from Italy, and particularly to Gundulf an Italian, as by the peculiarity of its doctrines, betrays its connection also with those Oriental sects. Thus for example, they utterly rejected wedlock, and held the unmarried life to be absolutely necessary in order to a participation in the kingdom of heaven; from which we may infer, though we know nothing more about the doctrines of the sect on this subject, that these notions had originated in such theories touching the origin of the corporeal world, and the banishment of souls into it, and touching the character of original sin,[2] as led to these results in their system of morality. The persons in Arras who were arrested as followers of this sect, seem to have been uneducated people of the lower class, who had perhaps appropriated no more of their doctrines than what was purely practical, and most consentaneous to the natural understanding and to the moral feelings; or else they dared not express openly their theoretical convictions. Like the others just mentioned, they were for removing everything out of the way which could serve as a substitute for one's own moral efforts, or as an excuse for moral inactivity. Each man, said they, must be holy by his own act and within himself — by that alone, and not by any magical operation of the sacraments, can man become pure. Outward baptism, and the outward eucharist are nothing. To show the inefficacy of baptism they pointed to the immoral lives of the clergy who performed the ceremony, to the immoral lives of the persons baptized, and to the fact that in the children on whom baptism was performed, not one of the conditions was to be found upon which such efficacy must depend; — no consciousness, no will, no faith, no confession. The doctrines which they had received from Gundulf, agreed in all respects, as they affirmed, with the doctrines of Christ and of the Apostles. It consisted in this, to forsake the world, to overcome the flesh, to support one's self by the labor of one's own hands, to injure no one, to show love to all the brethren. Whoever practiced this, needed no baptism; where it failed, baptism could not supply its place. From these doctrines, we might be led to suppose that these people had imbibed thoroughly Pelagian princi-

[1] Quoniam comperimus, aliquos nimis carnaliter intuentes quaedam horum, in quibus nostrae salutis mysterium constat, tanquam inania aut otiosa deputare, hos a tam perniciosae opinionis vanitate revocatos permoneremus. Fulberti ep. I. ad Adeodatum ed. de Villiers. Paris, 1608.

[2] They explained, namely, the marriage intercourse between Adam and Eve, as the first sin into which the apostate spirit Satanael enticed mankind. In this way he succeeded to bind fast their spirits in the corporeal world as well as to cause their propagation in this state of bondage. The genuine disciples of Christ, male and female, ought therefore to live together only in spiritual fellowship. From Luke 20: 34, 35, they would make it out, that only the children of this world married; but such as would become partakers of the kingdom of God, must prove themselves to belong to it, and to be destined for the resurrection, by leading a life estranged from sense, and like that of the angels. See the apocryphal Gospel p. 894, and Moneta adversus Catharos ed. Ricchini. Romae 1743. l. IV. c. 7. fol. 319

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ples, and opposed legal morality and moral self-sufficiency to the Augustinian doctrine of the church. The bishop so understood them, and hence unfolded to them in opposition to these tenets, Augustin's doctrine of grace. But the theory of Augustin is directly at variance with the doctrine of that whole race of sectarians touching redemption as a communication of divine life to the spirits held bound in the corporeal world, touching the consolamentum, and all that is connected therewith. Even here then we find the practical consequences alone avowed by them, separated from the dogmatic grounds, from which they were derived. They were also opposed to the worship of saints and of relics, and ridiculed the stories told about the wonders performed by them. But it is singular to observe, that they at the same time held to the worship of the apostles and martyrs, which probably they interpreted however in accordance with their other doctrines, and in a different manner from what was customary in the church. They were opposed, like the Paulicians, to the worship of the cross, and of images, they spoke against the efficacy of the priestly consecration, the value of a consecrated altar, and of a consecrated church. The church, said they, is nothing but a pile of stones heaped together; the church has no advantage whatever over any hut where the divine Being is worshipped. They, like the older Euchites,[1] denounced church psalmody as a superstitious practice. People belonging to this sect, had first broached their doctrines in the territory about Liege.[2] They were arrested and brought up for trial, but succeeded by their explanations in deceiving the bishop. They were released, and then referred to this public justification to prove that it was impossible to convict them of any erroneous doctrine; and this served to procure for them a more general hearing. When they had spread to Cambray and Arras, and the archbishop had obtained such information as sufficed to convict them, they at first denied, even under torture, the false doctrines imputed to them,[3] till they were forced to confession by the testimony of a few individuals, to whom they had disclosed their opinions. The archbishop, in the year 1025, assembled a synod at Arras, before which the arrested members of the sect were compelled to make their appearance. After having entered upon an examination of their doctrines, he addressed to them a discourse in refutation of these tenets and in defence of the Catholic faith.[4] They declared themselves convinced by this discourse, and were prevailed on, most probably by the fear of death, to subscribe a recantation with the cross; — thus they found it a very easy matter to obtain the absolution of

[1] See Vol. II. p. 241.

[2] If D'Achery's conjecture is correct, that the bishop R. to whom the synodal letter of the archbishop Gerhard I. of Cambray is directed, was bishop Reginald of Liege.

[3] As doubtless may be inferred from the words: ut nullis suppliciis possent cogi ad confessionem. D'Achery Spicileg. T. I. f. 607.

[4] Either in the language of the country, or else the Latin discourse was translated to them on the spot in the vernacular tongue, as well as the confession and the formulary of condemnation which were pronounced in Latin.

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the bishop.[1] The only effect was to make them more cautious in the propagation of their tenets, and in this way they probably contrived to maintain their sect for a considerable time longer. In the later times of the eleventh century a sect of this sort once more made its appearance in the same diocese of Cambray and Arras. The archbishop Gerhard II, heard that a man, by the name of Ramihed, preached many heretical doctrines, and had found great acceptance with men and women. When seized and brought before the archbishop he so adroitly answered every question proposed to him touching life and doctrine, that no advantage could be gained over him. For this reason, he was subjected to a closer examination before a synod in Cambray. But here also he testified his orthodoxy on every point; the archbishop therefore simply required of him, that he should receive the holy eucharist in testimony of his innocence.[2] To this, however, he refused to consent, declaring, that he could take the eucharist neither from the hand of abbot, of priest, nor of the bishop himself, because they were all guilty of simony, or of covetousness under some form or other. This sufficed to arouse against him the indignation of the clergy, who at once declared him a heretic. It is clear, however, that a process of this sort furnishes no ground for a certain judgment respecting the doctrines of this person. It may be, that he belonged to the class of sects, which came from the East, and that conformably to their principles he felt justified in resorting to deception for the purpose of escaping out of the hands of his judges. But it is also possible, that he really had nothing in common with those sects, and that he had risen up entirely independent of them. Perhaps we may find in this case the indication of a separatistic reäction, a spontaneous movement of the Christian consciousness, of the pure interest of Christian piety, against the corruption of the clergy; such a reäction as would in fact be necessarily called forth by Hildebrand's plan of reformation.[3] At all events, we may at least see in this example, how the complaints against a simoniacal clergy which by the measures of the last popes had become generally known and were freely circulated among the laity, encouraged and facilitated the spread of sects opposed to the dominant church. The sectary of whom we are speaking was hunted down as a heretic by the fanatical vengence of the populace; when seized, he followed his pursuers patiently and without fear. He was confined in a cabin; and while prostrated on the ground in prayer, a torch was applied to the building, and he was consumed in the flames. But as he had gained many followers by the purity of his life, so the enthusiasm of his friends would only be increased by the mode of his death. They gathered up his bones and his ashes, which they honored as relics. His followers continued to multiply in the towns of this district till into the twelfth century, especially among the weavers, an oc-

[1] See the synodal letter of the bishop, cited in D'Achery l. c.

[2] See respecting this test of innocence, p. 450.

[3] See above, p. 383.

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cupation, which from its peculiar character, has ever been a favorite resort of mystical sects.[1]

Though by means of those sects which came from the East, many errors were propagated among the laity, yet their influence was in some respects advantageous. They awakened in the ignorant and uninstructed people, who had been misled by incompetent priests to place the essence of religion in a round of ceremonies, a more lively interest in spiritual concerns, — called up in them the idea of a divine life, presented religion to them more as a matter of inward experience, and perhaps too, since this was the peculiar bent of the Paulicians, made them better acquainted with the Scriptures; for there can be little doubt that by means of the Paulicians, translations of particular portions of Scripture were already circulated among the laity. And when the laity thus awakened, spoke from their own religious experience, when in the attitude of polemics, and combatting the additions foreign to Bible Christianity in the doctrine of the church, they were able to bring forward their arguments from the teachings of Christ and the apostles, it is easy to see, how superior they would prove in disputation to the ignorant and incompetent clergy. Men could not fail to be struck with admiration, at seeing uneducated, ignorant people after they had received such doctrines able to discourse with great fluency on religious things and even to put to silence the regular ecclesiastics.[2]

When archbishop Heribert of Milan, who administered this office from 1027 to 1046, came to Turin, in a tour of visitation through his archiepiscopal diocese, he heard of a sect, which had its principal seat in the neighboring fortress of Montfort, where it was particularly favored by the nobles, as well as by the mistress of the place, a countess, and which was widely diffused among clergy and laity.[3] He summoned Gerhard, the presiding functionary of the sect, though in fact he proved to be only a subordinate, and hinted of other superiors (majores),[4] to appear before him, and give an account of himself. At first the respondent so accommodated himself to the phraseology of the church orthodoxy, that he might easily have been taken for an orthodox man; but when the archbishop pressed him more closely, and made him explain the sense of his words, he soon found, that Gerhard attached to the same language a very different meaning from that of the church. The Son of God, said he, is the soul beloved, enlightened of God; the Holy Spirit is the devout, and true understanding of the

[1] The authority for this representation is the second appendix to Balderick's chronicle, edition of Le Glay. Paris, 1834, p. 356. etc.

[2] In a report relating to the spread of such a sect, whose tenets, the consolamentum, celibacy in strict abstinence, the sparing even of animal life, point clearly to an oriental origin, it is said: Si quos idiotas et infacundos hujus erroris sectatoribus adjungi contingeret statim eruditissimis etiam catholicis facundiores fieri. From a letter of Roger II, bishop of Chalons sur Marne (Catalaunum) in the Gestis episcoporum Leodiensium, in Martene and Durand's Scriptorum et monumentorum collectio amplissima, Tom. IV. c. 59. f. 899.

[3] The most exact account is in Arnulph, senior hist. Mediolanens. l. II. c. 27. in Muratori Scriptores rerum Italicarum, T. IV. — nothing but the fabulous in Glaber Rudolph. IV. 2.

[4] That this sect was not domesticated in Italy, but connected with a foreign stock, is evident from the following remark of Laudulph respecting it: ipsi a qua orbis parte in Italia fuissent eventi inscii.

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sacred Scriptures. The birth of Jesus from the Virgin, his conception by the Holy Ghost, denotes the birth of the divine life in the soul from the holy Scriptures, by means of that right understanding of them, proceeding from a divine light, which is designated by the Holy Spirit. According to this it should seem, that the mystical-idealist element, which we find existing among these sects generally, had in this case been carried out in a more consistent and uncompromising manner than in other cases; that they pushed their idealism to such an extent as to consider the whole history of Christ as a myth, that Christ and his entire history was to them nothing but a symbol of the development of the divine life in each individual man. It is quite possible, however, that with this mystical, symbolical interpretation of our Saviour's history, as referring to Christ in the soul, Christ as he must be formed in every believer, — they by no means denied the objective reality of the history, of which they made this application. At any rate, we here recognize a coincidence of views with the Bogomiles, who called the soul of the enlightened man the true θεοτόκος, and also with those older pantheistic Euchites, of whom we spoke in the history of the second period.[1] The same character of a mystico-idealist tendency is expressed also in everything else said by this Gerhard. Thus he declared, they had a priest — not that Roman one, but another — who daily visited their brethren scattered through the world; and when God bestowed him on them, they received from him, with great devoutness, the forgiveness of sin. Besides this priest, who was without the tonsure, they knew of no other, nor did they acknowledge any other sacrament than his absolution. Thus we find in this sect, as in that at Orleans, the consciousness of a fellowship extending through different countries. By their priest they doubtless meant the Holy Spirit, which formed the invisible bond of this fellowship, and bestowed on them the inward cleansing from remaining sin, and the inward consecration of the divine life. This inward working of the divine Spirit stood to them in the place of all sacraments. As they refused to know of any other priest than this inward one, so they refused to know of any other sacrament than that which this inward priest imparted. This sect rejected marriage. The married persons, admitted among them, were ever after to live together in spiritual fellowship alone. If all men followed the same rule, they believed the human race would be propagated in a spiritual manner, and cease to inherit a perishable nature. As they probably ascribed the fact of the union of the soul and a material body to a fall, so they looked upon the end of life as a purification from that which is foreign, freedom from sense, penitence. Their life was to be a life of prayer, and of rigid abstinence, with the relinquishment of earthly possessions. The sufferings to which they were exposed on account of their doctrines, they encountered cheerfully, considering them as means of expiating sins committed before and in the present life, and of thus preparing them to return, purified, into the society of the higher world of spirits. Those therefore who were deprived of the

[1] Vol. II. p. 241.

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privilege of dying as martyrs, died cheerfully under self-inflicted tortures.[1]

The archbishop despatched a party of soldiers to the fortress, and thus succeeded in getting a number of these sectarians into his hands. He caused them to be conveyed to Milan. There, contrary as it is said to the archbishop's will, the prisoners were led to the stake, and it was left to their choice, either to bow before a cross erected on the spot and confess the Catholic faith, or to die. Some chose to do the former; but the majority, placing their hands before their faces, plunged into the flames.

Though most appearances of this sort are to be traced to an impulse derived from sects which originated in the East, yet we find indications of heretical tendencies that are to be traced to other quarters. We ought not to be surprised to learn that the revived study of the ancient Latin authors in the ninth and particularly in the eleventh century called forth in many an antagonism of the cultivated understanding to the dominant church doctrine and engendered many opinions, which were regarded as heretical. Probus, a man of the ninth century, who in the monastery of Fulda had occupied himself a good deal with these studies, and afterwards became a priest at Mayence, found it difficult after meeting with so much that was good in these writers to conceive how the better class among the heathen should all be damned, especially where by no fault of their own they were deprived of the opportunity of coming to faith in the Redeemer.[2] He was inclined to the opinion, that the effects of Christ's redemptive sufferings, and of his descensus ad inferos, extended also to the better class among the heathen. And if with this view he united, as it seems that he did, the doctrine of absolute predestination, the whole would probably shape itself somewhat after the same manner as the view which was afterwards entertained by Zwingli, that in the divine decrees of predestination are embraced all those, who before they have had opportunity of hearing anything about the gospel, give tokens in the development of their moral nature, of that agency of the divine Spirit, that preparatory grace, without which nothing good can be done. Now had it not been the good fortune of this Probus to be connected with a man of so mild and liberal spirit as the abbot Servatus Lupus, he might easily have been stigmatized as a heretic for expressing such an opinion. Thus it was reported of a grammarian, Bilgard of Ravenna, belonging to the first part of the eleventh century, who had been much occupied with such studies,[3] that evil spirits haunted him, in the shapes of Virgil, Horace, Juvenal; and that beguiled by their influence, he had taught

[1] Just as we find that the Catharists of a later period starved themselves to death (the endura), and poisoned themselves.

[2] Servatus Lupus says of him (ep. 20): Ciceronem et Virgilium caeterosque opinione ejus probatissimos viros in electorum collegium admittat, ne frustra Dominus sanguinem fuderit et in inferno otium triverit, si verum sit illud propheticum: ero mors tua, o mors, morsus tuus ero, inferne. Hosea 13: 14.

[3] Worthy of notice is what Glaber Rudolph says (II. 12.): Sicut Italis semper mos fuit, artes negligere caeteras (therefore to neglect also the study of the sacred Scriptures, and of the church fathers) illam (Grammaticam) sectari.

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many things contrary to the Catholic faith, holding that those ancient authors were to be believed in everything. In this tale, where fact is mixed up with fable, it is impossible, to be sure, to separate with certainty the truth from the fiction. But we may hold it as extremely probable, that this Bilgard had been led by his ardent study of the ancient authors, and by his fondness for them, to embrace many opinions considered as heretical; and on this account, he was condemned to death. According to the testimony of Glaberius Rudolph, it would be necessary to suppose, that the predilection for paganism had given birth at the same time, to similar heretical tendencies throughout Italy, and in Sardinia; and he informs us that the individuals accused of these tendencies, were some of them beheaded, while others died at the stake.[1] But it is quite possible, that this writer had not clearly discriminated the heretical appearances, and that we must suppose such to be here meant as had proceeded from the oriental influence.[2] Since the oriental sects spread from the Greek church to Italy, and from thence to France, the Netherlands and Germany; so they may have spread also, in another direction, from Italy to Sardinia, and so onward to Spain.

Already in the preceding volume, we cited examples of half-witted enthusiasts, who found followers among the rude populace in France. This was the source of another opposition to the church. An example of the same kind occurs at the beginning of the eleventh century, in the person of an individual by the name of Leuthard, who appeared among the country people of Chalons-sur-Marne, if we may rely with entire confidence on the report of Glaber Rudolph.[3] From the accounts given of him, he would seem to have been a man who united enthusiasm with a naturally dogmatic understanding, fond of speculating, according to its own narrow views, on divine things — a psychological phenomenon of no rare occurrence. Once, exhausted with toil, he fell asleep in the field, where, as he imagined, he had a miraculous vision. Returning home, he informed his wife that, by the command of the gospel, he must separate from her.[4] After this, he went to a church to pray; and, finding there a cross and an image of Christ, demolished them both. Not certainly out of spite to Christianity; for he himself appealed to the sacred Scriptures; but, most probably, because he imagined he saw in them something that savored of idolatry. He gave out that he acted in this case by a special

[1] Plures per Italiam tempore hujus pestiferi dogmatis reperti quique ipsi aut gladiis aut incendiis perierunt.

[2] In the case of Sardinia, we might, if Glaber Rudolph's story is correct, suppose with Gieseler, that there was here a reäction of paganism; for as we learn from the letters of Gregory the Great, paganism maintained its ground in this island longer than elsewhere. But when he says, that persons from Sardinia spread these false doctrines in Spain, partem populi in Hispania corrumpentes, we must assuredly believe, if the case were so, that oriental rather than pagan doctrines are here meant. Perhaps Glaber Rudolph took no pains to distinguish the different heretical appearances; and he may have confounded with others of an earlier date those which had proceeded from the oriental sects — for how is it possible to suppose that pagan doctrines could get admittance into Spain more than elsewhere?

[3] II. 11.

[4] Quasi ex praecepto evangelio fecit divortium.

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divine revelation, and he was believed by the multitude of ignorant country people. He told the people they were under no obligation to pay tythes to the church; and, in support of all he said, quoted the testimony of the Scriptures. Yet he is said to have taught, at the same time, that the testimony of the Scriptures was not to be received on all subjects; that the prophets had delivered some things which were profitable, and some which could not be believed. The bishop Gebuin afterwards succeeded in undeceiving the people; and his mild and prudent course wins our esteem. He put down Gerhard as a maniac, and gave himself no further concern about him. The latter, on finding himself deserted by his followers, and disappointed in his ambitious projects, threw himself into a well.

There are many particulars, however, in this story, calculated to excite doubt. It is strange, that in these times a person should be found among the country people, who must have read the Bible, at least in part, and who was able to perceive the contradictions between what the sacred Scriptures taught and the prevailing customs of the church. He must have received a translation, at least, of many parts of the Scriptures into the vernacular tongue, since the Latin could then be no longer understood by the people in France. Now, it is possible, indeed, that, with a knowledge of the truths of the Bible, this person may have united partly the suggestions of a dogmatizing understanding, — no rare thing, even where there is a want of intellectual balance, — and partly an enthusiastic imagination. It may be that partly disappointed ambition, and partly insanity, led him to commit suicide. But it is possible, also, that we have in this case a perverted, spiteful representation of facts; and that his death, which may really have been brought about by the fanatical hatred of heretics, was represented by his enemies as an act of suicide. Again, it is to be remembered, that it was by means of those oriental sects that the Scriptures were diffused among laymen, and that such sects had found admittance in the district of Chalons-sur-Marne.[1] The dissolving of the marriage tie, by the supposed command of the gospel, the hostility to the sign of the cross and to images, the appeal to inward revelations, all this is in perfect harmony with the character of those sects, and hence it remains to be questioned, whether we may not recognize in *this* appearance a mark of their influence.

Touching the mode of procedure against false teachers, it is to be observed, that it was Byzantine despotism which set the example of enforcing conviction by the faggot and the sword. The Western church had originally declared itself,[2] though not with perfect consistency of principles, opposed to such a procedure, and to all application of capital punishments to heretics. But the fanaticism of this age found no punishment too severe for those, who were regarded as godless outcasts; and the clergy, in this case, followed the general current of the times; and from common practice grew up the theory of the ecclesiastical law, which was also supported by the grand mis-

[1] See above, p. 603. [2] See Vol. II. p. [illegible]

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take of confounding together the different positions of the Old and New Testaments. The fanatical fury of the people having been once aroused against heretics, and an abstemious life having come to be regarded as a characteristic mark of heretics who sprung from oriental sects, those men who distinguished themselves by the rigid severity of their lives were extremely liable to incur the opprobrium of heresy; insomuch that a writer of these times could say, that a pallid face was looked upon by the people as a sure sign of heresy, and that many good Catholics had fallen victims, with heretics, to the blind fury of the mob.[1] There was one man, however, who stood manfully forth against the unchristian spirit of the times, Wazo, bishop of Liege, who lived till the year 1047. He belonged to that better class of bishops, who devoted themselves, with a truly earnest and unwearied zeal, to the good of their flocks. He may stand beside Theodore Studita, and Peter Damiani, as a representative of the genuinely Christian spirit, in contradistinction to the prevailing principles. When, during the spread of these false teachers in the diocese of Chalons-sur-Marne, his opinion was asked respecting the proper mode of proceeding with such persons, he gave the following: Though such doctrines must be condemned as unchristian, yet, after the example of our Saviour, who was meek and humble of spirit, who came not to strive or to cry, Matth. 12: 19, but rather to endure shame and the death of the cross, we, too, are bound to bear with such men. The parable of the wheat and the tares teaches us what should be done with such persons, according to the will of our compassionate Lord, who condemns not sinners at once but waits with long-suffering for their repentance. By the servants, who were for instantly pulling up the tares as soon as they appeared, are to be understood overhasty priests. Our Lord here recommends to them patience towards their erring neighbors; especially since they who belong to-day to the tares, may to-morrow be converted, and bring forth good fruit. "And let us beware ourselves — says Wazo to the bishops — lest while we think of exercising justice, by inflicting punishment on the wicked, we may be counteracting the purposes of Him, who wills not the death of the sinner, but seeks, by patience and long-suffering, to bring them back to repentance. Let these men be reserved, then, to the last harvest of the great Master of the house; as we ourselves also must wait for his sentence with fear and trembling; for the Almighty God can make those who now fight against us on the high way of the Lord, occupy in that heavenly country even a higher place than ourselves. We, bishops, ought certainly to remember, that we did not receive, at our ordination, the sword of secular power; and, therefore, that we did not receive from God any vocation to slay, but only the vocation to make alive." He then declared, that they had nothing to

[1] See the Gesta episcoporum Leodiensium, published by Martene and Durand, in the Collectio amplissima T. IV. c. 50, where, concerning the praeceps Francigenarum rabies caedis, anhelare solita, it is said: Eos solo pallore notare haereticos, quasi quos pallere constaret, haereticos esse certum esset sicque per errorem simulque furorem eorum plerosque vere Catholicorum fuisse aliquando interemptos.

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do but to exclude such persons from the communion of the church, and to secure others from being infected by their doctrines. The genuinely Christian spirit here expressed, was transmitted downward in the church of Liege; for it was nothing else that moved the canonical priest of this church, who wrote Wazo's Life, to protest so earnestly as he did against the execution of the false teachers at Goslar,[1] a proceeding which he denounced on the authority and by the example of Martin of Tours.[2]

[1] See p. 592, note.

[2] See Vol. II. p. 712. Haec dicimus — says he, l. c. c. 61. f. 902. — non quia errorem tutari velimus, sed quia hoc in divinis legibus nusquam sancitum non approbare monstremus.

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